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THE BRITISH ACADEMY

1921–1923

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[10] M. SENART (France).
[9] Professor E. SIEVERS (Germany).
[9] The Prince of TEANO (Italy).
[7] Professor ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF (Germany).

DECEASED FELLOWS, 1922

Ordinary.

* The Rt. Hon. Sir W. R. ANSON, Bart., M.P.
[9] Professor HUME BROWN.
* The Rt. Hon. Viscount BRYCE, O.M.
*Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P.
*Mr. INGRAM BYWATER.
*Dr. EDWARD CAIRD.
[4] The Rev. Professor T. K. CHEYNE.
[3] The Rt. Hon. ARTHUR COHEN, K.C.
[6] Dr. W. J. COURTHOPE, C.B.
*Professor E. B. COWELL.
*The Ven. Archdeacon CUNNINGHAM.
[3] The Rt. Hon. Lord DAVEY.
*Professor T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.
*The Rev. Professor S. R. DRIVER.
*Professor ROBINSON ELLIS.
*The Rev. A. M. FAIRBAIRN.
[3] Professor A. CAMPBELL FRASER.
[3] The Rt. Hon. Sir EDWARD FRY, G.C.B.
[3] Dr. F. J. FURNIVALL.
[5] The Rt. Hon. Lord GOSCHEN.
[4] Professor F. J. HAVERFIELD.
*Dr. THOMAS HODGKIN.
*Professor S. H. HODGSON.
[8] Dr. HENRY JACKSON, O.M.
*Sir R. C. JEBB, O.M.
[4] Sir HENRY JONES, C.H.
[9] The Rt. Hon. Lord Justice KENNEDY.
*Mr. ANDREW LANG.
*The Rt. Hon. W. E. H. LECKY, O.M.
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*The Rev. Professor J. E. B. MAYOR.
*Mr. D. B. MONRO.
[6] The Rev. Canon MOORE.
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[3] Dr. A. S. MURRAY.
*Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY.
[4] Professor A. S. NAPIER.
[4] Dr. JOHN PEILE.
*Professor H. F. PELHAM.
*Sir GEORGE W. PROTHERO, K.B.E.
*The Rt. Hon. Lord REAY, K.T., G.C.S.I.
*The Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN RHŶS.
*Rev. Provost GEORGE SALMON.
*Rev. Professor WILLIAM SANDAY.
[7] Sir JOHN E. SANDYS.
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*Sir LESLIE STEPHEN.
*Dr. WHITLEY STOKES, C.S.I., C.I.E.
*The Rev. Professor H. B. SWETE.
*The Rev. H. S. TOZER.
*Professor R. Y. TYRRELL.
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[7] Professor J. COOK WILSON.
[5] The Rt. Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH.

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[14] Professor C. H. SALEMANN (Russia).
[11] Signor PASQUALE VILLARI (Italy).
[8] Professor Dr. D. ERNST WINDISCH (Germany).

LIST OF FELLOWS, 1923

†[13]The Rev. EDWIN A. ABBOTT.
[13] Professor SAMUEL ALEXANDER.
[23] Mr. P. S. ALLEN.
[22] Mr. T. W. ALLEN.
[5] Mr. EDWARD ARMSTRONG.
* The Rt. Hon. the Earl of BALFOUR, K.G., O.M.
[21] Professor CHARLES F. BASTABLE.
[16] Professor A. A. BEVAN.
[22] Professor A. L. BOWLEY.
[10] Professor A. C. BRADLEY.
[3] Professor E. G. BROWNE.
[20] Professor W. W. BUCKLAND.
[5] Professor F. C. BURKITT.
[16] Professor JOHN BURNET.
* Professor J. B. BURY.
[6] The Ven. Archdeacon CHARLES.
[16] Professor A. C. CLARK.
[18] Professor SEYMOUR CONWAY.
[3] Dr. F. C. CONYBEARE.
[19] Dr. A. E. COWLEY.
[23] Dr. W. CROOKE, C.I.E.
[8] The Most Hon. Marquess CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G.
[22] Mr. O. M. DALTON.
* The Rt. Hon. Viscount DILLON, C.H.
[3] Professor F. Y. EDGEWORTH.
* Sir A. J. EVANS.
[16] Dr. L. R. FARNELL.
[3] Sir CHARLES H. FIRTH.
[7] The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. FISHER.
[14] The Rt. Hon. Lord FITZMAURICE.
[5] Professor H. S. FOXWELL.
* Sir J. G. FRAZER.
[3] Professor P. GARDNER.
* Sir ISRAEL GOLLANCZ.
[5] Professor B. P. GRENFELL.
[17] Sir GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.
[22] Professor H. J. C. GRIERSON.
[14] The Rt. Hon. Viscount HALDANE OF CLOAN, O.M.
[17] Dr. GEORGE FRANCIS HILL.
[5] Mr. D. G. HOGARTH.
[22] Dr. W. S. HOLDSWORTH, K.C.
* Sir T. ERSKINE HOLLAND, K.C.
[13] Professor ARTHUR S. HUNT.
* Sir COURTENAY ILBERT, G.C.B., K.C.S.I.
[21] The Very Rev. W. R. INGE, C.V.O.
[3] Dr. M. R. JAMES.
[22] Professor H. H. JOACHIM.
[23] Mr. W. E. JOHNSON.
[15] Professor H. STUART JONES.
[9] Professor C. S. KENNY.
[3] Sir F. G. KENYON, K.C.B.
[20] Sir SIDNEY LEE.
[5] Professor W. M. LINDSAY.
[22] Mr. A. G. LITTLE.
[13] Dr. GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B.
[6] Professor A. A. MACDONELL.
[14] Dr. J. W. MACKAIL.
[15] Professor D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.
* Professor ALFRED MARSHALL.
* Sir H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B.
[6] Dr. J. ELLIS McTAGGART.
[18] Dr. G. E. MOORE.
[10] Professor GILBERT MURRAY.
[23] Professor J. L. MYRES, O.B.E.
[3] Professor J. S. NICHOLSON.
[22] Dr. R. A. NICHOLSON.
[5] Sir CHARLES W. C. OMAN. M.P., K.B.E.
[4] Sir W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.
[20] Professor A. F. POLLARD.
[22] Professor A. W. POLLARD, C.B.
* The Rt. Hon. Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bart., K.C.
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* Sir WILLIAM M. RAMSAY.
[9] The Very Rev. HASTINGS RASHDALL.
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[17] Professor JAMES SMITH REID.
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[3] The Very Rev. J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.
* The Rt. Hon. the Earl of ROSEBERY, K.G., K.T.
[17] The Rt. Rev. BISHOP RYLE, K.C.V.O.
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[15] Professor W. R. SCOTT.
[6] The Very Rev. Sir GEORGE ADAM SMITH.
[5] Professor W. R. SORLEY.
[21] Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.
[3] Professor G. F. STOUT.
[21] Professor JAMES TAIT.
[11] Professor A. E. TAYLOR.
* Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, G.C.B.
[11] Professor T. F. TOUT.
[19] Dr. PAGET TOYNBEE.
[4] The Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE O. TREVELYAN, Bart., O.M.
[9] Professor CUTHBERT H. TURNER.
[5] Sir PAUL VINOGRADOFF.
* Sir A. W. WARD.
* Professor JAMES WARD.
[6] Sir G. F. WARNER.
[4] Professor JOSEPH WRIGHT.

* One of the First Fellows. † *E.g.* 1913; the year of election is indicated by the number.

HONORARY FELLOWS, 1923

[23] Dr. FRANCIS HERBERT BRADLEY.
[21] The Rt. Rev. Bishop G. F. BROWNE.
[22] Dr. CHARLES MONTAGUE DOUGHTY.
[22] The Rt. Hon. Lord PHILLIMORE.

RETIRED FELLOW, 1923

[15] Sir JAMES H. RAMSAY, Bart.

CORRESPONDING FELLOWS, 1923

[1] M. CHARLES BÉMONT (France).
[11] M. HENRI BERGSON (France).
[17] M. CHARLES BORGEAUD (Switzerland).
[23] M. JEAN CAPART (Belgium).
[16] Senatore DOMENICO COMPARETTI (Italy).
[20] M. HENRI CORDIER (France).
[16] Professor A. CROISET (France).
[16] M. F. CUMONT (Belgium).
[20] Père HIPPOLYTE DELAHAYE (Belgium).
[4] Professor H. DIELS (Germany).
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[7] Professor BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE (U.S.A.).
[17] Professor IGNAZIO GUIDI (Italy).
[17] President ARTHUR T. HADLEY (U.S.A.).
[7] Professor ADOLF HARNACK (Germany).
[17] Professor LOUIS HAVET (France).
[4] Professor J. L. HEIBERG (Denmark).
[7] Professor HARALD HØFFDING (Denmark).
[7] Mr. Justice HOLMES (U.S.A.).
[13] Professor CHRISTIAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE (Holland).
[18] Dr. J. FRANKLIN JAMESON (Washington).
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[20] Professor FINNUR JÓNSSON (Iceland).
[11] His Excellency M. JUSSERAND (France).
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[9] Dr. F. LIEBERMANN (Germany).
[13] President A. LAWRENCE LOWELL (U.S.A.).
[20] Dr. CHARLES LYON-CAEN (France).
[20] Professor T. G. MASARYK (Czecho-Slovakia).
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[13] Professor ERNEST NYS (Belgium).
[14] M. H. OMONT (France).
[20] Professor RAMÓN MENENDEZ PIDAL (Spain).
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[20] Professor PIO RAJNA (Italy).
[11] M. SALOMON REINACH (France).
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DECEASED FELLOWS, 1923

Ordinary.

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[3] Professor B. BOSANQUET.
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* Mr. ANDREW LANG.
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[3] Dr. A. S. MURRAY.
* Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY.
[4] Professor A. S. NAPIER.
[5] Mr. W. L. NEWMAN.
[4] Dr. JOHN PEILE.
* Professor H. F. PELHAM.
* Sir GEORGE W. PROTHERO, K.B.E.
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[6] His Excellency M. RIBOT (France).
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[14] Professor C. H. SALEMANN (Russia).
[11] Signor PASQUALE VILLARI (Italy).
[10] Professor Dr. D. ERNST WINDISCH (Germany).

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[19] PROFESSOR W. R. SCOTT.
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SECRETARY:

SIR ISRAEL GOLLANCZ.

BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON, W. 1.

[19] Elected 1919. [20] Elected 1920. [21] Elected 1921.
† as from 1920. †† as from 1919.

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1922–23

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[20] Elected 1920. [21] Elected 1921.
[22] Elected 1922. † as from 1920.

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[22] PROFESSOR A. F. POLLARD.
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[22] PROFESSOR W. R. SCOTT.
[23] PROFESSOR W. R. SORLEY.
[23] PROFESSOR T. F. TOUT.

SECRETARY:

SIR ISRAEL GOLLANCZ.

BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON, W. 1.

[21] Elected 1921. [22] Elected 1922. [23] Elected 1923.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

1921–1923

THE FELLOWSHIP OF LEARNING

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

SIR F. G. KENYON, K.C.B.

Delivered at the Annual General Meeting, July 6, 1921

DURING the past year we have passed by unnoticed an anniversary which, if it had not been overshadowed by the greater occasion of the sexcentenary of Dante, we might well have celebrated. October the twelfth, 1920, was the tercentenary of the publication of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna*, or rather of the skeleton of that greatly planned and imagined work and of the one completed section of it which he named the *Novum Organum*. It is a book memorable even in its typographical character, since it bears on its forefront perhaps the finest title-page ever designed, depicting the ship of Learning putting out through the Pillars of Hercules into the uncharted ocean beyond in search of the new world of Knowledge. But for us, and for all time, it is memorable, not for its actual contribution to knowledge, or even to the mechanism for its discovery, but for the great idea which inspired it, the vision which Bacon was not to realize, but which he beheld from his Mount of Pisgah. It is the vision of the Kingdom of Knowledge, the ideal of the Fellowship of Learning, which our Academy exists to foster and promote.

In Bacon's vision, knowledge was one great body, with members duly articulated, each separate limb being a department in which much was to be learnt by means of a new and all-powerful mechanism of research, but all interconnected and correlated, so that the one method would serve for all. It was a great kingdom with many provinces, ready to be exploited and offering great wealth to its conqueror. The new mechanism of which he thought so much has proved to be a delusion, but the ideal remains, and it is for what he imagined, not what he achieved, that we honour the memory of Bacon. Yet it is a mistake to belittle him on this account. The world is not too rich in prophets, in the men who see visions and dream dreams, and have sufficient faith in them to proclaim them to the world. Πολλοὶ μὲν ναρθηκοφόροι, βάκχοι δέ τε παῦροι: and Bacon himself declared that he was 'content to tune the instruments of the Muses,

that they may play that have better hands'. A great idea does not die, and may inspire men with greater powers of constructive work than the man who proclaimed it; and its force is not exhausted in the generation which gave it birth.

The coincidence which brings the six-hundredth anniversary of Dante into connexion with the three-hundredth of Bacon may remind us that Dante too had a vision of a great unity, or rather of two allied and mutually complementary unities, the one Church under the headship of the Pope and the one State under the headship of the Emperor. The Middle Ages too had their conception of the unity of the sciences, summed up in and dominated by the *summa scientia* of Theology. Bacon's conception was therefore not a new one, but he gave it a new life. He encouraged men to look for a new method, even if his own proved a blind alley, and he held out hopes of an Eldorado, not material like that which travellers sought in the new world, but an Eldorado of the spirit, the rewards of which would be the domination of man over the kingdom of nature and the kingdom of thought.

The prophecy which forms the motto of the great frontispiece of the *Instauratio Magna* has been realized in fullest measure in these latter days. *Multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia.* There has been much running to and fro on the face of the earth, and knowledge has been multiplied in a manner which has far exceeded the utmost dreams of Bacon. But the vision of unity, of the Fellowship of Learning, has been imperilled. The tendency has been centrifugal, separatist, specialist. No one can now, like Bacon, take all knowledge for his province. In each subject knowledge has multiplied to such an extent that the subject must be subdivided again and again, and one man will spend his life in settling Hoti's business or in the doctrine of the enclitic De, and another in investigating the parasite of a parasite. Without specialism knowledge cannot now progress, and specialism has its tendencies which break up the family of learning. Separatism may only too easily turn to rivalry and even hostility: and valuable time and energy are wasted while those who should be allies fight one another.

This danger has been amply illustrated in the past, in the fights between the New Learning and the Old, between Theology and Science, between Science and the Classics, between the modern and the ancient humanities. Nor would it be fair to say that these contests were wholly blameworthy. Different ideals must come into conflict, and those who hold them earnestly will fight for them; and out of the struggle comes progress. Yet it is a happier progress when it

takes the form of generous rivalry and not of hostility. Fighting is at times necessary, to break up the crust of tradition and to remove barriers; but in itself, like war, it is an evil, though it may sometimes be a necessary evil, and the best of the only alternatives. Beyond destruction comes construction; and construction demands the combined exertions of those who before were enemies.

It is to such a period of reconstruction, of alliance, of co-operation, that we seem now to have arrived; or at least to a stage at which the necessity for them is becoming obvious and paramount. On all sides we hear the demand for union, or at least for federation. We have learnt the value of comradeship in war, and the need to sink minor differences in order to defeat the common enemy. The same ideal inspires the conception of a League of Nations and the hopeful movement towards reunion among the Churches. Even Industry is finding out, though with many throes and through much tribulation, the need of union: that neither Capital nor Labour can stand by itself, and that their antagonism is the destruction of both. Whitley Councils, Arbitration Boards, conferences of masters and men, all are symptoms of the same need—the need for co-operation and common effort to overcome the evils that confront us.

The same tendencies are, I think and hope, visible in the field of learning, with which we in our present capacity are more immediately concerned. The fight between Science and Theology has died down; Science is no longer so sure that it knows everything, and Theology realizes that in its own sphere Science must be respected. The fight between Science and the Humanities, or more particularly between Science and the Classics, has also, I think and hope, lost its bitterness. The advocates of each are more willing to recognize the value of the other, and to acknowledge that the free development of both is essential to the intellectual culture of the nation. The war has taught us how greatly we need both, the knowledge of nature which comes from science and the knowledge of man which comes from the humanities. Neither can afford to despise the other. For our defence in war, for our progress in peace, we need to cultivate science, both with the disinterested research which we call pure science, and in its practical applications to industry and commerce. And the problems of government, of economics, of international and internal relations, which bewilder us to-day, impress us with the vital need of the knowledge of man's thought and the history of nations, and of the cultivation of high ideals, which come through the study of the humanities.

It has been my duty and good fortune recently to visit most of the

universities of Great Britain, and to investigate their needs and aspirations; and the experience has convinced me that the spirit of union in progress is very generally spread among them. All are clamouring to be enabled to develop so as to meet the new needs and render to the nation the services for which the nation is asking. And, as a general rule, it is not the material side which is foremost, but the ideal. No doubt there are those who measure knowledge by its utilitarian possibilities, and ask only of a university that it shall enable them to multiply their wealth; but these are outside the universities, not in them. Within the universities the desire is for the advancement of knowledge and the training of the intellect and character. With this great vision before them, there is no place for little jealousies. There is less tendency than there once was to hold that one subject is the best for all students, and more willingness to agree that different minds should specialize in different directions, though all are the better for a wide basis of common thought and common knowledge. It is recognized that for the nation as a whole all branches of intellectual culture are necessary, and that it would be a misfortune if any of them were neglected and allowed to perish.

It is our duty to take advantage of this growth of greater toleration, of this sense of comradeship in the cause of knowledge against materialism, of high ideals against low. It is a duty peculiarly incumbent on an Academy. The very reason of our existence is to promote the Fellowship of Learning. We exist to correlate and to promote the activities of all branches of humanistic study,—at least I trust there are none among us who consider that we exist only to confer honorary distinctions and the right to put certain letters after our names. How far we have been able to realize this ideal may be a matter of doubt. We are a comparatively young body, we are also a scattered body, and we have hitherto had little of the material means which are necessary for the full development of our potentialities. But without such an ideal we have no right to exist.

The Academy will justify its existence if it is recognized, not as a society claiming titular superiority over other societies, but as existing to serve and assist both societies and individuals by the weight of competent and disinterested opinion. It can serve as the centre for combined activity, and can help a good cause by throwing the weight of its authority into the scale. When it possesses the material endowment which every national Academy needs, and which every national Academy except ours possesses, it will be able to give material as well as moral support to such enterprises as it judges to be most deserving. But in order to exercise the fullest influence for

good of which it is capable, it must have the confidence of scholars in general and the respect of the world at large; and to justify this confidence and earn this respect it must be an active body, and not merely a name.

It must be admitted that the difficulties in the way of corporate activity are serious. Foreign Academies, as a rule, consist of members living within easy distance of their headquarters, and therefore able to make a point of attending the meetings without deranging their normal work; and such attendance comes to be recognized as a duty. Here, with our members spread over the United Kingdom, any such regularity is impossible. One cannot expect a Fellow to come up from Manchester or Aberdeen to listen to a paper on a subject outside his own sphere of interest; and it is a serious demand to make even if the subject is one with which he is intimately concerned. Hence the activity of our Academy must necessarily be in the main the activity of its Council; though I hope that, as funds become available, it will be possible to bring the several Sections into play for the administration of grants for the special subjects with which they are concerned. This, I am confident, will come in good time. Meanwhile it is the duty of the Academy, through its Council and through the goodwill of its Fellows scattered throughout the kingdom, to lose no opportunity of putting itself at the service of any good cause that comes within its proper scope, and in particular of promoting to the full extent of its power the Fellowship of Learning.

The need for this spirit of fellowship is indeed great. It is not merely a question of mitigating the rivalries and jealousies of scholars. Indeed I think it may fairly be claimed that this particular evil, which has at some periods been flagrant, is not now characteristic of humanistic scholars in this country. I am inclined to think it is more visible in other circles. When Hesiod wrote

καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,

was not the *κεραμεύς* the painter of the time, and the *τέκτων* the sculptor or architect? But wherever it is, the spirit of jealousy and of detraction, of unwillingness to recognize the merits of others, must weaken the vitality of the whole body and lessen the aspiration for progress. A mutual admiration society is at any rate preferable to a mutual detraction society, and in ages of progress men have been encouraged to do great things by the sympathy of their fellows.

There are, however, certain more definite directions in which the spirit of fellowship is needed, and in which our Academy can and should make its influence felt. I should like to be allowed briefly to indicate two or three of them.

In the first place, it is only by co-operation that we can make our influence felt. The progress of knowledge, of education, of culture in the widest sense of the term, is hampered by the dead weight of indifference with which it has to contend. Taking the British public as a whole, there is a solid mass of disbelief in the value of knowledge and of the things of the mind. In spite of the large class of amateurs of culture that the country possesses, people who sympathize with things of beauty and learning without pretending to be professional students of them, the nation has no deep-rooted faith in the necessity for such things. We are predominantly a materially minded people. Consequently literature, art, knowledge, wherever they have not an obvious material value, have to fight everywhere for recognition. Every university has constantly to appeal for local support, and is thankful if it gets even half of what it asked for. Every learned society is in difficulties for want of adequate endowment. Scientific research, archaeological exploration, historical investigation are everywhere held up for want of money. Apart from certain striking and very welcome exceptions, the cause of intellectual progress is mainly financed by the guineas of men who are none too richly endowed with them for themselves. If its value were better understood, there would be less difficulty in persuading politicians to regard it as a worthy object of support from the public purse, and more men of wealth would be willing to choose this as the avenue for the expenditure of their superfluity.

I do not wish to exaggerate the lack of public support. More money has been forthcoming of late for purposes of education and of scientific research, and the atmosphere of the Treasury has been more genial, although on the humanistic side the fruit has not yet ripened. If the national finances were in a more prosperous state, I believe that we might count on a more sympathetic hearing in this quarter than we have had in the past. But it has been uphill work, and one cannot yet say that the average politician, even of those who form the official world, is really cordial and sympathetic in his desire to assist intellectual progress. The same is the case outside. Here and there in the world of commerce and business are men who genuinely and even enthusiastically believe in the things of the mind, and who realize that national efficiency depends in great measure upon national education. I believe that the recognition of this truth is growing, but its victory has not yet come. The nation as a whole has still to be converted.

It is for this purpose that co-operation is especially needed. If all those who believe in the things of the mind would combine and

support one another, they would have a much better chance of making an impression on the nation. Hitherto the individualism which is one of our national characteristics has stood in the way of such combination. The tendency has been for each society to go its own way, without much reference to what other societies were doing; and sometimes in place of indifference there has been jealousy and even hostility. Of late there have been signs of improvement. The existence of a Conjoint Board of Scientific Societies, of a Council for Humanistic Studies, of a Joint Archaeological Committee, are signs of a growing feeling that unity is strength. The Royal Society and our Academy respectively took part in initiating these combinations; and this is one of their most appropriate functions. Containing as they do (or should) the leading representatives of every branch of scientific and humanistic learning, it is their plain duty to support, if they do not initiate, every movement in favour of combined action; to serve as clearing-houses for projects in which more than one branch of learning is concerned; to assist one another, and all societies coming within their respective spheres, to secure that support, whether from the public purse or from private liberality, which is the essential condition of progress. In short, it is their duty to promote the Fellowship of Learning.

A second province in which the Academy has obligations and opportunities is that of International Scholarship. As we know only too well, the Fellowship of Learning which existed in this province up to 1914 has been violently torn asunder. It would serve no good purpose here to recapitulate the unhappy events which have made full co-operation between the scholars of Europe impossible. The question which the Academy had to answer was whether, since full co-operation was impossible, partial co-operation should be fostered in its place. I have no doubt that the Academy was right in deciding that those nations which could work together should do so, and that to defer all combination until everybody could come into it would have been a treason to learning. But I think we have gone into this combination in an inclusive and not an exclusive spirit. We do not regard our new international organization as a fortress of defence against the nations that are at present outside, although we recognize that for a period to which we cannot as yet fix a limit they must remain outside. The union is incomplete because it must be so, not because we wish it so. Meanwhile the combination is valuable, and we trust it will do good work. Nothing could be better than the spirit of cordiality and goodwill that has animated the meetings of the new Union Académique Internationale

that have been held up to the present time; and the Union has embarked on a programme of work which we trust will be a real contribution towards the progress of learning.

During the session which was held at Brussels at the end of May last, several projects were before us, and two in particular were materially advanced. The first of these is for a Corpus of Ancient Vases, the object of which is to place at the disposal of students descriptions and photographs of practically all the vases at present known in public (and, if possible, also in private) collections, omitting only duplicates and quite worthless specimens. Such a Corpus will provide for ancient ceramic art what the compilations of Clarac and Reinach have done for Greek and Roman sculpture. It cannot claim to publish and reproduce every vase exhaustively; nor is this desirable. But it will show the student of any particular branch of ceramics what his material is: what are the shapes of vases, what their technique, what their method of decoration, what the subjects depicted on them. The publication will consist of fascicules issued by the several museums and collections in a common format, with a common classification, and with a common scheme of description and illustration, but with sufficient elasticity to meet local requirements, and with liberty for the employment of any of the chief European languages. In this country I hope it may be possible to make a beginning with the collections in the British Museum, and perhaps some day the Academy will be able to assist with other collections that need financial help.

The other great project is a new Thesaurus of Mediaeval Latin, to supplement, or in fact replace, Ducange. No one who is concerned with mediaeval studies will question the desirability of such a Thesaurus, or will be under any illusion as to the enormous magnitude of the enterprise. It is eminently a task to be undertaken by international co-operation. It will be the work of a generation or more, and it needs for editor some one who will devote his life to it. Meanwhile preparations can be made. At the recent meeting at Brussels it was resolved to limit it in the first place to the period between A.D. 600 and 1050, and each country is asked to prepare schemes for dealing with its own material for that period. A committee has been formed by our Academy, under the chairmanship of Professor Tout; and if we are able to offer any material contribution to the work, it will be due to the enterprise and enthusiasm of one of our Fellows, Professor Lindsay, who has set on foot and already begun the publication of a series of editions of the earliest Latin glossaries. It is hoped that his scheme will be carried through, and also that

volunteers will be forthcoming to collect materials for the Thesaurus itself. A very small expenditure would enable us to establish a central bureau, with a secretary, to which such collections might be sent.

Other projects have been before the Union,—some which do not need universal co-operation, but which will be carried out by the Academies specially interested under the patronage of the Union, such as an edition of the works of Grotius, collections bearing on the customary law of Indonesia, and a catalogue of Greek and Latin alchemical manuscripts. The latter we have been able to assist by putting the editors into relations with Professor and Mrs. Singer, of Oxford, who have made vast collections bearing on the history of mediaeval science. Others have been discussed, but not yet adopted: such are the proposals for supplementary or re-edited volumes of the Corpus of Greek and of Roman Inscriptions, and for a map on a uniform scale of the Roman Empire. But, over and above the work actually done or proposed, the great achievement of the Union is the promotion of intellectual comradeship between the civilized peoples of the world. The Academy may, I think, justly congratulate itself that it has taken part in this manifestation of the reality of the Fellowship of Learning.

A third development of the spirit of fellowship would be the discouragement of exclusiveness and provincialism in matters of learning. No country lives, or has a right to live, to itself. If it has any contribution to make towards the advancement of knowledge, it owes that contribution to the widest circle that it can reach; and the greater the contribution, the wider should be the circle reached, and the greater is the interest that other countries should take in it. The products of ancient Greece, of the Roman Empire, of renaissance Italy, to the progress of humanity do not concern the inhabitants of modern Greece and modern Italy alone: they are part of the heritage of humanity, and all the civilizations which have descended from them have a claim upon them. Any exclusiveness which reduces the number of those who benefit by this inheritance is a sin against civilization, and a renunciation of that which should be a nation's glory—the power of doing a service to humanity.

Unfortunately there is a school of thought which maintains the opposite thesis. It is argued that everything which was ever produced in Greece should remain in Greece, that everything produced in Mesopotamia should remain in Mesopotamia, that everything produced in Little Peddlington should remain in Little Peddlington.

Local patriotism is good, devotion to the parish pump is good, protection of the interests of a country entrusted to our charge is very good; but there are other goods to be taken into account also. Excessive exclusiveness is not even an advantage to the country or locality on whose behalf it is exercised. If all the pictures produced in mediaeval Italy had remained there, not only would the art of the rest of the world be poorer, but Italy would have stood less high in the estimation of the world. How much have not modern Greece and modern Italy owed to the admiration and sympathy aroused in the whole of Europe and America by the services rendered to civilization by those countries in the past, even in a remote past? It has been a loss to England that English art and literature have not been widely known (with a few exceptions) on the continent of Europe. To every country it should be a source of pride that the products of its culture are appreciated and desired beyond its own borders.

This belief in the rights of humanity as a whole is compatible with the fullest respect for the interests of the several localities. It is eminently right and desirable that an ample representation of the past art and history of a country should remain in the country itself. This applies alike to countries in which a national self-consciousness is fully developed and the glories of the national past fully appreciated, and to those in which this consciousness and this knowledge have still to be built up. In Egypt, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, in India,—to name only these countries as pre-eminent examples—the relics of the past should be amply represented, and the inhabitants enabled to learn to the fullest extent what their ancestors have done, and what is the past of which they have got to be worthy. But when full provision has been made for this first call, the claims of civilization as a whole and of the advancement of knowledge remain to be met; and there are ample resources from which to meet them. It is blind obscurantism or parochialism to lock up in Mesopotamia or in Egypt all the remains of the ancient history of these countries; it would do no service to those countries themselves, and it would retard the progress of knowledge in the world at large.

This is the spirit which we have to combat in the countries for which we and other nations have become responsible as the result of recent territorial changes,—and perhaps nearer home also. We have to plead for a more generous appreciation of the Fellowship of Learning, for the realization of the truth that knowledge knows no boundaries. Let each country try, not only to

cultivate its own particular soil for its own particular profit, but to contribute all that it can to the common stock. The quality of such generosity is not strained; it blesseth him that gives and him that takes. Let societies support one another in their endeavours to impress the general public and to secure the resources which they need for their efficiency and progress. Let it be the mark of the liberally-minded scholar that he appreciates the importance of subjects other than his own, and does what he can to secure their prosperity. Let there be no dissipation of the forces of culture in vain controversies among themselves, but let all go forward as one army to overcome the hosts of indifference and materialism. So may we play our part as members of the Fellowship of Learning, and contribute to the realization of the universal victory of knowledge which Bacon saw in his vision.

In order to leave in your ears the sound of a nobler language than my own, let me recall to you one of the great passages in which he sets out the grounds of his confidence in the new birth of time to which he so wistfully looked forward:

'Surely when I set before me the condition of those times, in which learning hath made her third visitation or circuit, in all the qualities thereof; as the excellency and vivacity of the wits of this age; the noble helps and lights which we have by the travails of ancient writers; the art of printing, which communicateth books to men of all fortunes; the openness of the world by navigation, which hath disclosed multitudes of experiments, and a mass of natural history; the leisure wherewith these times abound, not employing men so generally in civil business, as the states of Graecia did in respect of their popularity, and the state of Rome in respect of the greatness of their monarchy; the present disposition of these times at this instant to peace; the consumption of all that ever can be said in controversies of religion, which have so much diverted men from other sciences; the perfection of your Majesty's learning, which as a phoenix may call whole vollies of wits to follow you; and the inseparable propriety of time, which is ever more and more to disclose truth; I cannot but be raised to this persuasion, that this third period of time will far surpass that of the Graecian and Roman learning; only if men will know their own strength and their own weakness both; *and take one from the other light of invention and not fire of contradiction*; and esteem of the inquisition of truth as of an enterprise, and not as a quality or ornament; and employ wit and magnificence to things of worth and excellency, and not to things vulgar and of popular estimation.'

We have not all the favourable symptoms which Bacon enumerates. Our times do not abound with leisure, nor do they at this instant manifest so effective a disposition to peace as we should desire, nor are we blest with the phoenix-like perfection of James I; but at least we can try to take one from another light of invention and not fire of contradiction. Men and societies are what their ideals make them, and the ideal of such a body as our Academy is that 'fraternity in learning and illumination', the hope of which inspired the prophecy of Bacon.

ANNUAL REPORT

SESSION 1920–1

Since the last Annual Meeting the Academy has had to deplore the loss of Sir Charles Lyall, Professor Sanday, Sir John Macdonell, Ordinary Fellows, and Sir Samuel Walker Griffith (late Chief Justice of Australia), Honorary Fellow.

On the Academy Foundations the following lectures were delivered:

Annual Raleigh Lecture: The Hon. John Fortescue, C.V.O., on 'The British Soldier and the Empire'.

Annual Warton Lectures on English Poetry: Professor Grierson on 'Lord Byron: Arnold and Swinburne'; Professor E. de Sélincourt on 'Keats' (on the occasion of the Keats Centenary, February 23, 1921).

The Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology: Mr. H. St. John Thackeray on 'The Septuagint and Jewish Worship'.

Annual Shakespeare Lecture: Mr. John Masefield on 'Shakespeare'.

Annual Lecture on Art: Professor William Rothenstein on 'The Compass and Disabilities of Contemporary Art'.

Annual Master-Mind Lecture: Professor Edmund Gardner on 'Dante'.

Annual Italian Lecture: Professor Foligno on 'Dante: the Poet',

The following papers were read before the Academy during the past Session:

Professor Allen Mawer on 'English Place-Name Study: its present condition and future possibilities':

Professor Yahuda (of the University of Madrid) on 'New light on the Language and Thought of the Pentateuch'.

The following paper was communicated (not read):

'John Dryden and a British Academy': by Professor O. F. Emerson (Western Reserve University, U.S.A.).

Vol. v of *The Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales* has been published. The volume consists of 'Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw from various Collections', edited by Professor F. M. Stenton.

Other publications of the Academy during the past Session are a volume of the Proceedings for 1917–18, and Dr. Cowley's Schweich Lectures on 'The Hittites'.

The Lectures on 'Dante' were arranged with special reference to the Dante Sexcentenary Commemoration, and on the occasion of the

Master-Mind Lecture there was placed before the Meeting, and forthwith published, a work by Dr. Paget Toynbee, F.B.A., prepared for the Academy, entitled 'Britain's Tribute to Dante in Literature and Art, from 1380 to the present day'.

On the same occasion the Serena Medal, 'for eminent services towards the furtherance of the study of Italian History, Literature, Art, and Economics', was awarded to Dr. Paget Toynbee.

The Council, in the name of the Academy, sent an address to the Accademia dei Lincei in honour of the Commemoration. The text of the Address is given at the end of the Report.

The best thanks of the Academy are due to Mrs. Angela Mond for the offer of an additional sum of £500 towards the Annual Italian Lecture, endowed by her anonymously, through the Secretary of the Academy, in 1917, 'in memory of an Italian patriot'.

A Conference on Local War Records, convened by the Academy at the request of the British Editorial Board for the Economic and Social History of the War (Carnegie Endowment), was held at King's College on September 30, 1920, the proceedings being opened by Sir F. G. Kenyon, President of the Academy. The following resolutions, after many addresses and much discussion, were unanimously adopted:

'In the opinion of this Conference, it is necessary that Local Records relating to the war period and other records not the property of the Crown relating to the same period should be examined with a view to selection for preservation; that such documents as are to be preserved should be duly catalogued and classified by Local Societies or Representative Local Committees; and that a Committee be appointed to consider the questions arising from the present Conference and to take such steps as may be deemed necessary for giving effect to this resolution.'

'That this Conference is of opinion that an Annual Conference of Learned Societies would tend to promote the aims and objects of the various societies and the subjects represented by the societies; and that a Committee be appointed to report on the subject to the Council of the British Academy.'

The Committees in question were constituted, independently of the Academy. The Local Records Committee has already done good service in staying the destruction of War Records and in organizing means for their preservation. A report from the Committee on the suggested Conference of Learned Societies will in due course be submitted to the Council.

The Rose Mary Crawshay Prize for English Literature, of the value of £100, was awarded to Miss Jessie L. Weston for her recent

volume on 'From Ritual to Romance'—the last published instalment of studies carried on by Miss Weston for several years past on the legend of the Holy Grail. In making the award the Council had also in view the whole of Miss Weston's valuable and interesting contributions to the study of Mediaeval English Literature.

The Cromer Prize was awarded to Mr. Henry Walker Dobson, St. John's College, Durham, for an Essay on 'Persian Character and Civilization, and their influence on Greece up to the Age of Alexander'.

A grant of £200 was made from the Schweich Fund to the Palestine Exploration Fund, towards the excavations at Ascalon; and the same amount from the Schweich Fund to the Egypt Exploration Society, towards the excavations at Tel-el-Amarna.

In the excavations at Ascalon the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, the foundation of which was largely due to the Academy, will be closely associated with the Palestine Exploration Fund. The British School is now well established, and under the direction of Professor Garstang is doing excellent work.

During the past year, the work of the Encyclopaedia of Islam has been carried on under considerable difficulties, owing to the increase in the cost of paper and the rise in the wages of printers. But a new fasciculus (No. 26) has been completed, and will be issued shortly.

The President and Professor Tout, at the request of the Council, again attended the meetings of the 'International Academic Union' at Brussels. The Academy is co-operating in the consideration of the following projects which have been laid before the Union: (1) a new edition of Ducange's Glossarium; (2) supplementary and revised volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum and Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum; (3) a Forma Imperii Romani; (4) a Catalogue of Greek Vases; (5) a Catalogue of MSS. on Alchemy; (6) a collection of materials bearing on the customary law of Indonesia.

The Council has had under consideration the question of Composition Fee, and proposes, subject to adoption at the Annual General Meeting, that 'the standard compounding fee should be £75, but each Fellow should be entitled to deduct from it 15*s.* for each year of his age and the balance remaining would constitute his life membership subscription'.

As a preliminary measure application has been made to the Privy Council for sanction to amend Bye-law 7 by adding to paragraph (i) the following words: 'provided that the annual subscription may be compounded on such terms as the Council from time to time prescribe.' The addition has been sanctioned.

The Council, impressed by the number of suitable candidates for

whom it has not been possible to find places in recent elections, authorized the President to send a circular to the Fellows inviting their opinion on a proposal to be laid before the next Annual General Meeting to seek power to raise the maximum number of Fellows to 150, with the proviso that not more than 5 places be filled in any one year in addition to vacancies caused by death or retirement, and that the total be not increased beyond 125 without consulting the Fellows afresh.

Of sixty-two replies to his circular received by the President, fifty-seven were in favour of the suggested increase.

Accordingly, the proposal is submitted to the Annual General Meeting.

APPENDIX

Address to the Accademia dei Lincei.

Antiquae et illustri Regiae Lynceorum Academiae
Praeses Sociique Academiae Britannicae
S. D. P.

Cum sexcentesimus vertatur annus ex quo princeps poetarum Italorum mortalis esse desiit, immortalem eius memoriam vos in Italia sua, nos inter iam non penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos pari observantia prosequimur. Neque enim vos fallit, viri doctissimi, Dantis Alagherii nomen in litteras nostras a Chaucero introductum usque ad praesens tempus vinculum amicitiae inter utramque gentem coniunxisse. Cumque eius consortii plurima exempla praesto sint, hoc unum memorare liceat, apud Concilium Constantiense duos fuisse episcopos Anglos qui collegae Italo, Iohanni de Seravalle episcopo Firmano, persuaserint ut Divinam Comoediam Latine redderet commentarioque augeret; cuius in praefatione id auctor affirmat quod nemo est Anglus quin vellet credere, Dantem ipsum in Britanniam pervenisse et Oxoniae studia prosecutum esse. Nec defuerunt exinde Angli qui ad studia Danteana multum contulerint, quorum inter primos citandus Iohannes Foxe siquidem ille editionem principem tractatus de Monarchia Basileae prelo commisit, inter recentissimos non tamen postremos Edwardus Moore, qui omnium Dantis operum emendator accuratus, interpres eruditus, amator constans, nuper nobis vobisque pariter deflendus obiit. Poetarum autem nostratium, ut recentiorum multitudinem transeamus, quis nescit Miltonum Galilei vestri amicum, quis Thomam Gray poetam summi ingenii Britannorumque

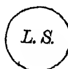
in saeculo suo eruditissimum, Dantis scripta assidue legisse, imitasse, laudasse ? Quis Henricum Cary, utriusque in arte poetica discipulum, Divinam Comoediam tanta gravitate simul et suavitate Anglice reddidisse ut per eum omnibus fere qui lingua Anglica utantur vates Italus innotuerit ? Ceterum quanta sit fuerntque Dantis apud nos observantia plurimis testimoniis probatur quae Pagetus Toynbee collega noster pro suo longo studio grandıque amore (sicut ait poeta) nuper collexit in libro quem hisce litteris adiunximus. Inter nostra quoque numina adscitus est divinus poeta vester, et sollenne hodiernum utrique laeti observamus.

Restat votis precari ut per orbem terrarum haec Dantis celebratio fraternum non modo lıtteratorum sed generis humani augeat consortium, regnumque illud maturet quod ipse praedixit : Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, quo signa surgunt consolationis et pacis. Salutamus antiquitus amicam, nunc sociam, Italiam redemptam et integram, dominam et reginam : cui cum patria virtute victoriam e clade eriperet, Ascanium nostrum pro pignore in aciem praemisimus, cuius arva et aequora sanguine imbuta sunt Italorum Britannorumque iuxta pro libertate dımicantium, cui sicut ait poeta : Longa substiterunt suspıria lacrimarumque diluvia desierunt, et ceu Titan praeoptatus exoriens, nova spes Latio saeculi melioris effulsit. Valete.

Datum Londinii a.d. v. Non. Maias.

F. G. KENYON,
PRESIDENT.

REAY,
W. P. KER,
MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.



I. GOLLANCZ,
SEC. BRIT. ACAD.

ANNUAL REPORT

SESSION 1921–2

SINCE the last Annual General Meeting the Academy has had to deplore the loss of Lord Reay, first President of the Academy, Viscount Bryce, former President, Dr. Henry Jackson, Sir Henry Jones, Ordinary Fellows; Lord Lindley and Professor A. V. Dicey, Retired Fellows; M. Boutroux, Professor Goldziher, M. Cartailhac, and Monseigneur Duchesne, Corresponding Fellows.

On the Academy Foundations the following lectures were delivered:

Annual Raleigh Lecture, by Professor A. F. Pollard, F.B.A., on 'The Elizabethans and the Empire'.

The Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology, by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, F.B.A., on 'The Relations between Arabia and Israel prior to the rise of Islam'.

Annual Philosophical Lecture, by Professor G. F. Stout, F.B.A., on 'The Nature of Universals and Propositions'.

Annual Master-Mind Lecture, by M. Maurice Donnay, on 'Molière'.

Annual Warton Lecture on English Poetry, 'Some Contributions to the English Anthology (with special reference to the seventeenth century)', by Mr. John Drinkwater.

Annual Shakespeare Lecture on 'The Merchant of Venice', by Sir I. Gollancz, F.B.A.

Annual Italian Lecture on 'Some Aspects of the Genius of Boccaccio', by Mr. Edward Hutton.

Annual Lecture on Art, on 'XVIIth Century Sculpture in Italy, in its relation to Classical Art', by Mrs. Eugénie Strong.

The following papers were read or communicated during the past Session:

Mr. Reginald L. Poole, F.B.A., on 'The Beginning of the year in the Middle Ages'.

Dr. Henry Bradley, F.B.A., on 'The Text of Abbo of Fleury's Quaestiones Grammaticales'.

Professor James Tait, F.B.A., on 'The Study of Early Municipal History in England'.

Dr. Charles Singer on 'Leonardo da Vinci as an Anatomist, with special reference to his mediaeval sources'.

The publications of the Academy included 'The Apocalypse', by Archdeacon Charles, F.B.A., and 'The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: a study in Origins', by Dr. St. John Thackeray, in the series of Schweich Lectures; and 'Somerset Essays', by the Very Rev. Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, F.B.A. (under the Raleigh Fund for History).

The Serena Medal was awarded to Professor Edmund Garratt Gardner, Serena Professor in the University of Manchester, Barlow Lecturer on Dante, University College, London.

The Rose Mary Crawshay Prize for English Literature, of the value of £100, was awarded to Miss M. E. Seaton for 'A Study of the Relations between England and Scandinavian countries in the seventeenth century, based upon the evidence of acquaintance in English writers with Scandinavian literatures and myths'.

The Cromer Greek Prize was awarded to Miss Lilian Chandler, M.A. (Sheffield), late Gustav Sachs Student at the British School in Athens, for an Essay on 'Frontiers in Ancient Greece, with special reference to Attica'.

Further grants from the Schweich Fund were voted as follows: £100 to the Egypt Exploration Society for excavation at El Amarna for the year 1922, and £100 for 1923; £100 to the Palestine Exploration Fund for work at Gaza.

The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, under Professor Garstang, is now working in close alliance with the Palestine Exploration Fund in regard to excavation as part of the work of the School. The Treasury has promised to ask parliamentary sanction for an annual grant of £500 for three years to the School, and its prospects are in every way satisfactory.

The Local Records Committee, appointed by the Conference on Local War Records, convened by the Academy, has now discharged the main part of its work in organizing means for the identification and preservation of War Records. A full report will be issued by the British Editorial Board for the Economic and Social History of the War (Carnegie Endowment). This body will be responsible for such Bibliographical work on the subject as may still remain for consideration.

Sir Frederic Kenyon and Professor Stuart Jones, at the request of the Council, attended the annual meeting of the International Academic Union at Brussels. In respect of the projects in which the Academy is specially co-operating they reported as follows:

Fourteen countries were represented at the meeting of the Union Académique Internationale at Brussels on May 25–7. Reports were presented and considered on the following undertakings or proposals which had previously been before the Union:

1. *Corpus of Ancient Vases.*—Progress was reported and specimen plates and descriptions submitted in respect to fasciculi undertaken by France (Louvre and Musée de Compiègne), Belgium, Denmark, and Holland. Specialists have been invited to prepare brochures dealing with the classification of vases in various regions (e. g. Crete, Egypt, Anatolia, Cyprus, Thessaly). A special subvention has been voted by the French Government.

2. *Catalogue of Alchemical MSS.* Progress reported.

3. *Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin.*—After discussion it was agreed that the limits originally proposed should be substantially maintained, viz. from c. A. D. 450 to some point (which might vary in respect of different countries) in the eleventh century; but it was agreed that this should be regarded only as a basis, adopted on grounds of practical expediency, on which any country might proceed to deal with the developments of the language within its own area. Thus America, the Balkan States, and Poland indicated that they were mainly interested in the later Middle Ages; and Professor Tout's report was accepted as showing progress on these lines in England. Professor Lindsay's report of progress with his editions of the early glossaries was received with satisfaction. It was further agreed (*a*) that a General Committee, with technical assessors, and with its seat in Paris, should be appointed as soon as possible, and each Academy was invited to nominate representatives at once, with a view to a meeting at Paris in the autumn; (*b*) to establish a *Bulletin of Mediaeval Latin*, in which materials and communications for the promotion of the Dictionary might be published.

4. *Corpus of Greek and Roman Inscriptions.*—Professor Stuart Jones reported that a new edition of the inscriptions of Roman Britain was projected by the Committee for administering Professor Haverfield's bequest to the University of Oxford, and that the collection of material had begun. M. Homolle presented the first volume of the inscriptions of Algeria, and reported that France would continue the work for the rest of North Africa, and would publish supplements dealing with Gaul. It was agreed that each country should proceed after its own fashion; that these enterprises are not formally under the patronage of the Union; but that the Union expresses its interest in them, and invites reports of progress.

5. *Forma Romani Imperii.*—It was agreed that the project of an

atlas is not immediately realizable, but that each country should do what it can in its own manner, with a view to an eventual general map, which may be under the patronage of the Union. France submitted a map of Tunis and Algeria, and Italy a specimen sheet of an archaeological map of Italy, with brief commentary and photographs. England and Jugo-Slavia reported initial steps which had been taken.

6. *Japanese proposal for mutual communication of documents of historical interest.*—Japan asked for information as to documents relating to Japanese history in the archives of other countries, and offered to supply in return information as to documents relating to western countries in Japanese archives. The proposal was approved.

7. *Phonetic transcription and scheme of transliteration.*—Further proposals will be submitted by Denmark and Holland in the course of the year.

The Union also considered the proposals of the British Academy with regard to the administration of antiquities in territories under mandate or similar form of control. The proposals were generally approved, with slight modifications, and will be circulated after being re-drafted in a French form. Greece made reserves with regard to Asia Minor, and submitted alternative proposals for dealing with this region. These were not accepted, but it was agreed that they should be placed on record. Italy desired to call attention to the importance of mediaeval antiquities, which was approved.

The Academy was represented by Professor R. S. Conway at the commemoration of the seven hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Padua, and by Sir Frederic Kenyon and Professor Stuart Jones at the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Royal Academy of Belgium. The appended addresses were presented.

APPENDIX

Praeses Sociique Academiae Britannicae Regiae Universitatis Studiorum Patavinae Rectori et Professoribus S. D. P.

Perlibenter certiores facti sumus Universitatem vestram, viri doctissimi, abhinc annos septingentos conditam perque fortunae variae vicissitudines feliciter conservatam, saecularia sua septima propediem esse celebraturam. Nosmet ipsi igitur, qui, saeculi huius circa initium, in Academiam centum virorum historiae philologiae philosophiae iurisprudentiae finibus proferendis publice constituti sumus, Universitatem vestram veterem iuris praesertim et medicinae et rerum naturae studiis diu florentissimam non sine reverentia debita salutamus.

Ut patriae nostrae vincula vobiscum antiqua duo saltem in memoriam revocemus, Angliae ex medicis illustrioribus hodie recordamur unum, Thomam Linacre, qui ad litteras Graecas perdiscendas Italiam petivit; ab Aldo Manutio in Academiam Graecam Venetam honoris causa adscriptus est; a vobis ipsis, saeculo decimo quinto exeunte, medicinae doctor summa cum laude creatus est; ad patriam denique rediturus, in transitu montium aram Italiae studiorum suorum matri dedicavit. Recordamur etiam alterum, Willelmum Harvey, qui, Universitatis vestrae cum gaudio maximo, abhinc annos tercentum et viginti medicinae doctor a vobis factus est.

Ut ad recentiora transeamus, abhinc annos triginta patriae nostrae legati acceptissimi Universitati vestrae in 'Tercentenario Galileiano' feliciter celebrando libenter interfuerunt. Hodie vero non minus libenter legatus noster hodiernus, vir maxime idoneus, feriis vestris saecularibus interesse gaudebit, et coram Rege vestro, Britanniae socio coniunctissimo, Academiae nostrae nomine non modo Universitati vestrae sed etiam Italiae toti nobiscum artissime consociatae omnia prospera in posterum exoptabit. Valete.

Datum Londini Kalendis Maiis
MCMXXII.

BALFOUR,
Praeses.

Academiae Nomine Scripsit
J. E. SANDYS,
Unus e Sociis.

I. GOLLANCZ,
Sec. Brit. Acad.

Hanc epistolam Patavium detulit Academiae socius et legatus, Robertus Seymour Conway, apud Mancunienses linguae Latinae Professor.

The British Academy to the Royal Academy of Belgium.

The British Academy offers to the Royal Academy of Belgium its most sincere congratulations on the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation.

Thrice in the course of its history have the activities of the Royal Academy been interrupted by war; but each time it has risen again more vigorous than before, to bear witness to the love of learning with which Belgian scholars are inspired. The present occasion is indeed one of happy auspices. Released from four years of oppression by an invading enemy, the Royal Academy finds itself now the head-quarters of the scholarship of the civilized world; and English scholars join with those of all the continents of the world in paying their homage to their Belgian colleagues.

England has indeed a special right to rejoice in the welfare of Belgium, and to wish it prosperity in the future. England has long been linked with Belgium by ties of friendship and alliance. Often during the last hundred and fifty years have English soldiers stood side by side with Belgian soldiers on the soil of Belgium, and the experience of the four years of trial, 1914–1918, has given to Englishmen an inalienable interest in the soil of the country in which the bodies of so many thousands of their countrymen lie. Henceforward, they trust, the alliance will be one of peace, and the British Academy asks for nothing better than that it may always be associated with the Royal Academy of Belgium in promoting that humane culture which nourishes the love of learning, the love of liberty, the love of honour, on which the welfare of the world depends.

May the Royal Academy of Belgium flourish in peace and prosperity, and may knowledge be multiplied under its leadership and protection.

BALFOUR,
President.

F. G. KENYON,
H. STUART JONES,
Delegates of the Academy.

I. GOLLANCZ,
Sec. Brit. Acad.

ANNUAL REPORT

SESSION 1922–3

Since the last Annual Report was issued the Academy has had to deplore the loss of Sir John Sandys, Sir George Prothero, Professor Rhys Davids, Professor Bosanquet, Dr. Henry Bradley, and Mr. W. L. Newman, Ordinary Fellows; and M. Ribot, Corresponding Fellow.

On the Academy Foundations the following lectures were delivered:

Annual Raleigh Lecture, by Rear-Admiral H. W. Richmond, C.B., on 'National Policy and Naval Strength—XVth to XXth Century'.

The Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology, by Dr. I. Abrahams, on 'Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great'.

Annual Philosophical Lecture, by Professor James Ward, F.B.A., on 'Immanuel Kant'.

Annual Master-Mind Lecture, by Professor W. R. Scott, F.B.A., on 'Adam Smith'.

Annual Warton Lecture on English Poetry, by Professor George Gordon, on 'Shelley'.

Annual Shakespeare Lecture, by Professor Alfred Pollard, C.B., F.B.A., on 'The Foundations of Shakespeare's Texts'.

Annual Italian Lecture, by Mr. Edward Armstrong, F.B.A., on 'Italian Art and History in the XVth Century'.

Annual Lecture on Art (including Music), by Sir Henry Hadow, C.B.E., D.Mus., on 'William Byrd, 1623–1923'.

The following papers were read or communicated during the past Session:

Dr. J. W. Mackail, F.B.A., on 'Ammianus Marcellinus and the Collapse of the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century'.

Dr. E. W. Scripture, on 'The Study of English Speech by new methods of Phonetic Transcription'.

Professor Burkitt, F.B.A., on 'The Syriac Lectionary before 600 A.D.'.

Dr. Paget Toynbee, F.B.A., on 'The Bearing of the *Cursus* on the text of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*'.

At a Meeting of the Academy held at Oxford on Wednesday, February 7th, the following short communications were made:—

Mr. S. Langdon, on 'Newly discovered letters of Hammurabi'.

Sir Arthur Evans, F.B.A., on 'Gold Mycenaean signet rings and bead seals from a royal tomb in Boeotia'.

Dr. D. G. Hogarth, F.B.A., on 'Rostovtzeff's *Iranians and Greeks*'.

Professor J. L. Myres, on 'Causes of break-up of Mycenaean régime in Cyprus'.

Professor Stuart Jones, F.B.A., on 'A Flavian Relief in the Louvre'.

Professor C. H. Turner, F.B.A., on 'The Lexicon of Patristic Greek'.

The Serena Medal was awarded to Dr. Horatio Brown, for contributing to Venetian History, &c.

The Rose Mary Crawshay Prize for English Literature, of the value of £100, was awarded to Miss E. C. Batho for 'A Study of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd'.

A grant of £1,000, to be paid during three years, was voted to the Palestine Exploration Fund for excavations at Ophel.

During the Session the Delegates of the Clarendon Press published in facsimile the Old Testament portion of the Codex Sinaiticus, 'with a description and introduction to the history of the Codex by Kirsopp Lake'. In an introductory note it is stated that the task of completing the reproduction of the Codex 'was made possible by the enterprise and devotion of the editors, and by the munificence of an anonymous benefactor, who in 1913 made a most liberal gift to the British Academy for the purpose'. The donation of £1,000 was made to the Academy through Sir F. G. Kenyon.

Mr. R. L. Poole and Professor T. F. Tout, at the request of the Council, represented the Academy at the International Historical Conference and the annual meeting of the International Academic Union at Brussels. The former took place between 8 and 15 April and the latter followed immediately on 16, 17, and 18 April. They reported as follows:

The International Historical Conference was the first that had assembled since the London Conference, organized by the Academy ten years ago. It was attended by a large and representative gathering of historians from the allied and neutral countries, among those present being three other members of the Academy, Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Professor Holdsworth, and Mr. A. G. Little. A very large number of papers were read and discussed, the number of sections being considerably more numerous than had been the case in London. The social side of the Congress was particularly brilliant.

It included a reception of the delegates at the palace by the King of the Belgians, and a series of well-planned excursions. The Congress owes much of its success to the indefatigable energy of its president, Professor Pirenne, whose cordiality and geniality were inexhaustible. There was much discussion as to the town in which the next congress should be held in 1928, and as regards the participants in it. In view of the considerable differences of opinion existing, it was thought unwise to come to any definite conclusions on either matter. The 'bureau' of the congress was appointed to continue for the period intervening and to take such measures as it thought practicable to determine these two questions within the next three years. It was requested to ascertain the opinions of the historical societies of all countries as to the possibility of securing that the next conference should be as widely representative as in the days before the War. It was given power to add to its number representatives of all countries which had participated in earlier conferences, which had since come into existence, or had not previously taken a part in them. It is to be expected that the postponement of final decisions on these matters until the spring of 1926 will enable a broadly representative character to be given to the congress of 1928.

At the fourth session of the Academic Union Czecho-Slovakia was represented for the first time, and the session was more largely attended than any of its predecessors. Its first work was the approval of statutes drafted in order to give the organization an assured legal status in accordance with Belgian law. Progress was reported with regard to most of the international undertakings to which the Union was already pledged. The appearance of the first fasciculus of the *Corpus of Ancient Vases*, made possible by the energy of M. Pottier and the subvention of the French government, shows that one at least of the Union's undertakings has gone beyond the stage of preparation. In France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark much work has been done on vases which will soon see the light. Unforeseen circumstances delayed the publication of the first instalment of the *Catalogue of Alchemical Manuscripts*, dealing with the manuscripts of the British Islands, under the chief editorship of Mrs. Singer. Of this eleven sheets have already been printed off, and the volume should be published in the course of the year. The other co-operative enterprises are not yet so far advanced as these, but good progress was also reported. The establishment of a central bureau at Paris for the collection and co-ordination of material for the proposed *Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin* up to the eleventh century, raises this colossal and difficult scheme into a

project capable of realization. It is hoped that before the next meeting of the Union there will be published the first number of the *Bulletin Ducange*, destined to contain materials and communications relative to the dictionary, and that the increased publicity thus afforded will stimulate interest in the undertaking and suggest to the national committees in various countries the means of following up the lines suggested by the action of the Académie des Inscriptions. The immediately important thing is now to get the national committees to work. Several new proposals were also brought before the meeting. One of these was the suggestion of the Cracow Academy for an *Iconographia Celtica*. The Union regretted that lack of funds prevented its taking a direct part in this undertaking, but expressed an interest in it and invited reports of progress made. The approval of the Union was accorded to a project of the Greek delegation for a Corpus of ancient mosaics found in Greece. M. Pirenne's period of office having expired, M. Homolle was elected president and Sir Paul Vinogradoff vice-president at the end of the Congress.

REGINALD L. POOLE.
T. F. TOUT.

Sir F. G. Kenyon was present, representing the Academy, at the opening of the new buildings of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York, and read a letter of greeting from the President of the Academy; and Sir I. Gollancz attended the British-American Conference of Professors of English held at Columbia University, as the representative of the Academy.

ENGLISH PLACE-NAME STUDY

ITS PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

By Professor ALLEN MAWER

Read January 26, 1921

1. Introduction.
2. Essential principles as laid down by Professor Skeat.
3. The extent to which these principles are now observed.
4. The weaknesses of place-name study as now carried on :
   (*a*) Working on isolated areas.
   (*b*) Varying and imperfect principles of selection of names for treatment.
   (*c*) In relation to Topography.
   (*d*) In relation to History.
5. Principles for the future suggested by these weaknesses.
6. Advantages to be gained by organized work on these lines.
   (*a*) To Linguistic Studies.
   (*b*) To Historical Studies.
   (*c*) Practical.
7. Examples from other countries.
8. Urgency of the matter.
9. Conclusion.

§ 1. *Introduction.* It is now some twenty years since the scientific study of English place-names may be said to have begun with the publication of the little volume on the place-names of Cambridgeshire written by Professor Skeat for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. In the interval, monographs have been published dealing with the history of nineteen other counties—four by Professor Skeat himself, four by Professor Wyld and his pupils, three by Mr. Duignan, and single volumes by other scholars. The time has perhaps come when we may fittingly take stock of what has been accomplished and in the light of the experience we have gained plan our course for the future.

§ 2. *Essential principles as laid down by Professor Skeat.* In his prefatory remarks in the Cambridgeshire volume, Skeat laid down the cardinal principles upon which all place-name study must be based, viz. (1) that the first step in the process of determining the history of a place-name is to make as wide a collection as possible of the early forms of the name.

(2) The phonetic laws that govern the history of place-names being precisely the same as those that govern the history of other words, the student of place-names must deal with the special problems before him in the light of a thorough knowledge of the history of English sounds from the earliest times to the present day.

§ 3. *The extent to which these principles are now observed.* Recent writers on place-names have, with more or less faithfulness, observed Skeat's first principle, so far at least as old forms can be or have been found, but many forget the principle entirely when they attempt to deal with names for which such forms are not available. Even Skeat himself at times, especially in his more 'popular' book on Hertfordshire place-names, speculates on the history of certain names on the basis of modern evidence alone, when all the rest of his work shows beyond question that, here as elsewhere, 'things are not what they seem', and that it is more than useless to draw inferences from the modern forms unless we have earlier ones by which to check our conclusions. If such names are to be dealt with at all, and for my own part I much doubt if the game is worth the candle, they should be relegated to a separate chapter which might well be headed 'Speculations on the history of certain names'.[1]

The second principle laid down by Skeat has been reinforced and expanded by the work of Professor Wyld and his pupils. Wyld did inestimable service in his *Place-names of Lancashire* by a rigid adherence to this principle, but still more by an extension of it to include a study of the development of the pronunciation of place-names from the earliest times down to the present-day local form. On this side he has made the study of place-names one of living and vital interest to all students of our language. Other writers have at least paid lip-service to the importance of this principle, but unluckily a good many who undertake work on place-names still do so with an entirely inadequate outfit of philological knowledge.

§ 4. *The weaknesses of place-name study as now carried on.*

(*a*) *Working on isolated areas.* At the same time that Skeat lays down these principles which we have been considering, he indicates very clearly the great weakness from which all our place-name study has suffered when he says, 'I find myself at a disadvantage in one respect—the disadvantage is that I have made no wide or extended study of English place-names in general; and it is obvious that in many

[1] What is the value, for example, of the statement, based on the modern form alone, that Rabley, Herts. (Skeat, p. 42) means 'Raba's lea', when an unnoticed fourteenth-century form shows clearly that the word once had not initial *r* but initial *wr* (cf. Charter Rolls, 1317, *Wrobbele*)?

an instance, one place-name is likely to throw light upon another, though the places may be in different counties.'[1] Similarly says Stenton,[2] 'It is never wise to study the place-names of any county in isolation.'

The same names, often in strangely disguised forms, may be found in widely scattered counties. It is no help, as some writers on the subject would seem to imagine, to give a list of similar names compiled with the aid of the Gazetteer. When with infinite labour one has hunted out the earlier forms, the names often cease to be identical, and certainly invalidate any inferences drawn from them.[3] On the other hand, real identity is often hidden under the most strangely divergent forms. The difficult development of Thrislington, co. Durham, from *Thurstanes-tun*, i.e. Thurstan's farm, can be explained a good deal better when we know that the namė is also found in Thurstaston, Chesh., Thurston, Suff., Thrussington, Leics., Thuxton, Norf. Then we can use these various forms in elucidating the phonological development of Thrislington. No Gazetteer will reveal this identity: it can only be discovered when the other forms have been gathered and indexed.

That no trustworthy account of the history of a name can be given until the whole of the relevant comparative evidence has been collected and sifted may be further illustrated from the history of two names.

Wyld and Moorman agree in explaining Hambleton, Lancs. and Yorks., as containing an OE. personal name *Hamela*, whose existence they infer from the OE. form *Hamelandunæ* for Hambledon, Hants. Now this element *Hamble* is found in combination with the suffix *-don* in Hambledon, Hants. and Surr., Hambleton, N.R. Yorks., Hambleton, Rutl., Hambledon Hill, Dors., Hambleden, Bucks., Humbledon Hill, co. Durham, Humbleton Hill, Nthb., Humbleton, co. Durham, and in an unidentified *Hameldun* in the Newminster Cartulary. The only other element with which it is ever compounded

[1] *Place-names of Cambridgeshire*, p 1.

[2] *The Place-names of Berkshire*, p. 39.

[3] A typical example of this defective method is Sedgefield's treatment of Killington, Westm. He says (*s.n.*): 'We may compare Killingbeck, Killinghall, W. R. Yorksh.; Killingholm, Lincs.; Killington, Devon; Chillington, Somerset and Staffs.; and Chillingham, Northld. The first element is clearly a pers. n., and it may be *Cylla, Ceolwine, Cœlin*, or some other.' Now the earliest forms of these names—Killingbeck has not been traced—are D B. *Kilingala, Chelincton, Chelungeholm, Cheneoltone*, Feudal Aids *Cherlington*, D. B. *Cillentone*, Close Roll (1231) *Chevelingham*. It is clear to any one with any knowledge of OE. personal nomenclature that these contain the OE names *Cylla, Cylfa, Cœnwald, Cilla*, or *Ceolla*, and only one of Sedgefield's surmises receives any support.

is -*ton*, and that only in Hambleton, W. R. Yorks., and Hambleton, Lancs. Now, whatever its force may be in the last two names, it is clear that no law of probability will allow that in the other eleven we have the names of hills which chanced to be owned by a man bearing a name whose very existence rests on an inference made from one of them. Examination of the evidence as a whole shows that we have to do, not with a personal name at all, but with an adjective which might fittingly be used to describe the shape of a hill. The story of that adjective is told by the present writer in an article contributed to *Namn og Bygd*.[1]

Duignan [2] explains Featherstone, Staffs., earliest form *Feotherstan*, as containing the rare personal name *Feader* (= Father) and *stan*, hence presumably 'Feader's boundary-stone'. The only other names in *Feather-* of which early forms have been found are Featherstone, Lancs., Yorks., and Nthb. In all these names alike examination of the early forms shows a first element *fether* and a second one *stan*. Now, quite apart from the phonological difficulties involved in making OE. *feader* (= father) always become *fether*, the laws of probability forbid our believing that, on the three occasions when it is supposed to be found, this rare personal name should uniformly be compounded with the comparatively rare suffix *stan*. What the ultimate explanation may be is a difficult question, but it is certainly not that hitherto suggested.

The truth is that no monograph can be written on the place-names of a single county until the evidence for the whole of England has been gathered and classified. Then, with the whole of the evidence before us, we may expect some reasonably certain conclusions. What happens at present is that the author of each monograph is bound to a large extent to interpret difficult names in the light of the narrow evidence of his own county, for, if he wishes to do anything else, he is faced with the superhuman task of collecting and studying the evidence afforded by all the other counties at the same time.[3]

The inevitable feeling of one who is at work on the subject, when he comes across a new monograph, is, on the one hand, how lucky that this has appeared before my work was completed, for the evidence brought to light has saved me from many blunders; on the other, how

[1] 1920 volume. [2] *Place-names of Staffordshire*, p. 60.

[3] The present writer, when working on the place-names of Nthb. and Durham, endeavoured to work through all the material in Birch and Kemble, *Domesday Book*, the *Charter Rolls*, *Feudal Aids*, and the *Index of Charters in the British Museum*. It took many months, and these documents contain a mere fractio of the evidence that needs to be studied.

unfortunate that the writer had not the evidence from my county before him, it would have saved him from many blunders too.

(*b*) *Varying and imperfect principles of selection of names for treatment.* But this is not the end of the trouble. In working at one county, I may, as has been shown, want the history of some name in another county. There is a book on the names of that county, but when I turn to it the name is not there. Why? Because its author is working on no principle—or too narrow a principle of selection—and, short of doing all his collecting over again, it will be difficult for me to secure just the evidence I need for the solution of my problem. We look at times with some reasonable satisfaction at the number of books on the place-names of particular counties now appearing. What we fail to realize is that these books often do not deal with a tithe of the names within their particular area for which old forms can be found, and that the selection is made on no generally accepted principle.

Skeat, as a rule, tried to explain all the names which he found in Kelly's P.O. Directory and considered to be of interest. Study of the minimum of documents mentioned in the note on p. 4 gives in Suffolk alone some hundred names which have not been dealt with. For Sussex, Roberts follows Kelly and Bartholomew's *Gazetteer*, and the same documents reveal some two hundred names omitted. Wyld covers the field more closely in his book on Lancashire, but a comparison of this work with Sephton's book on the same county shows that the former is by no means exhaustive. Baddeley, in collecting his *Place-names of Gloucestershire*, adopted more picturesque methods. His collection was 'formed in the course of country walks, by wick and ridge and wold',[1] and further, he has 'ventured to take the view that vanished names are of almost equal importance with those which have remained in use'.[2] We have an excellent book as a result, but it is by no means exhaustive. Goodall endeavours to cover the ground more completely in his *Place-names of South-West Yorkshire*, but unfortunately does not confine himself to those names for which early forms can be found.

One of the most serious results of these defective methods of selection is seen in the treatment of river-names, which by some writers are almost entirely neglected. The consequences are unfortunate, as will be shown later.

We must have a complete survey. The fact that a name appears in Kelly or Bartholomew, or even on the 6-in. Ordnance Map, is no criterion of its value to the serious student. The only limitation upon the names dealt with should be the absence of early forms, and,

[1] Introduction, p. viii. [2] ib., p. xl.

if we must fix a working limit of date, it will be found, with very few exceptions, that no satisfactory work can be done on names for which we have not forms earlier than 1500.

(c) *In relation to Topography.* But there is another direction in which our place-name study needs co-ordinating and directing. Next to Dr. Skeat no one has done more for the study than Professor Wyld. In his *Place-names of Lancashire* he did invaluable work in tracing and solving many of the phonological problems which have to be faced in the study of place-names, and his example and direct inspiration have been fertile in suggesting lines of work to his own immediate pupils and others. While recognizing all this to the fullest extent, the present writer at least holds that a false direction is given to these studies in such a statement as the following: 'It may be stated at once that place-names are here considered as elements of language, and their development as a purely linguistic problem. The work . . . is not concerned with the question whether the names fit the places to which they are attached, nor whether they ever did so.'[1] His pupil Walker writes in similar strain. 'In the present work the subject has been approached solely from the linguistic point of view. It may be assumed that the historian, archaeologist, and topographer will disagree with many of my conclusions. They will doubtless possess information which I do not. Be that as it may, the explanation of place-names can only be attempted in the first instance by the trained philologist. The historian may supplement his work afterwards.'[2]

These statements seem to me to involve a serious defect of principle. In the study of one place-name after another you are, as a philologist, faced with more than one possible interpretation, and yet what is phonologically possible may be absolutely ruled out on topographical grounds. Why may you not allow topography then and there to settle the point? Linshields (earlier *Lyndescle*) on the Coquet in Nthb. may, from the phonological point of view, be either 'lime-tree shiels' or 'shiels by the lynn or pool' (with epenthetic *d*). When there is a *lynn* there and no lime-tree could possibly stand the climate, why not make the only possible choice and at the same time give your work a fair chance with the intelligent reader who happens to possess local knowledge? Many men of sound scholarly instincts look askance at the whole study of place-names when they find books on the subject full of explanations that contradict easily recognized topographical facts.

Further, those who work from a purely philological point of view often invent entirely unnecessary and misleading forms from sheer

[1] Preface, p. viii. [2] *Place-names of Derbyshire*, p. 1.

neglect of topographical evidence. Ekblom suggests for Liddington, Wilts.,[1] a hypothetical patronymic *Lyda*. In an Anglo-Saxon list of boundaries dealing with this district[2] we find mention of a river *Hlydan*, clearly the name of the stream on which Liddington stands and forming the first element in that name. Cockersand and Cockerham in Lancashire stand on a river Cocker. Wyld[3] suggests that the first element is the genitive of a hypothetical Norse name *Kókr*, but why not 'sands and homestead by the Cocker'? There is a river Cocker in Cumberland on which stands Cockermouth, and a Cocker Beck in co. Durham on which stands Cockerton. That all these cannot be back-formations is proved by the tenth-century form *Cocur* for the Cumberland Cocker.[4]

Many names of towns and villages are river-names unchanged, as Dr. Bradley[5] has shown; still more contain river-names as their first element, often in disguised forms.

Why be sceptical about the explanation of Mitton, Lancs., as 'farm at the *mythe* or juncture of two rivers',[6] when this place stands at the juncture of the Ribble and Hodder, and the only other places similarly named stand in every case at such a juncture, viz. Mitton, Staffs., of Severn and Stour; Warw., of Avon and Leam; Worc., of Avon and Carrant; Mytton, Salop, of Severn and Perry; Myton, Yorks., of Swale and Ure?

All this goes to show that the conclusions of the philologist must in every case be checked by the evidence of topography derived from maps, from first-hand knowledge, or from special inquiry. The whole science will be brought into disrepute if those who deal with it deliberately shut their eyes to evidence of this kind.

(*d*) *In relation to History*. There is still the question of the relation of the students of place-names to the historian. On this point Wyld writes: 'No attempt has been made to attack any problems of an historical, political, or racial character. No conclusions are drawn as to the wanderings or distribution of races, as to the identity of the holders of the personal names which in a large number of cases are built into the structure of local nomenclature, or as to the size of the various manors and their dependencies. These questions, and many others allied to them, must be left to those scholars whose inclination, or better still, whose training, leads them into these fields

[1] *Place-names of Wiltshire*, p. 114.
[2] Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 479.
[3] *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 97.
[4] *Place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 36.
[5] *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. i, p. 32.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

of research. It is possible that the facts here brought together may be of some service to those special students in their domains.'[1] Now all this is to the good in so far as it is a protest against much idle speculation on historical and cultural problems by philologists not endowed with the scientific knowledge needed in these particular studies, but if this limitation leads to explanations of place-names which are in direct contradiction of historical fact our studies will lose their value and fall into disrepute as much on this account as for a neglect of topography.

From the purely philological point of view it may be satisfactory to explain Hamsey, Sussex, as 'OE. *hammes ea*, stream bordering the enclosure', or '*hammes eg*, island or marshy land in the bend of a river', on the basis of a form *Hammes Say* dated 1321,[2] but when reference to the document itself shows that the manor was then in possession of Geoffrey de Say,[3] these explanations cease to be of value.

For Rackham in the same county, Roberts assumes as the first element a personal name *Raca*, a shortened form of a personal name *Raculf* inferred from *Raculf* and *Raculfcestre*, the AS. forms of Reculver, Kent.[4] Study of Roman Britain would have shown that *Raculf* is not a personal name at all, but an anglicizing of the Romano-Celtic place-name *Regulbium*.

Whalley, Lancs., is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 798, in the form *Hweallæg*. The manuscript may be of the twelfth century, but there is no reason to think that the name is an invention, and if it existed in the eighth century, Wyld's suggestion of ON. *hváll* as the first element is impossible, for historical considerations do not admit of Scandinavian influence at that date.

The truth is that the student of place-names must not be a mere collector of forms on which to exercise his philological skill. The documents from which he derives them are after all *historical* documents and he must read these documents with intelligence, gathering from them whatever sidelights history may throw upon the problem of the ultimate meaning of the names with which he deals. On the other hand, he will certainly be wise not to tackle the larger problems indicated by Wyld, whether they be historical, archaeological, or ethnological, unless he secures the help and co-operation of those who are experts in these problems. When this is done, books on place-name study will at once become more accurate and scientific in their interpretation of individual names, and of real value to those who are

[1] Preface, p. viii.
[2] *Place-names of Sussex*, p. 78.
[3] Cf. *Feudal Aids*, s. a. 1284, and *Inquisitions Post Mortem*, s. a. 1296.
[4] Ib., p. 202.

interested in the wider and more general problems involved in the history of place-names.

§ 5. *Principles for the future study of place-names suggested by the foregoing weaknesses.* Such is the present condition of place-name study. What are the future possibilities? From a consideration of what has already been said it would seem that the whole future of place-name study depends on our recognition of four main principles :—

(1) That the place-names of a single area (county or whatever it may be) can only be explained in satisfactory fashion when the material for the whole of England is available in ordered form.

(2) That no haphazard restriction should be put on the material collected. The more the material, if it is good material, the better the final results.

(3) That the interpretation of the material is, in the first instance, the work of the philologist, but his results must be checked and interpreted in the light of all available topographical and historical evidence.

(4) That for the fulfilment of (3) and for inferences of a general character involving questions of topography, history, archaeology, and ethnology the writer on place-names must secure the active help and co-operation of those possessing the requisite local knowledge, and still more of those who have had the particular scientific training which alone qualifies them to speak with authority upon points outside the domain of the philologists.

Now, it is quite clear that if these principles are to be followed the investigations of the history of place-names cannot be left to a few scholars working in isolation, but must be pursued under the authority and with the aid of some learned society. No society is so competent to take up the work as the British Academy, and I would most respectfully urge it as a first step to appoint a committee of inquiry to consider the whole matter and see what can be done.

§ 6. *Advantages to be gained by organized work on these lines.* And here the question may well be raised, 'What, apart from the value for its own sake of any increase of knowledge, are the advantages to be gained by the promotion of the particular studies for which I am appealing?' They would seem to be threefold :—

(*a*) *To Linguistic Studies.* Material will be provided for the solution of many of our most difficult and important linguistic problems. One such problem is that of the classification and distribution of the Old and Middle English dialects. What may be done in this domain is shown by the brilliant work of Professor Wyld on the development of OE. *y* in the ME. dialects, based entirely upon

the evidence of place-name forms.[1] Other points also may be settled by evidence of this kind, such as the dialectal distribution of various phonological features of ME. and even of OE., and the general chronology of English sound-changes. Another problem of a different kind is that of the local distribution of certain elements in common use in the formation of place-names, e. g. *dene* (OE. *denu*, valley), hale (OE. *healh*, nook, corner), *low* and *law* (OE. *hlaw*), or the difficult *dray* —found in the numerous Draytons and Draycotes.[2] Or, on the morphological side, another problem arises in connexion with the survival of inflexional *n* in the ME. dialects as illustrated by the development of OE. *æt þǣm nīwan tūne* or *hām(e)*, in the various Newingtons, Newntons, Nauntons, Newenhams, Newnhams or Nunehams in contrast to the Newtons and Newhams of other districts.[3]

(*b*) *To Historical Studies.* Many vexed problems of history will be solved. The story of Anglo-Saxon Britain will never be told aright without the help of place-name study. Numerous place-names mentioned in the Chronicle and other documents, often associated with important events, remain unidentified. With the aid of later ME. forms, many of these places will be identified and, it may be added, a good many traditional identifications will be abandoned. What may be done in this direction by work on charters is shown in the work of Napier and Stevenson on the *Crawford Charters*, while Stevenson's edition of Asser's *Life of Alfred* shows how much can be done with another type of document by one who is both philologist and historian.

New light will be thrown on historical and archaeological problems of a wider character. With organized work it will be possible to secure the assistance of Celtic specialists who shall deal with the problems raised by the non-Teutonic names in England. Writers on place-names at present are, as a rule, specialists in Germanic philology, and do not dare to handle the Celtic names which fall within their province. When these names are really tackled, much light may be thrown on the dark history of pre-Saxon Britain. Further,

[1] *Englische Studien*, 1913 and 1914.

[2] A preliminary study of these questions, based on the evidence of the documents mentioned above, shows, for example, the following results: *dene*, unknown in the group Cheshire, Staffs., Salop; *hale*, of very doubtful occurrence in the group Dev., Dorset, Somerset; *law* and *low* unknown in Dev., Dors., Som., Hants, Surrey, I. of Wt., Kent, also in Herts, Hants, Nf., Hunts., as well as Cum. and Westm.; *dray-* unknown in the six northern counties.

[3] The area of distribution is fairly definitely marked. It includes Northants, Beds., Cambs, Herts, Ess, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Isle of Wight, Devon, Wilts., Glouc., Warw., Worc., Oxf.

we need the co-operation of specialists in the Scandinavian dialects and in Anglo-French; and here a word of tribute must be paid to the great work already done in these matters by such scholars as Björkman in his work on ME. names of Scandinavian origin, and by Zachrisson on Anglo-French influence in our place-nomenclature.

Place-name study will, moreover, add to our knowledge of the racial divisions of our Teutonic forefathers and the history of their settlements. One fruitful line of work would be a study of the distribution of certain types of place-name which must be associated with the actual manner of carrying out the original settlement, e.g. *hampstead*, *hampton*, *ham*, *ing* (OE. *ingas*, pl. patronymic), *ton*.[1] Problems of social history may be illustrated from the distribution of such names as *Charlton*[2] and other compounds in *Charl-* (from OE. *ceorla* = of the churls) and *Hardwick*.[3]

(*c*) *Practical.* Great practical service will be done to the nation if, as I hope may be the case, this work is ultimately taken up in close co-operation with representatives of the public services, more especially of the Ordnance Survey. Our place-names are being sorely mishandled by would-be educationists aiming at a false standard of correctness, by railway officials hunting for the picturesque, by map-makers who are skilled surveyors but men of no scientific understanding in this particular matter.

§ 7. *Examples from other countries.* Finally, I would urge two practical considerations:—(1) that any committee taking the task in hand will not be venturing on entirely new or unexplored lines of work; (2) that the problem is an urgent one, which brooks no delay.

With reference to the first consideration, we have before us the example of the three Scandinavian kingdoms. Let me attempt in a few words to sketch what has been done there.

In Norway organized work was first begun in 1896. Material for the work lay to hand in the evidence gathered by a commission appointed in 1878 to draw up a new Land Register. This commission

[1] *Hampstead* seems to be confined to Nf., Ess., Herts., Mx., Beds., Berks., Bucks., Glouc., Suss., I. of Wt., Dev.; *Hampton* to Wilts. (9), Som. (5), Dors. (6), Devon (3), Hants (9), Oxf. (6), Glouc. (8), Worc. (5), Warw. (4), Heref. (4), Salop (2), Berks. (1), Bucks. (1), and (doubtful) Norf. (1); *ham* is very common in Cambs., Ess., Nf., Sf., Kent, Surr., Suss., Mx., equally uncommon in the West and West Midlands. There the most common suffix is *ton*, though this is, of course, fairly common everywhere. *ing* names are specially common in Ess., Kent, and Surr.

[2] Not found in Nf., Suff., Ess., Mx., Cambs., Northts.

[3] Confined to Glouc., Oxf., Bucks., Leics., Derby, Lincs., Norf., Cambs., Northts., Notts., Yorks., Durham.

consisted of Professors Sophus Bugge and Olaf Rygh, and Provost Johan Fritzner. Their instructions had been to secure correct forms for the entries in that register by collecting and sifting all the evidence past and present, written and oral, which would throw light upon local names. When the register was completed, Rygh saw what an opportunity the material they had gathered offered for a scientific study of the history of Norwegian place-names, and in 1896, he, in collaboration with others, presented a scheme for such a study to the Storthing. The co-operation of the Church Department was secured, and, with the aid of a grant from the State, work was forthwith begun. According to the plan, the whole work was to be issued in a series of separate volumes, each self-contained and dealing with a single *amt* or province, or, in the case of the larger provinces, with subdivisions of them. A general introduction of a provisional kind, planned to avoid much needless repetition, was issued in 1898; some nineteen volumes have successively appeared and the task is almost accomplished. Rygh planned a general introduction to accompany the completed work, which should treat the question of Norwegian place-names as a whole in the light of the exhaustive work done on the separate provinces. He did not live to write this, or even to complete his work as editor of the separate volumes. These fell after his death to his brother Karl Rygh, to Dr. A. Kjær, and to Professors Hjalmar Falk and Magnus Olsen. The work is throughout scholarly and yet popular in its treatment and, I may add, in price. A charge of three to four kroners for each volume has placed it within reach of that ever numerous body of layfolk who are curious about the meaning of the names of the places about them.[1]

The example of Norway had its effect on Sweden, where some preliminary spade-work was done between 1896 and 1901, largely by Professor Noreen and Professor Hildebrand. In 1901 a committee of inquiry was appointed by Royal authority, and it was asked in 1902 to prepare a scheme of inquiry into the names of the towns, villages, farms, and of the more important hills, larger woods, lakes, &c., of some one province, and present it to the king with a statement of the probable cost of carrying it into effect. The scheme was prepared, royal approval was given, and a grant in aid made by the State in 1905. The work was planned on a more extensive scale than that which had been attempted in Norway, and progress has been slower, but the greater part of the volumes dealing with Alvsborg province have appeared, and work on other provinces is well under way. The

[1] Cf. *Norske Gaardnavne*, Forord og Indledning af O. Rygh, Kristiania, 1898.

cost of the work has been met (1) by State aid, (2) by grants from the provincial governments, (3) by the generosity of private donors, notably of the authoress Selma Lagerlöf, (4) by the public-spirited action of the publishing house of Ljus in undertaking to issue the work at a price which brings it well within reach of the general public.[1]

Denmark was last in the field. In 1910 the chief of the topographical section of the General Staff, together with Dr. Axel Olrik and Professor Verner Dahlerup, invited a small group of scholars and public officials to consider the possibility of an inquiry into the history of Danish place-names. From the first, stress was laid on the practical as well as on the linguistic and historico-archaeological importance of such studies, and when the committee determined to approach the departments of Religion and Education, they asked them to secure the support of representatives of other interested ministries. In the summer of 1910 the Ministry of Education appointed a committee to deal with the matter. It included the Chief of the Geological Survey, several distinguished philologists, historians, and folklorists, together with representatives of the Ministries of War, Marine, Traffic, Agriculture, and Education. Under their auspices and with the aid of grants from the State, work has begun in earnest, much of the necessary material has been gathered and classified, and the budget of 1919–20 includes a grant of 2000 kr. for the printing of the first volume dealing with the place-names of Samsø.[2]

What has been done in the Scandinavian kingdoms should serve as an example and encouragement to us in England, though the lines upon which we may profitably work will not necessarily prove to be identical with theirs. We have at least one great advantage over these countries in that we possess an incomparably greater wealth of early material. There is nothing in any of these countries to compare with our Saxon Charters or our Domesday Book, either in age or extent, and this superiority is amply maintained throughout the twelfth century, and to a large extent in the thirteenth and fourteenth.

§ 8. *Urgency of the matter.* With reference to the urgency of the matter, I would lay stress upon two points. First, that much of the material which is essential to the right solution of the problems involved will soon be lost beyond recovery. Local forms and, above all, local pronunciations are often of paramount importance to the investigator of place-names. Unluckily one of the drawbacks of

[1] Cf. Noreen, *Spridda Studier*, 3rd Series.

[2] Cf. *Namn og Bygd*, 1913, pp. 28 ff.; 1919, pp. 69 ff.

universal education is that the written word is becoming all-powerful. Spellings and, still worse, spelling pronunciations derived from book and map forms are ousting the traditional ones, the only ones that are of real value to the philologist in his task. Book and map forms are, again and again, the creations of men either without local knowledge or with their own preconceived notions as to what a name should be, when we are concerned with what it actually is.

Further, the time and talents of many excellent scholars are being wasted because we have taken no steps to provide them with the material that they so sorely need. The longer we allow this to go on the greater will be the accumulation of wasted labour. There is much genuine enthusiasm for the subject. Why let it run to waste for lack of proper direction?

§ 9. *Conclusion.* Such direction cannot be given by any single scholar, however great his industry, learning, or reputation. It can only come from some learned body of men speaking with authority. Might I therefore once again most respectfully but most earnestly urge this Academy to consider whether it should not itself take these studies under its guidance and care?

JOHN DRYDEN AND A BRITISH ACADEMY

By Professor O. F. EMERSON
(Western Reserve University, U.S.A.)

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The chartering of a British Academy in 1902 lends added interest to preceding suggestions of founding such an institution. One of these has already been presented in the excellent account by Miss Edith M. Portal of the *Academ Roial of King James I*, as detailed in the *Proceedings* of 1915–16.[1] This attempt of Edmund Bolton to found a British Academy in 1614 was under the influence of the continental Academies, especially those of Italy, although he might have followed, had he known of it, the example of a great Englishman in a long past age. The first French Academy was established by the English Alcuin (Alcwine), whom Charlemagne had called to France in 782 in order to supervise reforms in Education.

After the establishment of the French Academy in 1635 it was natural, especially considering the strong French influence upon England during the reigns of the Charles Stuarts, that an Academy for England should have been proposed. It is even said that, in the very year of the French Academy's founding, a somewhat similar institution was suggested, a Minerva's Museum under the patronage of Charles I, but the suggestion came to nothing. By far the most important of these proposals for a British Academy in the seventeenth century is connected with a far greater name in English literary annals than that of Edmund Bolton, although the connexion has never been made as clear as might have been done. Thus, the first proposal in the second half of the seventeenth century has always been associated with the appointment of a committee by the Royal Society in 1664,

[1] Compare *Archaeologia*, xxxii, 148, for an earlier discussion of that attempt. For a general treatment of the whole subject, see 'An English Academy' by B. S. Monroe in *Modern Philology*, viii, 107, and for a still earlier brief consideration the writer's *History of the English Language*, pp. 90–93. See also Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ii, 337; Flugel, *Anglia*, xxxii, 261.

while another, sometimes placed in the same decade, has been attributed exclusively to the Earl of Roscommon. Unquestionably the first, and probably the second as I shall hope to show, is to be more directly attributed to one of the greatest men in the English literature of the period, the poet, dramatist, miscellaneous essayist John Dryden.

To deal with the first proposal, a lack of regard for chronological sequence has obscured the importance of Dryden's suggestion of a British Academy in the *Dedication* of the *Rival Ladies*. Writing of the language of the play, in which he questions with becoming modesty whether he has been as careful as he ought, he says:

I am sorry that, speaking so noble a language as we do, we have not a more certain Measure of it, as they have in France: where they have an 'Academy' erected for that purpose, and endowed with large privileges by the present King.

Now the *Rival Ladies*, probably produced in the latter part of 1663, was 'entered on the Stationers' Books June 5, 1664' (Malone in *Prose Works of Dryden*, i, 57), and doubtless published shortly thereafter. As Malone points out, it was not usual to publish plays until they 'had run their course on the stage'. The entry on the Stationers' Books, with the accompanying proposal of Dryden in the Dedication, antedated the appointment of the Royal Society's committee on the improvement of English by almost exactly six months, and the actual issue of the play and Dedication by several months at least. The Royal Society's move in the matter did not occur until December 7, 1664.

Dryden had been made a member of the Royal Society as early as November 26, 1662, the year of receiving its royal charter. It may be, therefore, that he was the first to mention, in conversation with his fellow members, the idea of a British Academy. At least the language of the Society's vote, considering Dryden's advocacy already published, may indicate that Dryden was partly in mind in appointing the committee. The vote of the Society reads:

It being suggested that there were persons of the Society whose genius was very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue, and particularly for philosophical purposes, it was voted that there should be a committee for improving the English language; and that they meet at Sir Peter Wyche's lodgings in Grays-Inn once or twice a month, and give an account of their proceedings when called upon. The persons following, or any three or more of them, were nominated to constitute the committee: Mr. Aershire, Sir Robert Atkins, Mr. Austen, Sir John Birkenhead, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Crowne, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Ellise, Mr. Evelyn, Sir John Finch, Mr. Godolphin,

Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Hoskins, Mr. Neile, Sir Thomas Notte, Mr. Sprat, Mr. Southwell, Sir Samuel Tuke, Mr. Waller, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Matthew Wren. It was ordered that this committee at their first meeting choose a chairman out of their number.—Birch's *History of the Royal Society*, i, 499.

Although not specifically made a member of the committee by this record, Sir Peter Wyche was made chairman, the committee thus consisting of twenty-two members, not twenty-one as sometimes stated.

As will be seen the committee included, besides Dryden, only the poet Waller of those who would now be considered as having the 'genius' 'very proper and inclined' to the subject of the vote. But Waller, as we know from his own statement some years later, was not active in the Royal Society at any time. In 1682 he was in arrears for his annual dues, and when called upon pleaded that 'he, being perpetually in parliament, had never been able to attend the Society, either to serve them or receive any advantage thereby'. The record is in Birch, vol. iv, p. 130, and in confirmation we have the testimony of Clarendon that Waller was 'nursed in parliaments', his membership having begun as early as 1621, when he was only sixteen years of age.

On the other hand Dryden, who had already publicly suggested a British Academy after the French model, was through life an avowed believer in improving English by some such means. Besides, Dryden was in other respects strongly under French influence. He had written the *Rival Ladies* in rimed verse, and vigorously defended rime in the dedication. He had already collaborated with Sir Robert Howard in producing the *Indian Queen* in the same form, and he was almost immediately to enter the controversy which produced his famous *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (written in part in 1665), and his *Defence of the Essay* (1668). In any case, to Dryden alone belongs the first public advocacy of an Academy for England, after that of France had taken up its labours. Indeed, the first public advocacy in the seventeenth century one may say, since Richard Carew's suggestion of 1605 was in a private letter, and Bolton's elaborate proposal was not actually published until long after Dryden's day, that is in *Archaeologia*, xxxii, 124, December 17, 1846.

How far at this time Dryden had thought out the work of a British Academy is not clear. Later he twice mentioned a dictionary and a grammar as essential, and twice a *prosodia*, on which he is known to have made some progress as a favourite study, although nothing was ever published. From another member of the Royal Society's

committee we have a more extended record of what he thought a British Academy should undertake. John Evelyn, in a letter to the chairman Sir Peter Wyche (June 20, 1665), makes an even dozen suggestions for such an institution. From the letter we learn that the meetings of the committee had been appointed for Tuesday afternoons, and that, on account of his duties as government Commissioner for Kent in charge of the sick and prisoners in the Dutch War, Evelyn could not meet with his fellow members. On this account, 'to save the imputation of being unwilling to labour', he sends what he calls 'these indigested thoughts' the importance of which deserves statement in his own words:

I conceive the reason both of additions to, and the corruption of the English Language, as of most other tongues, has proceeded from the same causes; namely, from Victories, Plantations, Frontieres, Staples of Com'erce, pedantry of Schooles, Affectation of Travellers, Translations, Fancy and style of Court, Vernility & mincing of Citizens, Pulpits, Political Remonstrances, Theaters, Shopps, &c.

The parts affected with it we find to be the Accent, Analogy, direct Interpretation, Tropes, Phrases, and the like.

1. I would therefore humbly propose that there might first be compil'd a Gram'ar for the Præcepts; which (as did the Romans, when Crates transferr'd the art to that city, follow'd by Diomedes, Priscianus and others who undertooke it) might onely insist on the Rules, the sole meanes to render it a learned, & learnable tongue.

2. That with this a more certaine Orthography were introduc'd, as by leaving out superfluous lettres, &c.: such as *o* in Woomen, People; *u* in Honour; *a* in Reproach, *ugh* in Though, &c.

3. That there might be invented some new Periods and Accents, besides such as our Gram'arians & Critics use, to assist, inspirit, and modifie the Pronunciation of Sentences, & to stand as markes beforehand how the voice & tone is to be govern'd; as in reciting of Playes, reading of Verses, &c. for the varying the tone of the voyce, and affections, &c.

4. To this might follow a Lexicon or Collection of all the pure English-Words by themselves; then those which are derivative from others, with their prime, certaine and natural signification; then, the symbolical: so as no innovation might be us'd or favour'd; at least 'till there should arise some necessity of providing a new Edition, & of amplifying the old upon mature advice.

5. That in order to this, some were appointed to collect all the technical Words; especially those of the more generous employments: as the Author of the 'Essaies des Merveilles de la Nature, et des plus nobles Artifices' has done for the French; Francis Junius and others have endeavour'd for the Latine: but this must be gleaned from Shops, not Bookes; and has ben of late attempted by Mr. Moxon.

6. That thinges difficult to be translated or express'd, and such as

are as it were incom'mensurable one to another; as determinations of Weights and Measures; Coines, Honors, National Habits, Armes, Dishes, Drinkes, Municipal Constitutions of Courts; old and abrogated Costomes, &c. were better interpreted than as yet we find them in Dictionaries, Glossaries, & noted in the Lexicon.

7. That a full Catalogue of exotic Words, such as are daily minted by our *Logodædali*, were exhibited, and that it were resolved on what should be sufficient to render them currant, *ut Civitate domentur*; since without restraining that same *indomitam novandi verba licentiam*, it will in time quite disguise the Language. There are some elegant words introduc'd by Physitians chiefely and Philosophers, worthy to be retained; others, it may be fitter to be abrogated; since there ought to be a law, as well as a liberty in this particular. And in this choyce, there would be some reguard had to the well sounding, and more harmonious words, and such as are numerous, and apt to fall gracefully into their cadences and periods, and so reccom'end themselves at the very first sight as it were; others, which (like false stones) will never shine, in whatever light they are placed; but embase the rest. And here I note, that such as have lived long in Universities doe greately affect words and expressions no where in use besides, as may be observed in Cleaveland's Poems for Cambridg: and there are also some Oxford words us'd by others, as I might instance in severall.

8. Previous to this it would be inquir'd what particular Dialects, Idiomes and Proverbs were in use in every several Country [County] of England; for the Words of the present age being properly the *Vernacula*, or Classic rather, special reguard is to be had of them, and this consideration admits of infinite improvements.

9. And happly it were not amisse, that we had a Collection of the most quaint and Courtly expressions, by way of *Florilegium*, or Phrases distinct from the Proverbs: for we are infinitely defective as to civil addresses, excuses & formes upon suddaine and unpremeditated (though ordinary) encounters: in which the French, Italian & Spanyards have a kind of natural grace & talent, which furnishes the conversation, and renders it very agreeable: here may come in Synonimes, Homoinymes, &c.

10. And since there is likewise a manifest rotation and circling of Words, which goe in & out like the mode & fashion; Bookes would be consulted for the reduction of some of the old layd-aside words and expressions had formerly *in delicijs*; for our Language is in some places sterile and barren, by reason of this depopulation, as I may call it; and therefore such places should be new cultivated, and enrich'd either with the former (if significant) or some other: For example, we have hardly any words that do so fully expresse the French *clinquant, naiveté, ennuy, bizarre, concert, façoniere, chicaneries, consummé, emotion, defer, effort, chocq, entours, débouche*; or the Italian *vaghezza, garbato, svelto*, &c. Let us therefore (as the Romans did the Greeke), make as many of these do homage as are like to prove good citizens.

11. Something might likewise be well translated out of the best

Orators & Poets, Greek and Latin, and even out of the Moderne Languages; that so some judgement might be made concerning the Elegancy of the style, and so a laudable & unaffected imitation of the best be reco'mended to Writers.

12. Finaly, There must be a stock of reputation gain'd by some publiq Writings and Compositions of the Members of this Assembly, that so others may not thinke it dishonor to come under the test, or accept them for judges and approbators: And if the designe were arriv'd so far, I conceive a very small matter would dispatch the art of Rhetoric, which the French propos'd as one of the first things they reco'mended to their late Academitians.

These suggestions of the far-seeing Evelyn are wonderfully like a foretaste of the *New English Dictionary*, the *English Dialect Dictionary*, and other modern works of reference.

As is well known, the project of the Royal Society fell through. Various things, some quite extraordinary in themselves, account for this, and are indicated in part by another passage from Evelyn. In a letter to Pepys (August 12, 1689), Evelyn says of the committee's undertaking:

But by the death of the incomparable Mr. Cowley, distance and inconvenience of the place [that is, of the committee's meetings], the contagion and other circumstances intervening, it crumbled away and came to nothing.

Evelyn was writing, it will be seen, almost a quarter century after the Royal Society's committee had been appointed, and he puts together without chronological sequence several reasons for the project's failure. The 'distance and inconvenience of the place' of meeting, Gray's Inn the lodging of Sir Peter Wyche the chairman, may have been a minor reason for the committee's inactivity in the winter of 1664–5. Yet more important must be counted 'the contagion', or Great Plague, which broke out in the very month of the committee's appointment, December 1664, and caused a general derangement of London life in the early part of 1665. The theatres were closed in May and remained closed for more than a year and a half. The Court, and all who could get away, retired to the country. Milton spent the summer at Chalfont St. Giles, and Dryden went to his father-in-law's home at Charlton, Wiltshire, where, as he tells us in the Dedication, writing his *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* 'served as an amusement'. The Royal Society itself suspended its weekly meetings on June 28, and did not resume them until March 14, 1666, according to Weld's *History of the Royal Society*, i, pp. 182, 190).

The 'other circumstances intervening' may well have included the opening of the Dutch War in 1665, and its active prosecution into the summer of 1666. The Plague also continued in the latter year,

and hardly had it begun to spend its force when, on September 2, the Great Fire laid waste London homes and public buildings. So great was the need that Gresham College, the meeting-place of the Royal Society, was 'restored to its original use and made an Exchange', as Sprat tells us in his *History* of the Society (p. 253). He adds that Henry Howard of Norfolk offered for its use his own home, Arundel House, but meetings of the Society were again given up for a time. The rebuilding of London occupied men's assiduous attention, and the establishment of a British Academy gave way before this far more pressing matter.

The one other event mentioned by Evelyn as contributing to the crumbling away of the Royal Society's venture—'the death of the incomparable Mr. Cowley' July 28, 1667—deserves a word, in order to avoid a wrong impression. For here alone, in writing so many years after the fact, Evelyn was clearly in error. Although it is sometimes so stated, Cowley was not a member of the Society's committee, as shown by the record of Birch, and indeed on other accounts could not have taken an active part in the Society's deliberations at this time. Although made a member March 6, 1661, Cowley was not long actively engaged with it. He was not in the list of Fellows drawn up May 20, 1663, and probably for a very good reason. Neglected by the king, for whom he had written his *Song of Triumph* and whose father he had served so faithfully, the melancholy Cowley, as he styles himself in his *Complaint*, had already retired in disappointment to Barn Elms, Surrey, where Evelyn visited him as early as May 14 of that year, and where he remained in retirement until his death. Indeed, except for the implication of Evelyn's remark, we have no knowledge of Cowley's interest in a British Academy, although his relation to the founding of the Royal Society is well known. In the notice of his death (Birch, *Hist. of Roy. Soc.* ii, 220), there is no reference to his concern in the project for which the committee had been appointed.

II

The probable relation of Dryden to the next plea for a British Academy has been wholly overlooked in discussions of the subject. That plea was made by Thomas Sprat in his *History of the Royal Society*, published in 1667. Yet here develops a curious fact not hitherto noted. Part of Sprat's *History*, as he tells us in the *Advertisement to the Reader*, had been 'written and printed above two years before the rest'. Again, at Section XXI (p. 120) of the Second Part, Sprat says:

Thus far was I come in my intended work when my hand was stop'd and my mind disturb'd from writing by the two greatest disasters that ever befel our Nation, the fatal infection, which overspread the City of London in Sixty five; and the dreadful firing of the City itself in the year insuing.

Now Sprat's digression, as he calls it, to urge the founding of an Academy for England, is in the first part of the *History*, and thus in the part first printed. 'Above two years' before the writing of the last part, and the publication of the whole in 1667, puts the printing of the first and most of the second part as early as the first months of 1665, when the 'fatal infection' was well advanced. Probably it was in the preceding year, as indicated by other evidence.

For one thing, Sprat makes no mention of the Royal Society's appointment of a committee with something like the purpose of a British Academy. This is almost conclusive proof that this part of the book must have been written and probably printed before December, 1664. Other evidence for this view is also at hand. In the first months of 1664 Sprat had been engaged on another undertaking. Early in that year Sorbière had printed his *Relation d'un Voyage en Angleterre*, in which he had criticized the English in no uncertain terms. Sprat immediately prepared a biting answer, called *Observations on M. de Sorbier's Voyage into England*, the Dedication of which is dated August 1, 1664. We may reasonably assume, therefore, that Sprat began his *History* only after completing his answer to Sorbière. He would thus have had ample time to write the first part before the Royal Society had appointed its committee in December. It as naturally follows that Dryden's *Dedication* to the *Rival Ladies* must have been printed before Sprat had proceeded far with his *History*. In all probability, also, he was encouraged to make his recommendation of a British Academy by the public advocacy of Dryden.

The suggestion of Sprat seems to have had but little influence. Perhaps this was partly because the Royal Society at this time had itself fallen under severe criticism. Sprat devoted a large portion of his *History* to the 'Detractors of so noble an institution'. The Third Part is given up to asserting at length 'the Advantage and Innocence of the work, in respect to all the Professions, and especially of Religion'. Sprat tried to show that experimental science did not injure education, the Christian religion, or the Church of England. Notwithstanding this defence, however, the eminent Restoration preacher Robert South, at the dedication of the Sheldonian Theatre Oxford in 1669, ridiculed the work of the Royal Society, and

Sprat's *History* was attacked by Henry Stubbe in three pamphlets of 1670. It was the seventeenth-century phase of the warfare between science and religion.

III

For the third suggestion of a British Academy in the second half of the seventeenth century, entire credit has always been given to Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon. In fact he founded a Society with some such end in view, although its establishment has been variously placed in time. Johnson's *Roscommon*, in his *Lives of the Poets*, is responsible for bringing it into closer relation to Dryden's first advocacy than is warranted. Following him, Malone in his *Prose Works of Dryden* (vol. i, Pt. II, p. 9) says:

> Some years after this Dedication was written [that is Dryden's *Dedication* to the *Rival Ladies*] Lord Roscommon, as Fenton informs us, . . . formed the plan of a Society for refining our language and fixing its standards.

Johnson's *Life* also led Monroe (*Mod. Phil.* viii, 107) to place the founding of the Roscommon Academy with great definiteness 'about 1662', thus antedating Dryden's first proposal. But Johnson, as we can now see, was merely using with great freedom Fenton's note on Waller's poem *Upon the Earl of Roscommon's Translation of Horace, De Arte Poetica* (*Works of Edmund Waller*, p. lxxvi). He had made no independent investigation.

The reference to Roscommon's Society as of 'about 1662' rests on Johnson's apparent connexion of it with the Earl's first marriage in April of that year. Fenton, to whom it is best to go at once, is by no means so definite. Instead of making a biography, as Johnson was doing, he was merely writing a note to one of Waller's poems, and incidentally including some allusions to events in Roscommon's life. Though Fenton also places the following paragraph immediately after Roscommon's first marriage, neglecting entirely his second marriage a decade later (1673), he clearly connects the Society for 'refining' English with the last years of Roscommon's life. He says:

> And about this time, in imitation of those learned and polite assemblies with which he had been acquainted abroad, particularly one at Caen (in which his Tutor Bochartus dy'd suddenly whilst he was delivering an Oration), he began to form a Society for the refining and fixing the standard of our language, in which design his great friend Mr. Dryden was a principal assistant. A design of which it is much easier to conceive an agreeable idea, than any rational hope ever to see it brought to perfection among us. This project, at least, was entirely defeated by the religious commotions that ensu'd

on King James's accession to the throne: at which time the Earl took a resolution to pass the remainder of his life at Rome; telling his friends it would be best to sit next the chimney when the chamber smok'd. Amid these reflections he was seized by the gout, and being too impatient of pain he permitted a bold French pretender to physic to apply a repelling medicine, in order to give him permanent relief; which drove the distemper into his bowels, and in a short time put a period to his life in the year 1684 [that is 1684/5, Roscommon's death occurring in January, 1685].

Fenton does not connect the founding of Roscommon's Society with 'his literary projects' as does Johnson, but the latter was doubtless right in this particular. All that we know of Roscommon's life in London up to 1680 indicates that the Court and gambling engrossed his attention. Only in the last four years of his life did he make a new and surprising reputation for himself as poet and critic, publishing his translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica* in 1680, and his poetical *Essay on Translated Verse* in 1684. The latter date is approximately the time with which Fenton connects the project which 'was entirely defeated by the religious commotions that ensu'd on King James's accession to the throne'. The only error is in relation to the latter fact. Charles II did not die until February 6, 1685, while on January 21 Roscommon had been buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey.

Fenton's error with regard to the accession of James I cannot overthrow his general accuracy in attributing the failure of the Roscommon venture to the religious troubles attendant upon the possible accession of James, and to the gout which carried Roscommon off so near the death of Charles II. The 'religious commotions' continued from the passage of the Exclusion Bill by the Commons in October 1680, through the discovery of the Rye House Plot in 1683, to the end of Charles II's reign. During the later years especially, the thought of Englishmen was far removed from any such unessential to the country's safety as a British Academy of learned men. A second time important national events affected the latter project. But the connexion of the failure of Roscommon's Society with the religious troubles, King James's accession, and the gout which hastened Roscommon's death, is a clear indication that the Society which he founded on the model of that at Caen must have been close to the end of the Earl's life.

Meanwhile Dryden, who was the only man of his time to take a lifelong interest in the idea, had again brought forward the project of a British Academy in his *Dedication* of *Troilus and Cressida*, when that play was published in the early part of 1679. The occasion

seemed especially opportune. In February the Earl of Sunderland had been recalled from his ambassadorship in France to become Secretary of State, and his sister was the wife of Thomas Howard, the brother of Dryden's Lady Elizabeth. Sunderland was a man of such keenness of intellect that Dryden withheld the usual fulsome flattery of his dedications, while the new Secretary's former employment in France had already acquainted him with the work of the French Academy. He was ambitious in his new position. It seemed reasonable that Dryden might, with some chance of success, offer him the opportunity of rivalling the great French minister Richelieu, and become the patron of an English 'which foreigners may not disdain to learn'.

Malone, under the influence of Johnson as we have seen, ventures that in this proposal to Sunderland Dryden alluded to Roscommon's scheme, but I find no evidence to that effect. Fenton accords to Dryden the position of 'principal assistant' to Roscommon, but all the circumstances more naturally suggest that Dryden was again first to bring forward his earlier proposal, and that it was taken up by Roscommon and Dryden together. Their relations were especially cordial at this time. In the *Preface* to *Ovid's Epistles* (1680), Dryden quotes Roscommon's translation of Horace as 'excellently rendered'. Roscommon wrote complimentary verses for Dryden's *Religio Laici* of 1682. Dryden returned the compliment in verses *To the Earl of Roscommon upon his Essay on Translated Verse* in 1684, and he twice refers flatteringly to that work in the *Preface* to the *Second Miscellany* of 1685. It can scarcely be believed that, if Roscommon's Society had been in existence, Dryden would not have made some allusion to it in his Dedication to the Earl of Sunderland.

Dryden's *Dedication* of the *Troilus and Cressida* makes clearer than his former brief suggestion what he thought the necessary labour of a British Academy. He would have the great minister he was addressing

Make our language as much indebted to his care, as the French is to the memory of their famous Richelieu. You know, my Lord, how low he laid the foundations of so great a work; that he began it with a Grammar and a Dictionary, without which all those remarks and observations which have since been made had been performed to as little purpose, as it would be to consider the furniture of the rooms before the contrivance of the house. Propriety must first be stated, ere any measures of elegance can be taken. Neither is one Vaugelas sufficient for such a work; it was the employment of the whole Academy for many years; for the perfect knowledge of a tongue was never attained by any single person. The court, the college, and the town must be joined in it. And as our English is a composition of the

dead and the living tongues, there is required a perfect knowledge not only of Greek and Latin, but of the old German, the French, and the Italian; and to help all these, a conversation with those authors of our own who have written with the fewest faults in prose and verse. . . . I am desirous, if it were possible, that we might all write with the same certainty of words and purity of phrase to which the Italians first arrived, and after them the French; at least that we might advance so far as our tongue is capable of such a standard. . . . We are full of monosyllables, and those clogged with consonants; and our pronunciation is effeminate: all which are enemies to a sounding language. It is true that, to supply our poverty, we have trafficked with our neighbour nations, by which means we abound as much in words as Amsterdam does in religions; but to order them, and make them useful after their admission is the difficulty. A greater progress has been made in this since his majesty's return than perhaps since the conquest to his time. But the better part of the work remains unfinished; and that which has been done already, since it has only been in the practice of some few writers, must be digested into rules and method, before it can be profitable to the general.

Then comes the strong personal appeal, in a tone of such confidence as almost to imply some private understanding and encouragement:

Will your Lordship give me leave to speak out at last? and to acquaint the world, that from your encouragement and patronage we may one day expect to speak and write a language worthy of the English wit, and which foreigners may not disdain to learn. Your birth, your education, your natural endowments, the former employments which you have had abroad, and that which to the joy of good men you now exercise at home, seem all to conspire to this design: the genius of the nation seems to call you out, as it were by name, to polish and adorn your native language, and to take from it the reproach of its barbarity.

Dryden's eloquent appeal, as we know, was of no avail. Earlier in the *Dedication* he had pointed out that, before his peaceful project could be undertaken, 'the quiet of the nation must be secured, and a mutual trust betwixt prince and people be renewed'. That task, however, was to be too great for any man or group of men. Had Sunderland planned the founding of a British Academy, the 'religious commotions', as Fenton called them, and the generally unsettled state of the country would have hampered him, quite as it has been said to have defeated Roscommon's project. Besides, Sunderland lost his secretaryship in 1681, and although he regained it two years later he was clearly in no position to take up any unnecessary venture. Yet our interest is with the project, rather than with the failure. And it is but a tardy act of justice to the memory of the great poet, that we to-day recognize the renewed advocacy of a British Academy at this time as

initiated by Dryden himself, rather than by any other, and that we accord to him the praise of an exalted conception, even though it was to be unfulfilled for many years.

IV

Nor is this all that may be placed to Dryden's credit in this connexion. To the end of his life something like a British Academy was in his mind. Twice again he was to refer to it publicly, though with less hope than when he wrote the *Dedication* of *Troilus and Cressida*. In his *Discourse on the Origin and Progress of Satire*, addressed to the Earl of Dorset in 1693, he says:

> We have as yet no English *Prosodia*, not so much as a tolerable dictionary, or a grammar; so that our language is in a manner barbarous; and what government will encourage any one or more who are capable of refining it, I know not. but nothing under a public expense can go through with it. And I rather fear a declination of the language, than hope an advancement of it in the present age.

In the *Dedication* of the *Third Miscellany* during the same year, he again mentions the project of a public effort, although again with some note of pessimism:

> For after all our language is both copious, significant, and majestical, and might be reduced into a more harmonious sound. But for want of public encouragement in this iron age we are so far from making any progress in the improvement of our tongue, that in a few years we shall speak and write as barbarously as our neighbours.

Again, however imperfect may have been Dryden's idea of a British Academy, and the possibility of 'refining' English, one must be impressed with his frequently repeated interest in the English language, and in efforts to make it a better medium of expression. His proposals of an Academy for England are repeated during quite thirty years—in 1664, in 1679, and in 1693. He made important references to English, sometimes of praise and sometimes of blame it is true, in his *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (written 1665); in the *Account of Annus Mirabilis* (1667); in the *Defence of the Epilogue* (1672); in the *Preface* to *Albion and Albanius*, and in that to the *Second Miscellany* (1685); in the *Preface* to *Don Sebastian* (1690); in the *Dedication* to the *Pastorals*, and the *Discourse on Epick Poetry* (1697); in the *Preface* to *Fables Ancient and Modern* (1700), the year of his death. In addition, he has severe criticism of Sir Robert Howard's English in the *Defence of the Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (1668), and that of Settle in *Remarks on the Emperor of Morocco* (1674).

Nor did Dryden offer precepts only. Conscious effort as a stylist was expressed as early as the *Dedicatory Epistle* to the *Rival Ladies*:

> I have endeavoured to write English, as near as I could distinguish it from the tongue of pedants and that of affected travellers.

He more than once mentions correcting his own works, when new editions made that possible, for example the *Indian Emperor*, as noted in the *Defence of the Essay of Dramatick Poesie*. The considerable changes made in the *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, when it was reprinted in 1684, give notable testimony to the pains he took to improve his own style in prose. His best acknowledgement of care in regard to poetic technique is in the *Discourse of Epick Poetry*, where he says:

> I have long had by me the materials of an English *Prosodia*, containing all the mechanical rules of Versification, wherein I have treated with some exactness of the feet, the quantities and the pauses.

It is a distinct misfortune that this first treatment of English Metrics by an Englishman, and a poet as well, was never printed, and is not now known to be in existence.

Finally, looking back on all his labours towards the end of his life, Dryden could reasonably assume of his influence what has since been freely acknowledged. Writing of our language and poetry in the *Postscript* to a *Discourse on Epick Poetry*, he says:

> Somewhat (give me leave to say) I have added to both of them in the choice of words and harmony of numbers, which were wanting, especially the last, in all our poets, even in those who being endowed with genius yet have not cultivated their mother-tongue with sufficient care; or, relying on the beauty of their thoughts, have judged the ornament of words and sweetness of sound unnecessary.

Again, writing to his cousin Mrs. Steward on June 9, 1699, less than a year before his death, Dryden hopes that the King and Court 'will consider me as a man who has done my best to improve the language, and especially the poetry'. It is not too much to believe, that the British Academy of the twentieth century will honour in no uncertain way this early and lifelong exponent of its high aims and purposes.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY

XII

KEATS

By ERNEST DE SÉLINCOURT

Read February 23, 1921

CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF KEATS

For the study of no English poet have we ampler material than for the life and art of John Keats. Of all his chief and many of his minor poems we have manuscripts recording not merely their final form, but earlier drafts or readings which enable us to see the poet at his work and watch the ripening of his inspiration. Keats wrote rapidly, but whilst many of his happiest phrases came to him in the first flush of imaginative vision, others came more gradually as he reviewed his work and realized that the words before him were inadequate to express the conception he had desired to shape. Lamb might regret that he had seen the manuscripts of Milton's early poems, and like to think of *Lycidas* as a full-grown beauty 'springing up with all its parts absolute, wishing never to go into the workshop of any great artist again'. But few students of the poetic art will share these scruples. The visit to the workshop may explain nothing of the mystery of artistic genius, but it throws floods of light upon its methods, and we learn from it as a student of painting might learn as he stood by the easel of Leonardo or Turner. Keats's sureness of touch in the correction of his verse reveals a rare sense of the consummate artist.

In this we owe a profound debt to Richard Woodhouse, who treated the work of his friend with all the reverence that is accorded to an established classic. The manner in which Woodhouse noted, as far as he could, every variant reading in the poems, the date of their composition, their sources of inspiration, gives him the right to be regarded, though he printed nothing himself, as Keats's first editor, and to his labours all later editors have owed their greatest debt.

The material for the study of Keats's biography is no less complete. The society in which he passed his brief but crowded days is among the most vivid in our literary history. It was a company of alert and striking personalities, keenly interested in the world about them—men who loved to talk and write of themselves and one another. Keats, with his genius for friendship, seldom failed to make a deep and lasting impression upon those with whom he came into close contact, and some of them for years after his death spent their best hours with his memory. Lastly, we have his correspondence. In his letters to all who had won his confidence he gave himself without reserve or pose. If in casual society and among acquaintance it is a man's duty to present only the more presentable side of himself, love demands a less guarded surrender; and in what Keats wrote to his brothers, to his little sister, to Fanny Brawne, and to his friends, his character and opinions are revealed to us with a touching intimacy. In the portrait that he draws thus unconsciously of himself, a strongly emotional nature, at once generous and tender-hearted, but disturbed by a strain of morbidity and some of the faults attendant on it, is hardly more evident than manliness and courage, keen self-knowledge, and piercing common sense in the judgement of men and things. The letters of Keats would be precious to us solely for their charm of style and for the beauty of the character they reveal. But they have a further value; for in them we can study the growth of a poet's mind even more minutely than in Wordsworth's *Prelude*; and their evidence is more authentic, in that they are less conscious, and are a spontaneous record of the present rather than a careful recollection of the past.

We like to think that great poetry needs no external commentary, and that its appeal is immediate to all who have ears to hear. The story of the tardy growth of Keats's fame is a sufficient answer to this delusion. Keats was never, indeed, without warm admirers even beyond the circle of his friends; and, as we should expect, they were those whose homage has the highest worth. From Shelley he won the noblest tribute ever laid by one genius at the feet of another. Even Byron recognized in *Hyperion* 'a monument that will keep his name'. Landor and Lamb were alike eloquent in his praise. He inspired the youthful genius of two poets so widely divergent in ideal and method as Browning and Tennyson, and later still became the god of Pre-Raphaelite idolatry. Yet to the general reader Keats remained no more than a name. Not one of his three slender volumes was reprinted. The first English collected edition of his poetry, reproduced from a volume published at Paris in 1829 for the

continental public, did not appear till nearly twenty years after his death, and its sale was so slight that some time later it came into the market as a remainder. It was only with the appearance in 1848 of the *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats,* by Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, that he assumed his place among the accepted masters of English song. Lord Houghton's fine literary instinct and his grace of style have made his book one of our classics of biography. Since its publication the study of Keats has steadily progressed; new poems and letters have come to light and many additions have been made to our knowledge of the sources of the poet's inspiration, and of his methods as an artist; and now we have a full and definitive biography by Sir Sidney Colvin. In his pages the art of Keats is examined with the fine taste and the acute judgement of a ripe scholar, and the poet's life and character stand out in all their subtle and tragic beauty. It is a book worthy of its noble subject.

In a sense there is no more to be said. Yet the lover of poetry will not cease to pay his willing tribute, and though he add nothing that is new, his time may not be ill-spent. Re-reading what I wrote of Keats some sixteen years ago, I have thought that I might bring out more clearly what I conceive to have been the reaction of his life and character upon his art. If I fail in this, I shall at least record once more a personal homage that the passage of years has only served to deepen.

Every age has the poetry it deserves, and Keats was born into a great age. The French Revolution had shaken the foundations of society; it had liberated thought and widened speculation; and poetry had turned from the ephemeral interests of man to voice his nobler aspirations. To Wordsworth, as to Milton before him, poetry was not merely an accomplishment, it was a divine vocation, and the poetic imagination was man's highest faculty, by means of which he communed with the infinite. With Coleridge he had destroyed the barrier set up by a blind convention between the wonderful and the familiar, the supernatural and the natural; and with Coleridge, too, he had directed attention to the spiritual adventures recorded by the poets of bygone days. The *Prefaces* of Wordsworth are often spoken of as though they were merely a perverse discussion of the technique of poetic style: far more significant is their conception of the character of the true poet, and their review of earlier poetry to prove its validity, with the constant appeal to Milton and to Shakespeare, the beauty of whose sonnets Wordsworth was the first to proclaim. But here the inspired eloquence

of Coleridge diffused the wider influence. As Coleridge expounded the eternal principles of art and shed light upon the masterpieces of Greece and of the Elizabethans from his own radiant spirit, his words worked like leaven upon the rising generation. Lamb was his disciple from boyhood: Hazlitt's eager youth submitted to his spell. Leigh Hunt followed in their steps. Hunt published in his *Reflector* and *Examiner* their first critical essays, and with a ready pen gave cheaper currency to the same tastes and enthusiasms, whilst their friend Haydon applied the same principles to painting and sculpture, and pointed to the Elgin marbles and the cartoons of Raphael as they to the greater Elizabethans.

In this atmosphere Keats grew to be a poet. Small wonder that he cried in the fervour of awakening genius: 'Great spirits now on earth are sojourning.' Young as he was, he felt his kinship with them.

Of them all he was the most richly endowed with the nature and temperament of the artist. Never was poet more alert to detect beauty nor more quickly responsive to its apparition. 'Nothing, we are told, escaped him. The humming of a bee, the sight of a flower, the glitter of the sun seemed to make his nature tremble: then his eye flashed, his cheek glowed, his mouth quivered.' His response to the beauty of literature and art was as immediate. He 'looked upon fine phrases like a lover'. At the first perusal of a masterpiece he felt

> . . . like some watcher in the skies
> When a new planet swims into his ken;

all that he saw or read became at once part of his imaginative experience, a 'sensation', as he somewhat misleadingly termed it, and he identified himself with its spirit. 'If a sparrow come before my window,' he writes, 'I take part in its existence, and peck about the gravel.' 'According to my state, I am with Achilles in the trenches, or with Theocritus in the vales of Sicily. Or I throw my whole being into Troilus, and repeating those lines "I wander like a lost soul upon the Stygian bank staying for waftage", I melt into the air with a voluptuousness so delicate that I am content to be alone.' And when, after his first incoherences, his passion for the beautiful, like all true passion, became creative, his instinct took him to the great tradition, and he found voice in a magical felicity of phrase that none but Shakespeare or Milton has equalled.

But these gifts alone would not have made Keats the poet that he became. We are all familiar with the vulgar conception of him as a man entirely absorbed in the sensuous side of experience. But

a man is known by his works. The sensuous weakling of the Keats legend might, indeed, have written much of *Endymion* and part even of the *Eve of St. Agnes,* but would have been no more capable of attaining to the majesty of *Hyperion* or the serenity of the *Ode to Autumn,* than the stiff-necked and strait-laced clergyman who still masquerades in the popular mind as Wordsworth could have written *Ruth,* or *Beggars,* or *The Ode: Intimations of Immortality.* In truth, Keats is the most striking example of a poet self-educated and disciplined by his own severe and strenuous mental effort. His artistic evolution can be traced step by step, for he continually reviewed his art in the light of his ideas which grew in acuteness, and of his experience which grew in depth and bitterness. As an artist he tends naturally to think in images rather than in abstract terms; hence the careless reader may often miss his meaning in the beauty of the picture; but his mind is continually reacting upon his art, diagnosing its weaknesses, probing its unhealthy parts, and strengthening its natural growth. Keats is a great poet, first of all because he had the supreme sensitiveness of a poet's imagination, and caught up the beauty about him as a lake takes colour and shadow from the sky, partly because he was a born artist and studied with constant devotion the technique of his art, but also because he had a mind and spirit bent on applying to his art the searching test of hard thought and vital experience. We only read Keats aright when we learn from his own lips that he wrote, not for art's sake only, but for the sake of truth and for the sake of life. He did not throw up the study of medicine in order to become a minor poet. When he took the fateful resolve to devote his life to poetry he determined to be satisfied with nothing short of supremacy. 'I would sooner fail', he said, 'than not be amongst the greatest,' and he knew instinctively what that resolve entailed. If he was ambitious he had the humility of all worthy ambition. To him there was 'no greater sin than to flatter oneself into the idea of being a great poet'. His devotion to the principle of beauty was associated with the memory of great men—Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth—who in his eyes illustrated that principle, and in the light of their achievement he was intolerant of any false pretensions either in himself or in others. The three short years of his poetic life show an astonishing growth, but they were only a fraction of the time which from the first he regarded as indispensable for his apprenticeship:

> O for ten years that I may overwhelm
> Myself in poesy: so I may do the deed
> That my own soul has to itself decreed.

This is his prayer in *Sleep and Poetry*, and it is no mere phrase. At the end of two of these years he still finds himself 'very young-minded' even in that quality in which to us he stands pre-eminent, 'the perceptive power of beauty,' and when the third was drawing to its close he was still looking forward to six more years of labour before he could hope to satisfy his own idea. 'I have left no immortal work behind me,' he said, 'but if I had had time I should have made myself remembered.' In his own eyes the achievement that we celebrate to-day was merely the fruit of an early state in his education, the uncertain prelude to a loftier strain.

His development as an artist, dimly foreshadowed in *Sleep and Poetry*, went hand in hand with a growing realization of his goal. He found the clue in Wordsworth's *Tintern Abbey*, but the difference between the two poems is at least as instructive as their likeness. For whereas Wordsworth records the stages of an intense spiritual experience through which he has already passed to a maturer vision, Keats as yet can only voice an aspiration. Despite the call of his ambition, his joy in the Beauty that he knows makes him for the time almost content to rest,

> in the bosom of a leafy world,

and though he is aware that he must bid these joys farewell, and pass them for a nobler life

> Where I may find the agonies, the strife,
> Of human hearts

he is not ready to take the arduous journey.

But as soon as his first volume was published he girded his loins for the high enterprise. *Endymion* was to be his *Excursion* into the innermost recesses of that Beauty which is co-extensive with the reach of man's thought and passion; yet he lost his way in the pleasant wilderness that was about their outskirts, and his vision of what is at their centre was fitful and blurred. The poem is lit up throughout by gleams of exquisite poetry, revealing that 'joy for ever' which is in the beauty of nature and of art, for this joy was his poet's birthright; but it becomes inarticulate and breaks down both in style and sentiment whenever it attempts to go farther. In 'the realm of Flora and old Pan' Keats was still delightfully at home; of all else he had no vital experience.

But when he had finished this 'great trial of his invention', and looking back upon his six months' labour saw that it had failed, his intellectual life awakened. While he was writing it the fever of composition had absorbed his energies, and though, as always, he

was reading with avidity, in particular Shakespeare and Wordsworth, he was not conscious of his growth. But now he could take stock of himself. 'I think a little change has taken place in my intellect lately,' he writes. 'I cannot bear to be uninterested or unemployed, I who for so long have been addicted to passiveness.' The remark is strange from one who has been busily engaged upon a poem of over 4,000 lines. Yet its meaning is obvious. In *Endymion*, despite his intention of working out a problem, the oneness of Beauty in all the relations of life, his intellect was passive, and his senses followed the lure of those delights with which his memory was crowded. He had not grappled with his theme, and the beauty he delineated was no more than a fine luxury. But now on picking up *King Lear* it dawns upon him that 'the excellence of a very art is its intensity, capable of making all disagreeables evaporate from their being in close relation with Beauty and Truth'. And such is the power of Beauty 'to obliterate all other considerations', that 'the man of achievement' pursues it in those paths of life where the ground seems most stubborn and unyielding. Keats had believed this before, he was now to act upon it. With the sonnet written *On sitting down to read 'King Lear' once again,* his poetry and his thought alike enter upon a new stage.

> O golden-tongued Romance with serene lute,
> Fair plumed Syren, Queen of far away,
> Leave melodizing on this wintry day,
> Shut up thine olden pages, and be mute:
> Adieu, for once again the fierce dispute
> Betwixt damnation and impassion'd clay
> Must I burn through; once more humbly assay
> The bitter-sweet of this Shakespearian fruit.
> Chief Poet, and ye clouds of Albion,
> Begetters of our deep eternal theme,
> When through the old oak forest I am gone,
> Let me not wander in a barren dream,
> But when I am consumed in the fire,
> Give me new Phœnix wings to fly at my desire.

The significance of this appeal to Shakespeare is clear enough. As he faces, in *King Lear*, a pitiless reality, he sees that he has unwittingly belittled even that golden-tongued romance which had first awakened his poetic life, but which now he lays aside For 'in the old oak forest' our dreams need not be barren: Spenser's world may be far away, but he took there a mind and a heart stored with memories of his own experience. Keats realizes that if he, too, is to be a 'man of achievement', he must learn to think and feel.

'And so you see', adds Keats, after copying out this sonnet for his brothers, 'I am getting at it with a sort of determination and strength.' Yes, he was 'getting at it'.

He showed it in the first place by his severity on his own past achievement As he revised *Endymion* its crudities offended him far more acutely than they have hurt his most fastidious critic. He saw in it every error denoting a feverish attempt rather than a deed accomplished, and in one cruel word, 'mawkishness,' he laid bare its worst defect. But he had the wisdom not to regret its composition. He felt that in writing it he had worked through a morbid state of mind. It was as good as he could make it at the time and it gave him material on which he could judge himself. 'The genius of Poetry', he says, 'must work out its own salvation in a man. In *Endymion* I leaped headlong into the sea and thereby became better acquainted with the soundings, the quicksands and the rocks than if I had stayed on the green shore and took tea and comfortable advice.' Had he rewritten it now, he could have made it a far better thing; he preferred to be 'plotting and fitting himself for verses fit to live'. As he saw it through the press, he was already at work upon *Isabella*, in which he made his first sustained effort to wring beauty out of pain and ugliness. On the 24th of April, 1818, he sent his last corrections to the publishers and *Endymion* was cast behind him. Within a week he wrote the *Ode to Maia*.

> Mother of Hermes, and still youthful Maia,
> May I sing to thee
> As thou wast hymned on the shores of Baiæ?
> Or may I woo thee
> In earlier Sicilian? or thy smiles
> Seek as they once were sought, in Grecian isles,
> By bards who died content on pleasant sward,
> Leaving great verse unto a little clan?
> O, give me their old vigour, and unheard
> Save of the quiet primrose, and the span
> Of heaven and few ears,
> Rounded by thee, my song should die away
> Content as theirs,
> Rich in the simple worship of a day.

Here, as in *Endymion*, Greek legend and the English countryside are the blended sources of his inspiration, but it is the 'old vigour', the 'content' of the one, the 'quiet' of the other, to which he now surrenders his spirit. In this classic simplicity and restraint we are far from the restless exuberance of *Endymion*.

Keats included the *Ode to Maia* in that famous letter to his friend Reynolds which sums up the state of mind through which for the last six months he had been passing. Though poetry is his first passion, he now classes himself definitely with 'thinking people', and feels his need for a wider knowledge 'to take away the heat and fever, and by widening speculation to ease the burden of the mystery'. For this burden has begun to weigh upon him. And then, reviewing his own mental growth, he compares human life to a mansion of many apartments. 'The first we step into we call the infant, or thoughtless chamber, in which we remain as long as we do not think' . . . from which 'we are at length imperceptibly impelled . . . into the chamber of Maiden thought'. Here at first we 'become intoxicated with the light and the atmosphere, we see nothing but pleasant wonders, and think of delaying there ever in delight. However, among the effects this breathing is father of is that tremendous one of sharpening one's vision into the heart and nature of man—of convincing one's nerves that the world is full of misery and heartbreak, pain, sickness, and oppression—whereby this chamber of maiden thought becomes gradually darkened, and at the same time, on all sides of it, many doors are set open—but all dark—all leading to dark passages. We see not the balance of good and evil; we are in a mist, *we* are now in that state, we feel the "burden of the mystery". To this point was Wordsworth come when he wrote *Tintern Abbey*, and it seems to me that his genius is explorative of those dark passages. Now if we live and go on thinking we too shall explore them.'

Life was soon enough to play a remorseless part in his poetic equipment; meanwhile he saw clearly that the road he must pursue lay 'through study, application, and thought'. He was steeped already in our earlier poetry and claimed 'to know, perhaps, Shakespeare to his very depths'. Now he became absorbed in *Paradise Lost*, and a little later studied Dante in Cary's translation. But poetry was not enough. 'Every department of knowledge', he says, 'we see excellent and calculated towards a great whole.' So he keeps his medical books by him, renews his study of history and French, turns to his friends for instruction in the social and political problems of the hour, and proposes to 'take up Greek and Italian and in other ways prepare myself to ask Hazlitt in about a year's time the best metaphysical road I can take'.

Yet he has the wisdom not to force the pace of his education. The eager impetuosity of youth, impatient of delays, is often anxious to anticipate its own future achievement. The failure of *Endymion* had warned Keats from this danger. 'Nothing is finer', he wrote,

'for the purpose of great production than the very gradual ripening of the intellectual powers.' 'If poetry comes not as naturally as leaves to a tree it had better not come at all,' and these leaves must not be the premature sickly growth of a forcing house, but should spring from branches that have stood the winter storms and the blight of the east wind. He perceived that an ill-digested learning has no intellectual value. 'Memory', he remarked profoundly, 'is not knowledge.'

This belief had its roots in his conviction of the need for unfettered independence of judgement. Born into an age of theorists, surrounded by men who were doctrinaires in art, in politics, in religion, he resolved to accept nothing at second hand, but rather to lie open to all impressions, till the truth dawned upon him of itself. He was particularly intolerant of those who lived in a world of their own fancy, either ignoring inconvenient facts or bending them to fit the Procrustean bed of theory. Here his instinct as an artist steadied and guided his intellectual growth. If he spoke of the 'principle of abstract beauty' it was a principle which he sought in beautiful things. Even in his earliest poetry looseness of description was a fault of borrowed style rather than of blurred vision. His eye was always on the object. Thus the vague emotionalism of his

posy
Of luxuries soft, milky white and rosy,

is followed at once by that vividly accurate picture of the

. . . sweet pea on tiptoe for a flight
With wings of gentle flush o'er delicate white
And taper fingers catching at all things
To bind them all about with tiny rings.

And just as his conception of beauty had grown from what his own eyes had recognized as beautiful, so his mind could only accept as truth ideas which had stood the test of his own experience. 'Axioms of philosophy', he said, 'are not axioms until they are proved on our pulses.' 'I have made up my mind to take nothing for granted.' Despite his genuine affection for Leigh Hunt, and his gratitude for generous encouragement given when needed most, it galled him to learn that he was taken for 'Hunt's *élève*', and it is significant that the alterations he made in his revision of *Endymion* were all in the opposite direction to the advice that Hunt had tendered him. He was conscious of the debt he owed to Hazlitt's 'depth of taste'; but when Hazlitt seems to belittle Chatterton he is ready with an eager protest. The impassioned reflections of Wordsworth were the starting-point of many of his deepest cogitations, and nothing could show

more conclusively the receptivity of his mind than his readiness to learn from a genius so widely different from his own.' But what was true for Wordsworth was not necessarily true for him, and he resented the manner in which Wordsworth seemed to force his theories of life upon a reluctant world. 'For the sake of a few fine passages,' he exclaims, 'are we to be bullied into a certain philosophy engendered in the brain of an egoist? Every man has his speculations, but every man does not brood and peacock over them till he makes a false coinage and deceives himself. Many a man can travel to the very bourn of heaven, and yet want confidence to put down his half-seeing.' Keats will be no man's disciple, but rather keep his mind fluid, receptive, not like the bee that seeks honey from the flower, but like the flower that is fertilized by the bee. Often this lack of a fixed philosophy of life troubled him. He knew how much more comfortable are those who reside within the four walls of a strictly defined creed. 'What a happy thing it would be', he writes, 'if we could settle our thoughts and make up our minds on any matter in five minutes, and remain content, that is, build a sort of mental cottage of feelings, quiet and pleasant, to have a sort of philosophical back-garden, and cheerful holiday-keeping front one—but alas, this can never be.' He charged himself with an unsteady and vagarish disposition. Horrid moods would break in upon his calm joy in nature, obstinate questionings that he could not lay by. But amid all his 'half-seeings', as he calls them, he never lost hold on the two cardinal points of his faith—'the holiness of the heart's affections and the truth of the imagination,' and from such a starting-point he could safely explore all avenues of mental experience, confidently awaiting the hour of clearer vision.

Thus he prepared himself for his next great flight of song. Throughout twelve months of strenuous intellectual effort *Hyperion* was seldom from his mind, and his education was all directed to fit him for its execution. The choice of subject was itself an inspiration. Its remote heroic theme gave little scope to the weaker side of his genius which had luxuriated in the mazes of *Endymion*, and took him to the more arduous heights of song. The sublimity of *Paradise Lost*, distasteful to him before, now appealed to his sterner mood, and he caught from its full harmonies and majestic language something of that diction fit for 'the large utterance of those early gods'. At home in the rural beauties of the country around London, and the richer scenery of Devon, he had as yet no acquaintance with a landscape suited to be the stage of his Titanic action, and he undertook a journey through the English Lakes and Scotland 'to give me

more experience, rub off more prejudice, use to more hardship, identify finer scenes, load me with a grander mountains, and strengthen more my reach in Poetry.' He gained what he sought. For himself he heard,

> . . . the solid roar
> Of thunderous waterfalls and torrents hoarse;

in the midst of dawn he saw

> . . . rocks that seemed
> Ever as if just rising from a sleep;

a stroll upon a grey evening revealed to him the Titans of his imagination

> Like a dismal cirque
> Of Druid stones, upon a forlorn moor,
> When the chill rain begins at shut of eve,
> In dull November, and their chancel vault,
> The heaven itself, is blinded throughout night.

Thus from his own experience he drew the atmosphere for a poem that since Milton has had no rival in sublimity. And this surer mastery of his art went hand in hand with a profounder conception of the principle of beauty, no longer to him a luxury, but a power;

> . . . 'tis the eternal law
> That first in beauty should be first in might.

This power can only spring from knowledge, from the widening of the mind till it comprehends all intellectual and spiritual experience, and such knowledge is won through struggle and through pain. 'Until we are sick we understand not.' Apollo attains to godhead through an anguish keener than any felt by the Titans in their overthrow. Moreover this eternal law is a law of progress:

> So on our heels a fresh perfection treads,
> A power more strong in beauty, born of us,
> And fated to excel us.

Beauty is a greater thing than any of her worshippers. They are outstripped in the race, and the supreme test of their faith lies in their acceptance of defeat. The religion of beauty is no comfortable doctrine. To their suffering the only balm, and it is a stern medicine, is to see things as they are, and to acquiesce in the divine order:

> . . . to bear all naked truth,
> And to envisage circumstance all calm,
> This is the top of Sovereignty.

Few have the heroic temper to endure. Some, like Saturn, are too

stunned by their own desolation; others, like Enceladus, reject the truth in wrath; some, like Clymene, flee from it, too weak to endure the thought of a joy that she cannot share. Océanus alone can confront his destiny with 'severe content'; and the power comes to him simply through his finer perception of beauty:

> Have ye beheld the young god of the seas,
> My dispossessor, have ye seen his face?
> Have ye beheld his chariot, foam'd along
> By noble winged creatures he hath made?
> I saw him on a calmed waters scud
> With such a glow of beauty in his eyes,
> That it enforc'd me to bid farewell sad
> To all my empire; sad farewell I took.

This maturer conception of Beauty had not come to Keats from intellectual travail alone, it was the fruit also of the relentless discipline of outward circumstance. The year through which he had passed was one of growing trial. His sharpened intellect penetrated into the failings of friends whom the eager enthusiasm of youth had accepted at their own valuation; his belief in 'the holiness of the heart's affection' held through a growing disillusionment, and he did not love them less; but their self-assertion, vanity, and petty quarrels opened his eyes to that human frailty which contributes no less than crime to the misery of the world. Meanwhile his own troubles thickened. The financial anxieties which had been a bed of nettles to him during the composition of *Endymion* pressed closer upon him, and were increased by a generosity which could never deny another's importunity. And his heart was stricken in its tenderest place. His deepest love was given to his two brothers, George and Tom. 'My love for my brothers,' he wrote, 'from the early loss of our parents, and even from earlier misfortunes, has grown into an affection passing the love of women.' But from both he was to be separated. The one was 'driven by the burden of society to America' and the other 'with an exquisite love of life [was] in a lingering state'. In the December of 1818 he began to write *Hyperion* as he watched by the bedside of the dying Tom; and when he told of the anguish of Apollo which

> . . . made flush
> All the immortal fairness of his limbs;
> Most like the struggle at the gate of death;
> Or liker still to one who should take leave
> Of pale immortal death, and with a pang
> As hot as death's is chill, with fierce convulse
> Die into life,

he recorded a vivid reminiscence of what his eyes had witnessed. Then, when all the agony was over, and with a heart made more susceptible from what it had just endured he fell deeply in love with Fanny Brawne, the love that might have healed him was poisoned by the growing consciousness that his own days were numbered:

> In his heart is a blind desire,
> In his eyes foreknowledge of death.

Love and death; from the clash of these two supreme experiences the genius of Keats reached its brief but splendid consummation.

Keats's relations with Fanny Brawne have been the subject of much comment, some of it from persons of impeccable breeding and of a sound physical constitution which precludes them from understanding the humiliating influence which a weakened body may exercise over the strongest mind. But no one could be severer upon Keats than he was upon himself. He had never understood women, nor felt at ease in their society, and the chivalric ideal of his youth was continually belied by the triviality of his daily experience. The egoistical absorption of the lover in his own emotions had often been the butt of his good-natured scorn, and now that he was in like case, he turned his keenly critical mind upon himself and let his intellect prey upon his heart. 'Love,' he said, 'was a cloying treacle to the wings of independence'; he felt it to be wasting a nervous energy that he could ill spare, and he wore himself out 'in vain reasonings against the reasons of love'. There is as much of pathos as of wisdom in the words that he wrote to his little sister, 'Do not suffer your mind to dwell upon unpleasant reflections—that sort of thing has been the destruction of my health.' He lacked the physical constitution to react healthily against the strain of his experience. How far under happier circumstances this love would have satisfied him is another matter. But the greatest poetry is not necessarily that of satisfied desire; the despair of Leopardi is as poetical as the triumph of an *Epithalamion*. Yet to suppose that with a body unsapped by disease he would not have been able to turn his emotion to noble account is to be blind to his true character. His pathetic remark to Charles Brown, 'I should have had her when I was in health and I should have remained well' sums up the whole truth. As it was, the measure of his suffering was, in fact, the measure of his greatness of soul. When his passion was at its height he could still write 'Poetry is all I care for, all I live for'. True to his constant conception that poetry should 'soothe the cares and lift the thoughts of man', he longed to write a poem 'to be a consolation for people in such a situation as mine'. His greatest torture was that his emotion

was too fevered to be transmuted into art, and it is no idle fancy to imagine that he was drawn to his renewed study of the *Divine Comedy* in the summer of 1819 by Dante's spiritualization of earthly passion. For his own bitter experience had awakened in him the longing to conceive a love

> All breathing human passion far above
> That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloyed,
> A burning forehead, and a parching tongue.

This tragic passion, though it wrought havoc with his body, deepened his emotional power, and made him realize more profoundly that beauty which is born of pain. It opened up fresh vistas to his imagination and raised his art to heights that he had not yet scaled.

Yet 'at tender eye-dawn of aurorean love' the gathering clouds lifted for a moment, and he could give flawless utterance to the ecstasy of a triumphant heart. The *Eve of St. Agnes* is the eager tribute lavished at the shrine of Venus Victrix by the artist lover, who attests his utter sincerity by his readiness to 'load every rift with ore'. To view the poem merely as a finely decorated but slender narrative is surely to misread its intention. Its impulse is purely lyrical. All its lovely imagery, all its magic atmosphere, every superb touch of colour, every haunting cadence of its music, are the clear expression of a poet's heart. For Keats, as indeed for all men, such emotion is transient, but the knowledge of its transience only serves for the time to intensify its beauty and its joy, just as the storm that rages about the castle, and the withered, tottering forms of Angela and the bedesman, intensify our sense of the calm within the bedchamber, and of the warm desire of young Porphyro,

> And Madeline laid asleep in the lap of legends old.

The *Eve of St. Agnes* is as true and as vital an experience as its companion picture, that masterpiece of tragic concentration wrung from a spirit already disillusioned with itself, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*.

But more characteristic of Keats's prevailing state of mind at this period is *Lamia*, wherein those two aspects of love which had inspired the *Eve of St. Agnes* and *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* are presented in bitter conflict. Modest as Keats was about his art, *Lamia* is the one poem of which he speaks with praise. 'I am certain', he says, 'that there is a fire in it, which must take hold of people in some way.' True, and the fire that burns through it leapt from his own distracted heart. As a work of art *Lamia* has not the

completely satisfying beauty of the two earlier poems; for the cheap cynicism that here and there disfigures it and the divided sympathy which mars its unity of feeling betray a mind at war with itself. There is, in fact, as much of Keats in the stern sage Apollonius as in Lycius the credulous lover, and he could not rise above his own experience so as to harmonize the dissonance. In this his chief enemy was Time, for already he was preoccupied with thoughts of death. A full year earlier, even at the moment when his mind had awakened to the significance of beauty, he had a premonition that he would die

> Before high-piled books in charactery
> Held like rich garners the full-ripened grain,

and now his sense of fate's tightening grip gave an added depth and poignancy to his meditations. At times he would exult in the dream of a love indestructible by death, immortal even in its sorrow, as in company with Dante he fled away

> to the second circle of sad Hell
> Where in the gust, the whirlwind and the flaw
> Of rain and hailstones lovers need not tell
> Their sorrows;

at times he is bewildered by the mystery of death, its irony overwhelms him. And he writes a sonnet in what he calls 'the agony of ignorance'. What is this Death, that mocks with its relentless power the vain desires of the human heart?

> Verse, Fame, and Beauty are intense indeed,
> But Death intenser, Death is life's high meed.

At other times he would avert his eyes from its attendant decay and ugliness, wooing it in some joyous moment, such as that in which all sensibility to human suffering is lost in the joy with which his spirit enters into the song of the nightingale:

> Now more than ever seems it rich to die,
> To cease upon the midnight with no pain,
> While thou art pouring forth thy soul abroad
> In such an ecstasy,
> Still would'st thou sing, and I have ears in vain,
> To thy high requiem become a sod.

If Death be the end of all, at least it will bring peace. Yet out of his very pain comes the triumph of that faith which he had set forth in *Hyperion*. Man passes but beauty is immortal. When he is most conscious of decay and sorrow as man's lot on earth, he is most conscious too of the victory of beauty over death and time:

Thou wast not born for death, immortal bird,
No hungry generations tread thee down,
The voice I hear this passing night was heard
In ancient days by emperor and clown:
Perhaps the selfsame song which found a path
To the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
She stood in tears amid the alien corn:
    The same that oft-times hath
Charmed magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.

And what nature does in the eternal resurrection of her loveliness man can achieve by the creative energy of art. Such is the thought which inspires the *Ode to a Grecian Urn.* 'The form remains, the function never dies.' Art distils the beauty from a fleeting moment and gives it immortality:

When old age shall this generation waste
Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
Than ours, a friend of man, to whom thou sayst
Beauty is truth, truth beauty:

'Poetry', as Bacon said, 'submits the shows of things to the desires of the soul.'

The *Odes* of Keats, like all great poetry, reveal to us no striking novelty of thought. The emotions that pulse through them are as old as man's aspirations and man's aching heart. But nowhere in our literature, save in some of Shakespeare's Sonnets, do those emotions affect us with the same haunting pathos, for nowhere else do they find such intensely imaginative expression. And this faith in the principle of beauty, held through all pain and disillusionment, brought to Keats its own reward. Blessed moods came to him, when his heart was so filled with the beauty of the moment that it had no place for sorrow, no place for other desires. Thus in the *Eve of St. Agnes* he had entered into the spirit of young love: thus he could enter into the spirit of Autumn; and as in the *Eve of St. Agnes,* so now, the completeness of his possession by the theme is attested by the rich perfection of his art:

Who hath not seen thee oft amid thy store?
Sometimes whoever seeks abroad may find
Thee sitting careless on a granary floor,
Thy hair soft-lifted by the winnowing wind:
Or on a half-reap'd furrow sound asleep,
Drowsed with the fume of poppies, while thy hook
Spares the next swath and all its twined flowers:

And sometimes like a gleaner thou dost keep
Steady thy laden head across a brook;
Or by a cider press, with patient look,
Thou watchest the last oozings hours by hours.

Where are the songs of Spring? Ay, where are they?
Think not of them, thou hast thy music too—
While barred clouds bloom the soft-dying day,
And touch the stubble plains with rosy hue;
Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn
Among the river sallows, borne aloft,
Or sinking as the light wind lives or dies:
And full-grown lambs loud bleat from hilly bourn;
Hedge crickets sing, and now with treble soft
The red-breast whistles from a garden-croft;
And gathering swallows twitter in the skies.

The serenity of the *Ode to Autumn* was Keats's prevailing temper in the last few weeks of his sojourn at Winchester in September 1819. In that critical mood which never slept in him for long he reviewed his mental state, and once more was conscious of a change. His friends think that he has 'lost his old poetic ardour': he hopes 'to substitute for it a more quiet and thoughtful power'. For he is now content to read and think. The growth of this 'quiet and thoughtful power' can, indeed, be traced all through the letters he had written in the previous months of storm and stress. His trials, instead of making him an egoist, had deepened his sympathetic understanding of men and things. He showed a wider interest than before in the spectacle of life, and saw farther into its spiritual meaning. The 'burden of the mystery' was already less unintelligible to one who, like him, could view 'a world of pains and troubles as the vale of soul-making, necessary to school an intelligence and make it a soul, a place where the heart must feel and suffer in a thousand diverse ways'. And now, alone with his books and his meditations, as he drank in the spirit of town quietude and the tranquillity of the season, it seemed as though he was gathering strength for a further flight towards his goal. But with his return to London in October this peace of mind forsook him, and he became the prey of torments too powerful for his weakening health to withstand. In the despair of genius thwarted by circumstance he turned once more upon himself to subject his life's work to the 'fierce hell of self-criticism'.

There is a strange similarity in the spirit and purpose of those two poems which Shelley and Keats left as fragments—the *Triumph of Life* and the *Fall of Hyperion.* Each is a vision inspired by Dante and owes much both in idea and temper to the great master. Each,

like the *Divine Comedy*, is a poem of self-purgation, recording a bitter confession of its author's failure to shape his life according to the light that was in him; in each case the poet is helped to see the truth about himself by an admonitory guide. And different as they were in character and genius the faults with which each poet charges himself are much the same. Shelley's guiding star had been love, and yet, 'love more than hate had been the source of all sorts of mischief' to him, he was 'a love in desolation masked, a power girt round with weakness'. In the *Triumph of Life* he probed into the reason of his failure. Among the victims chained to the car of Life, or driven before it, are not merely those who have fallen a prey to vulgar passions, but those, too, whose thirst for the ideal, however noble, has warped them from a full understanding of the common relations of life. Complete mastery Shelley assigns to those only who knew both themselves and the world, and despising the common allurement of the wayside, were true to their immortal destiny—

> They were the sacred few who could not tame
> Their spirit to the conqueror's.

Shelley sees how far he fell short of their attainment, and his poem is a passionate exposure of his own weakness. In the *Fall of Hyperion* Keats passes a like judgement upon himself. His ideal had been the principle of Beauty. At first he had identified it with pure sensation, and later, when he saw its all-embracing power, and realized that extreme sensitiveness to suffering was the price paid for all poetic vision, the knowledge had come to him as a fever: he had felt the pain without the power to allay it; he had never boldly confronted the realities of life, but sought to escape from them into a world of his own creation. He had been a dreamer of dreams, which only vexed himself and the world into whose ears he poured them. Better than this was the unimaginative life of simple men and women, who without vain questionings accept the common lot:

> They seek no wonder but the human face,
> No music but the happy noted voice.

He is less even than they; above, on the heights of poetry, are only the sacred few who have pierced the darkest reality with their imaginative vision, and subduing their own emotions to a sublimer purpose, have 'envisaged circumstance all calm'. Thus Keats weighs himself in the balance and is found wanting.

How far do we endorse this bitter self-condemnation? Assuredly Keats had neither the range of thought nor the wealth of insight of

the world-poets, nor had he learnt, as they, to rise above his own experience. But the serene heights of song are not scaleable by a youth of twenty-four. Already in *Endymion* he had set his foot upon the lowest stair, and in the two years that followed he had mounted with a swiftness and energy that has no parallel. His passion for beauty, as Arnold said, was no mere sensuous passion, it was an intellectual and spiritual passion. But when death cut short his labours he was still 'straining at particles of light in a great darkness'. His keen self-criticism, at least as much as the strength of his emotions, was a disturbing factor in his life. His mind criticized the slightness of his themes, the want of profound thought in his poetry, as surely as his instincts as an artist checked his thought from premature crystallization. The process was entirely salutary, it was a necessary stage in his growth to full poetic stature. But that stature he did not live to gain; and lovely as is much that he has left us, we know that his greatest poetry was still unwritten at his death.

Whether he would have achieved his last ambition, 'the writing of a few fine plays,' is less certain. The strongest evidence in its favour is that he believed himself to be capable of it. For he was always his own best critic. It is true that no poet ever had a more magical power of projecting himself into remote and varied worlds. But this power over atmosphere is only faintly allied to the dramatic gift. For wherever his imagination took him, Keats never lost himself and his own personal emotions; the exultation or the sorrow is always his own. Even in *Hyperion*, the most objective of his poems, the effect is epic rather than dramatic, plastic rather than psychological, and when he remoulded it in an intensely personal vision, though he marred a phrase or two in the carriage, he was really following his natural bent.

But whatever form of art he might have practised, it is clear that his poetry, whilst losing nothing of its unique loveliness of phrase and imagery, would have gained an even firmer hold upon the realities of human experience. For already, in two short years, he had shown a development in this direction at least as striking as his advance in sheer artistry. Listen to the lines from *Endymion* which present to us the mother of the gods:

> Forth from a rugged arch, in the dusk below,
> Came mother Cybele, alone, alone—
> In sombre chariot; dark foldings thrown
> About her majesty, and front death-pale,
> With turrets crown'd.

It is a superb picture; but sublimer is the art which could portray the fallen majesty of Saturn:

> . . . upon the sodden ground
> His old right hand lay nerveless, listless, dead,
> Unsceptred, and his realmless eyes were closed;
> While his bowed head seem'd list'ning to the earth,
> His ancient mother, for some comfort yet.

The growth is not so much in power over the pictorial or the statuesque, as in depth of human feeling. So in *Endymion* there is a tender pathos in the picture of

> Dryope's lone lulling of her child,

but how much farther are we taken into

> . . . the sad heart of Ruth, when sick for home
> She stood in tears amid the alien corn.

Even more notable is Keats's growth in penetrative insight into the mysterious response of nature to man's aspiring heart. The moon as she appears to her impassioned lover in *Endymion* is a vision of pure delight:

> She dies at the thinnest cloud; her loveliness
> Is wan on Neptune's blue; yet there 's a stress
> Of love spangles, just off yon cape of trees
> Dancing upon the waves, as if to please
> The curly foam with amorous influence:

and yet, more moving is the benignant light from the eyes of Moneta, that

> . . . in blank splendour beamed, like the mild moon,
> Who comforts those she sees not, who knows not
> What eyes are upward cast.

The same difference in feeling separates the 'sweet-pea on tiptoe for a flight' from the 'hush'd, cool-rooted flowers, fragrant-eyed' of the *Ode to Psyche.*

Lastly, recall those lines upon the sea in *Endymion:*

> Old ocean rolls a lengthened wave to the shore
> Down whose green back the short-liv'd foam, all hoar,
> Bursts gradual, with a wayward indolence. . . .

It is perfect as a picture, perfect in cadence, perfect in the delineation of a careless human mood, the mood in which, despite its ambitious design, *Endymion* had been written. And yet, before Keats could watch

> The moving waters at their priest-like task
> Of pure ablution round earth's human shores,

he had to travel far through a soiled and stricken world. Even then his range might be limited compared with Milton's, or Shakespeare's, but he had at least learnt to 'think into the human heart'.

What he has revealed in lines such as these, is, in fact, just that power which in the bitterness of his spirit he had denied himself, the power 'to soothe the cares and lift the thoughts of man', that gift of healing which is the supreme quality of perfect beauty. Like Keats himself, we turn to poetry, as we turn to nature, that our infinite desire may be satisfied;

> For every man whose soul is not a clod
> Hath visions and would speak, if he had loved,
> And been well nurtured in his mother tongue.

But alas! to speak is not so easy. For though we all have our visions, only genius can utter them. We are for the most part silent poets. Yet with Keats we can pay homage to the 'principle of beauty in all things.' In the eager perception and the careless rapture of his early verse there is a joy and freshness in which the oldest heart regains its youth: in his later poems there is that noble melancholy which has her sovran shrine 'even in the Temple of Delight'. The emotion that they evoke is a spiritual triumph won from that very pain and passion which their beauty lays to rest. Are we wholly mistaken if, with Keats, we call that beauty, truth?

ANNUAL ITALIAN LECTURE

DANTE: THE POET

By CESARE FOLIGNO

Read May 4, 1921

A BLACKSMITH who ventured to recite, not faultlessly, some lines of Dante within the poet's hearing had his tools scattered about the smithy by the resentful poet, who in justification said that he treated the smith's tools not otherwise than the smith had dealt with his own verses. The story, if it be true, reads like a practical application of the law of 'contrappasso' in the realm of the living; but it is also a warning that none dare disregard who write or speak about Dante. If the spirit of the quick-tempered Florentine were allowed to hover on earth, many a scholar's library and desk would show signs of his visitations. This year more than ever should we refrain from the fallacies and the pettiness of perfunctory or pedantic criticism; rather should we gaze at the austere figure of the great exile with contrition for our own offences against him, alas so many!

Dante made no secret of his longing for the poet's laurels, and even though he did not receive them officially, as Mussato was privileged to receive them, he was surrounded by fame in his lifetime, and since death he has enjoyed a renown which, apart from a partial eclipse during the classical Renaissance, has never been dimmed and has spread to all countries and peoples. Wherever civilization is, the name of Dante, the poet, is known. It seems fitting that just this obvious aspect of his personality should be our subject to-day, and that this assembly, which is wont to listen to learned discourses on difficult and controversial questions of scholarship, should forgo this privilege in its desire to do homage to the work of one of the great masters of poetry. I take it that, had a more ambitious aim been contemplated, another lecturer than I would have had the honour of addressing this meeting.

There is another very obvious thing that we dare not forget. Dante paid his full tax and toll to the prevailing taste of his day. He endeavoured to construct upon the literal meaning of his fantastic creations a secondary or more secondary symbolic meaning. He

took a profound delight in watching the rapid soaring of his intellect to the understanding of scientific and philosophical problems, and thus his poems are based upon concepts which he borrowed from philosophy, theology, and science. Students of Dante have consequently found ample scope in him for the exercise of their powers of interpretation in solving the allegorical enigmas and in mastering the encyclopaedic lore of the Middle Ages, of which the works of Dante give us a wonderful conspectus. In this they became so far involved as to mistake, or to cause less expert readers to mistake, what was of secondary for what is of primary importance in Dante's works—to put philosophy, theology, science, and history before poetry. They are well aware all the time that there is scarcely one original philosophical concept, barely one or two fresh political thoughts, and not a single scientific novelty in the whole of Dante's works; that we read the *Commedia*, the *Vita Nuova*, and the *Convivio* or any of them for their poetical excellence alone; and that we should otherwise not read them at all, just as we refuse to wade through the volumes of some of Dante's contemporaries unless we are compelled to undertake such a labour by the necessity of some special study. Dante is for us primarily, nay rather, solely, a poet; his theological speculations, his astronomical errors, his scientific misconceptions, his historical inaccuracies, his political theories, matter little to us except in so far as they help us to gain a clear knowledge of his ideals, right or wrong as they may be. Dante seems to have taken pleasure in courting immortality under the most difficult conditions. His love poems he weighed down by the acceptance of a theory of love, subtle, artificial, and closely bound up with a body of tenets which are only of his day; his lyrics, his prose works, and the *Commedia* are permeated with philosophical and scientific thought; he concentrated his attention upon the transitory political condition of a comparatively small city and the fortunes of a mediocre emperor, whose history is a pitiful record of well-meaning incompetence. The theory of love to which he adhered, the philosophical creed and the scientific ideas which he adopted, were soon to be superseded; and the drama of the Florentine crisis and of the Italian expedition of Henry VII became but minor incidents in the complex history of a troubled country; and in spite of it all, his poetic personality was strong enough to impose upon thousands in the ages to come the task of unravelling all that was, or was destined soon to become, obscure in his works. He succeeded in infusing into the world of his thought so powerful a life as to cause many to mistake the miraculous creations of a poetic genius for the reality of a living world. The import of his achievement may be conveniently measured

by the vastness of Dante literature. Any one with sufficient imagination to be able to grasp the meaning of bibliographical information will grant that no more striking testimony of a concrete kind to the poet's greatness could be found than the mere size of the books which attempt to enumerate the works that have been written about him.

To Dante, the poet, homage of admiration has been paid in all ages. Every reader, in varying degree and from a different standpoint, has recognized the excellence of Dante's art; this attitude is so general that it has found but scant and vaguely worded expression. Scarcely any attempt has been made until recently to define this art and to define its peculiarities.[1] It has been taken for granted, felt obscurely, and remained unexplained. No doubt so long as the circumstances of Dante's life were but superficially known and accurate information was lacking about the political, social, and intellectual conditions of his days, any attempt at a critical appreciation must have been fruitless. It was thus inevitable that most scholars, following the bent of critical studies in their several generations, should in preference direct their efforts to the solution of the secondary problems of interpretation which baffled the readers, even though not all of them can have been aware that the importance of their researches was relative to a more constructive work which had to be undertaken later.

It is easy now to realize how much is useless of what has been written about Dante, and how much was misdirected or prejudiced; yet to all those scholars we owe a debt, because the cumulative result of their labours has enabled us in more recent days to face the critical problem. From the fourteenth century onward men have shifted their standpoint in studying Dante in accordance with the passing fashions of culture and taste. Attention has been centred in turn on every aspect of Dante's personality. He has been considered as a theologian, a Ghibelline, a plebeian poet unworthy of scholarly study, later, as a prophet of the 'risorgimento', or a pre-Raphaelite, and finally in our own days, he has been represented as a pedant endowed with a divine genius or as a plagiarist of Arab visionaries.[2] What matter? At all times he has been studied, and an implicit appreciation of his art underlies all appreciations however inadequate or faulty. So that each individual and each generation have understood

[1] Benedetto Croce, *La poesia di Dante*, Bari, Laterza, 1921, pp. 173–205.

[2] The former misconceptions are so well known that no exemplification is necessary; the last-named view is propounded by Don Miguel Asín Palacios in his essay *La Escatología musulmana en la 'Divina Commedia'*, Real Academia Española; Madrid, Maestre, 1919; on which should be read E. G. Parodi's review in 'Bullettino della Società dantesca italiana', N. S. xxvi, fasc. 4, 1919, pp. 163–181.

Dante in a different way and admired different aspects or sections of his work. To take an example, it has been recently stated that a portion of Dante's work has no real artistic value and that only those parts have a permanent value which can be classed as 'lyrical'.[1] This conclusion, the result of a purely aesthetic criticism, may not give us complete satisfaction; some among us will feel loth to throw overboard that which they had learnt to admire—the tension and the tremor of the *Vita Nuova*, the poet's strong political and party feeling, his moral seriousness, the conviction that he is called to deliver a divine message, the iron-girt construction of his geometrically balanced edifice. But whether this criticism is the last and definitive word on the subject, or merely a stepping-stone to further strictures, a link with later developments, or a transient pronouncement which will be countered in the future, it supplies a real need.

The leading exponent of aesthetic criticism has set down his views upon the merits of Dante's poetry; we are told that the whole output of Dante's earlier years should be regarded as a preparation for the *Commedia*; that in the *Commedia* itself there is a doctrinal framework—a 'theological novel'—which is as a whole unpoetical apart from its details, that Dante is occasionally blinded by factious feeling, and bursts into rhetorical denunciation of his enemies, and that the essence of Dante's art, as of all great poets, is 'lyrical'.[2] Those who should happen to dissent from any of these conclusions may turn for guidance to the earlier critical appreciations—from Foscolo's to Carducci's, from that of De Sanctis to that of Vossler; and, after all, each individual reader can only grasp and admire that which he is able to express to himself. We, at any rate, may be permitted to refrain from treading upon ground that has been covered already; nevertheless, it may prove of some interest to recall certain aspects of Dante's poetical personality which seem to have a further bearing upon the evaluation of his work and his art. It would be fruitless to study Dante's works from the standpoint of the author instead of starting from the impression that a modern reader receives from them; but it is, on the other hand, helpful to remind ourselves what function was assigned by Dante to poets and poetry in theory and in practice. All men agree, we would say, that Dante was first and foremost a poet, and that he reckoned himself a poet from his early youth to the last days of his life; and we may find, in the course of a rapid inquiry into Dante's attitude towards the art of poetry, that his poetical activity cannot be fully appreciated nor his art impartially valued apart from the results that such an inquiry may afford.

[1] Croce, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49. [2] Ibid., pp. 161-169.

Genius is generally said to be in advance of the age. Poets are often not only in advance of their age, but also in advance of the theories they espouse. They dare in the practice of their art to do that which they would not consider theoretically legitimate. Dante himself, who would seem to have directed his own literary activity with an iron hand, exceeded in actual fact the limits which, in theory, he was prepared to lay down. An apt illustration can be seen in his attitude towards the vernacular. He wrote the *Vita Nuova* in Italian, and he considered the choice of the vernacular justified, because the poems were love poems and the prose was merely a commentary upon those poems of love. Later he went farther and argued that the vernacular was an adequate medium for the expression of his views on moral matters in the 'canzoni' of the *Convivio*, because the meaning was veiled in an allegorical fiction, and the prose commentary had to be written in the same idiom as the poems. He took a step farther in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*,[1] but even so to expound and discuss in the vernacular such subjects as are touched upon in the *Paradiso* was scarcely to be defended on the theoretical grounds which he had put forward. No loftier subjects could be imagined than those with which he dealt in the 'alta tragedia'; so much so that, while up to the end of *Purgatorio* he had only needed the help of the Muses inhabiting one of the summits of Parnassus, at the inception of the *Paradiso* he appealed to Apollo, the dweller on the second summit of the mountain; and later on he stated: 'both heaven and earth have set hand to the sacred poem'.[2]

Again, Dante would probably not have ventured in a theoretical discussion to claim for the poets the privileges and the position which are the logical premisses of some parts of his works as also of certain situations which are to be found in them. During the Middle Ages, when Aristotle's *Poetics* was virtually unknown, students of aesthetic problems were thrown back on the theories which derived from Plato's philosophy of art or that of Plotinus—art, and therefore poetry, having been shown by Plato to be indirect representations of truth, were considered indefensible on philosophical grounds and were justified only as pleasant means to a useful end. On the other hand, the Christian followers of Plotinus, St. Francis and Bonaventura, were led to a mystic form of Intellectualism.[3] The

[1] *Vita Nuova*, § xxxi; *Convivio*, I. v–xiii; *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II. iv. 60–63.

[2] *Paradiso*, i. 13–36; xxv. 1–2

[3] See Karl Vossler, *Die gottliche Komodie*, Band 1, Teil 1, Heidelberg, Winter, 1907, pp. 182–201; Hubert Janitschek, *Die Kunstlehre Dantes und Giottos Kunst*, Antrittsvorlesung, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1892, pp. 1–17; Benedetto Croce, *Estetica come scienza dell' espressione e linguistica generale*, 4th ed., Bari, 1912, pp. 203 ff.

rationalists held all artistic works to be secondary manifestations of truth, or allegories; the mystics, on the other hand, held that divinity manifested itself necessarily by means of revelations, and so gave us visions as a counterpart of allegories. Aquinas in so far as he was a rationalist ascribed allegorical meaning to artistic creations, and in so far as he saw in the sacred books and in the visions of saints an immediate manifestation of the divine, he admitted visionary poetry. A poet could therefore, according to Aquinas, either declare truth through allegory, or reveal it by visions, according to his individual predisposition; he could be an allegorist if he was the servant of wisdom, a visionary if the servant of revelation. Dante partook of both tendencies, and he supplemented the doctrine of Aquinas on works of art in a passage of the *De Monarchia* and in one of the *Inferno*.[1] Art, he says, derives from God through Nature; and we may assume that the artist can therefore draw inspiration from natural and from supernatural sources—natural sources such as are symbolized by the Muses, supernatural sources, such as Apollo typifies, capable of producing a vision. The 'poeta philosophus', inspired by natural sources, exemplified by Virgil, the 'poeta theologus', drawing inspiration from above, may be accepted as being typified by the Prophets. In which class would he have included the writer of the *Commedia*?

He made no attempt to place poetry on a higher level than his contemporaries did when he defined poetry in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* as 'nothing else but a rhetorical fiction harmoniously composed' ('nihil aliud quam fictio rhetorica in musica composita'),[2] or, as he says in the *Convivio*, a 'beauteous fiction' under which truth is hidden ('ed è una verità ascosa sotto bella menzogna')[3]; and it is only in verse, namely in the envoy of the first canzone of the *Convivio*, that he ventures to claim for poetry some recognition apart from its content of truth allegorically expressed.

'Ode! I believe that they shall be but rare/who shall rightly understand thy meaning,/so intricate and knotty is thy utterance of it;/ Wherefore if perchance it came about/that thou take thy way into the presence of folk/who seem not rightly to perceive it;/Then, I pray thee to take heart again,/and say to them, O my beloved lastling:/ Give heed at least how beautiful I am.'/[4]

Even those among his readers who would be unable to understand his

[1] *De Monarchia*, II. ii. 10–37; *Inferno*, xi. 97–105.

[2] *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II. iv. 19–20.

[3] Ibid. i. 24.

[4] *The Convivio*, translated by Philip H. Wicksteed, London, G. M. Dent, 1903, p. 62.

meaning could not fail to be impressed by the excellence of his art; beauty has an existence apart from the truth allegorically expressed.

The poet Dante overleaps all the bounds with which Dante the theorist hems in the art of poetry. Here we have beauty as self-subsisting, elsewhere in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*,[1] he compares 'eos qui vulgariter versificantur' with the great or regular poets—(the ancients)—and concludes with a sentence that, though forgotten or ignored by them, was carried out to its ultimate possibilities by the poets of the Renaissance: 'The closer we imitate the regular poets the better we shall write poetry' ('Idcirco accidit ut quantum illos proximius imitemur, tantum rectius poetemur'). The comparison points to a new conception of art, an innovation more daring than was to be expected from a logical rationalist who is a close follower of authority.[2] But the contradiction between the depreciating mediaeval definition of poetry and the importance Dante implicitly or explicitly gave it in his works need scarcely be emphasized. If poetry was but a 'beauteous fiction' why should a man who was able, and had shown himself to be able, to pursue the quest of unadorned truth, write sonnets and ballads, 'canzoni', and the *Commedia* instead of treatises? Merely because of the utilitarian principle of 'miscere utile dulci'?[3] And again if poetry was what it had been defined by Dante and Aquinas how could Dante think so highly of himself and the other poets who had lived before him?

In order to avoid contentious matters I shall refrain from attempting to solve the problem of the real character of the *Commedia*; though if the sacred poem were considered something more than the merely didactic-allegorical epic which Dante himself suggested it to be in the epistle to Can Grande, the poet would have transgressed his theoretical limitations in the very greatest of his works.[4] It could be argued that obviously a poet cannot but think highly of his own art. The objection is true in the general but false in Dante's particular case, because we know that he was endowed, if ever a man was, with the strong courage of facing the moral problems by which he was confronted. A lengthy analysis of all that Dante has written would be required in order to bring into full relief the importance that he really assigned to poetry. For our immediate purpose, however, a few remarks will suffice.

[1] *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II. iv. 21–26.

[2] Karl Vossler, *Poetische Theorien in der italienischen Fruhrenaissance*, Berlin, Felber, 1900, pp. 22–23.

[3] Horace, *Epist. ad Pisones*, l. 343.

[4] *Ep.* x, § 15 (*Dantis Alagherii Epistolae*, emended text by Paget Toynbee. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, p. 178).

Poets such as Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, and Statius are quoted in the *Convivio*, a philosophical treatise, alongside of Cicero, Boethius, Aristotle, and religious writers, and their evidence is given a practically equal authority. Dante's procedure is similar in other works; whereever the opportunity for a reference to a poetical text is afforded to him he avails himself of it; but much more may be elicited from the *Commedia*.

In the *Commedia* two poets, Virgil and Statius, are chosen as guides, and Dante, amid the crowds of spirits he meets or mentions, is at pains not to forget any of the poets he considered excellent. In Limbus[1] among the countless innocent heathens is singled out a small group of five poets, who admit Dante as a sixth member, and together they enter into a castle in which the aristocracy of Limbus dwell: kings and their ladies, heroes, philosophers, and scientists alone are mentioned—(Orpheus and Linus are with them)—and the group of five poets clearly belongs to the same set of famous spirits. Apart from Virgil, who was in a special position, one would almost expect Dante, as a Christian, to keep aloof from the company of heathens, even though he was then in a state of sin, had he not wished to give a special prominence to the followers of the Muses, and to symbolize the connexion between ancient and modern poetry, a connexion which he may have thought to be strengthened by the link of his own poetical activity. At the beginning of the *Purgatorio* the meeting with a famous musician, Casella, is made the occasion for a quotation from one of Dante's 'canzoni'. Brunetto Latini, who had taught Dante 'how man makes himself eternal' just as Virgil had taught him the 'good style', says that his fellow-sinners are all 'clerks and great scholars, and of great renown'[2]; and throughout the circles of hell and the terraces of the mountain of *Purgatorio* no other poets are met by Dante until he encounters Bonagiunta Orbicciani among the gluttonous, and Guinizelli together with Arnaut Daniel among the lascivious.[3] Dante seems to have considered that the poets who embellish their teaching with pleasing adornments are liable to sin only through an excessive inclination to pleasure. Statius himself was on the fifth terrace of the mountain, and Dante consented to show Virgil less well informed and to seem himself less intelligent than either was, in order to have an opportunity of expressing his surprise at finding a poet among the spirits who had been tainted with avarice, a sin unbecoming to a man of Statius' wisdom.[4] From an ethical

[1] *Inferno*, iv. 25-151.

[2] Ibid. xv. 106, 108.

[3] *Purgatorio*, xxiv. 37-63; xxvi. 82-148.

[4] Ibid. xxii. 19-54.

standpoint avarice and prodigality are equally culpable, yet Dante makes a subtle distinction, almost an aesthetic distinction between them; Statius smiles before explaining that the fault he had atoned for on the fifth terrace was less discordant than avarice with the poetic character than Dante had surmised—he had been a spendthrift, not a miser.

Whether Statius be a symbol of human reason illumined by faith or whether, as would seem more probable, he is merely a Latin poet whom Dante cherished as a fellow admirer of Virgil's art, is immaterial to our present purpose. The fact is that Dante, wishing to show the process by which a spirit who has fully atoned for his sins ascends from purgatory to heaven, chose Statius; Statius a poet as Virgil and Dante are, and a poet who has repeatedly claimed to owe his 'good style' to Virgil's example. Dante in the last cantos of the *Purgatorio*, before the waters of Lethe wash away his remembrance of all human infirmities and weaknesses, seems to be completely under the spell of poetry, which requires from its followers a gentle and generous heart.[1] Poets, according to Dante's conception, are bound to one another by the strong links of a perfect fellowship, and neither in the darkness of hell nor in the clear atmosphere of the *Purgatorio* can they forget the pleasures afforded by the Muses. They can neither forget them nor shake themselves entirely free from their allurement. They have passed through the life of the world like other men, but the realities of life have never taken complete hold of them; their imagination has ever provided them with a means of escape from reality. The works of their forerunners have enabled them to live in intellectual communion with kindred spirits, men like themselves, but men who have the gift of soaring to a higher level than can be reached by the other inhabitants of the earth. And each poet is, in a way, also the creator of a new world—the world of his fancy. The characters he draws are his friends and his children; amid such a poetical family the poet finds refuge from and compensation for the crude business of life. In the after-world poets can look upon this life with eyes undimmed by emotion, but they still take pride in their creations, in their poetical children. That is why Brunetto Latini commends his *Trésor* to Dante; why Virgil, so perfect and wise, is not indifferent to the eulogies of Statius and Dante, and why Dante himself lingers in his pilgrimage to listen to Casella's song and to Bonagiunta's questions.[2] Poets, according to Dante, are also historians, so much so

[1] Alfredo Galletti, *Il Canto XXII del 'Purgatorio'*, 'Lectura Dantis Fiorentina', Florence, Sansoni, 1909, pp. 5–7.

[2] *Purgatorio*, ii. 112–121; xxiv. 37–63.

that Virgil mentions among the heroes of Limbus some of the actors in the *Thebais* and the *Achilleis*—'thy people' as he calls them in addressing Statius.

No doubt Dante himself, and perhaps even better than he, a modern scholar, could suggest a theoretical justification of such apparent inconsistencies with the definition of poetry as 'beauteous fiction', but I prefer to think, what I believe to be nearer the truth, that they show us Dante the man and the poet as he was made by nature: a stern judge of himself and his contemporaries, a whole-hearted party man, a scholar enamoured of truth and of the labour that the quest for truth entails, but above all a dreamer of poetic dreams. We recognize in him that same Dante who desired in his youth to forgo the pleasures and to escape the hardships of the world, and to be rocked on the waves of a sunny and calm sea in a little boat together with Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, and their ladies; who saw Beatrice gliding through the streets of Florence 'sentendosi laudare',[1] who later in the *De Monarchia* dreamed of a brotherhood of mankind in a universal empire of peace, described the forest 'spessa e viva' of Eden, and, shortly before entering it, paused in thought, if not in his steps, on the upward way while he made the meeting of Statius with Virgil the occasion for an indirect praise of poetry.[2] The meaning of this episode cannot be fully understood unless other passages of the *Commedia* are brought into relation with it—the description of Limbus, the conversation with Brunetto Latini, the words spoken by Guinizelli and Bonagiunta, and Matelda's words about the Golden Age.

In the fourth canto of the *Inferno* Dante gives us the impression of being still somewhat unfamiliar with the handling of the situation which he has conceived. The allegorical castle is a stiff and commonplace mediaeval structure; the great men of antiquity move in rigid groups; there is no attempt at characterization, and Dante, by abstaining from all mention of what is spoken, has given occasion for absurd misconstructions on the part of some of his less skilful interpreters.[3] But though he did not fully succeed in expressing to himself and to his readers the scene which he had conceived with a view to conveying to us his appreciation of antiquity and in particular of ancient poetry, the inspiration which moved him to assemble in a peaceful luminous plain the wise and heroic ancients, and the scene itself, are rendered quite clear and complete by the episode of the *Purgatorio*. It is then that we realize how peacefully those dwellers in Limbus lived

[1] *Canzoniere*, son. xxxii (Oxford Dante, 1904, p. 173); *Vita Nuova*, § 26, 41.

[2] *Purgatorio*, xxi. 82–136; xxii. 55–114.

[3] *Inferno*, iv. 103–104.

with one another, and how familiarly Dante conversed in spirit with them. Virgil was the central figure, around him were men whom Dante knew by their works or by their deeds, such as Horace and Ovid and Lucan, and other spirits with whose works Dante would have liked to have been acquainted, such as Plautus and Terence, or the ill-assorted representatives of the Greek world—Homer, Euripides, Simonides, Antiphon, and others. Together with them, and in Dante's eyes more real even than they, there were sad heroines of the *Thebais* and the *Achilleis*. 'Those lords of the highest song' converse among themselves as Statius and Virgil talked in the *Purgatorio*, when Dante 'hearkened to their discourse which gave him understanding in poesy'[1]—wise ancients who knew not only all the secrets of 'good style' and all the truth which human reason can grasp unaided, but were also dimly conscious of the higher truth which Christians were privileged to possess. Virgil himself first sent Statius 'towards Parnassus to drink in its caves and then did light him on to God', when he wrote in the fourth eclogue 'The world is renewed, justice returns and the first age of man, and a new progeny descends from heaven'. And all those ancient poets who had described the innocent happiness of the Golden Age had seen in a dream, according to Matelda, the happy state of the first men in Eden. 'They who in olden times sang of the golden age and its happy state, perchance dreamed in Parnassus of this place.'[2]

Is then poetry nothing more than a 'beauteous fiction'? Or rather, is not the fiction occasionally a revelation of supernatural truth veiled and adorned by beauty?

Aquinas had laboured to bring ancient thought, as systematized by Aristotle, into harmony with revealed truth; Dante accepted the doctrine that ranked poets little higher than jesters who are sometimes aware of the truth, but who at their best are simply entrusted with the task of diverting, by their melodious verse, the slothful attention of men to truth and wisdom; but he went farther even than the mystics who echoed the doctrine of Plotinus. For him the communion of ancient and Christian philosophy, as elicited by Aquinas, was a permanent acquisition; yet poets (and we may suppose all artists) could be not only, as the mystics maintained, the normal channels by means of which the deepest and highest concepts were revealed to mankind, but were also in a sense the worshippers of beauty. Just as truth spanned the gap between the ancient and the

[1] Translations are quoted throughout from the 'Temple Classics' edition of the *Commedia*, edited by Sir Israel Gollancz. London, G. M. Dent.

[2] *Purgatorio*, xxii. 128–129; xxii. 64–66; xxii. 70–72; xxviii. 139–141.

Christian world, so Dante felt, I think, though he did not state it, that art was another bridge across the same chasm, perhaps more circuitous but scarcely less safe. And the universal fellowship in the republic of letters which was to form the fundamental premiss of the revival of classical studies was dimly present to Dante's consciousness even though he failed, and could not but fail, to intuite in its fullness an idea which was to have its natural development at a later date. The strange lack of historical perspective peculiar to the Middle Ages helped Dante to bring himself into communion with the ancients. He could not discover all the secrets of their art nor all the tendencies of their mentality. Intellectually there is an abyss between Dante and his classical models, but sentimentally they were nearer to him than they are to us; nearer in time because of the lack of perspective, and also more dearly familiar to him because he had in a sense discovered them himself.[1] To such a discovery at any rate he came almost unaided; and it was a discovery far less complete than he would have wished us to believe. Swayed, as he was, by ethical prejudice he would never have dared to include among the 'lords of the highest song' Terence, Caecilius, and Plautus, for he would have considered them unpoetical (had he been acquainted with their works), because they did not consistently conform their muse to the requirements of a moral purpose. But however restricted his knowledge it was animated by a new spirit.

Since the rise of vernacular literature, Italians had been harassed by the necessity of freeing their art from mediaeval conventionalities, and they tried to accomplish this by several means: one was to attempt to render the literature more humanistic by an admixture of philosophical elements; another was to abandon the vernacular language and to revert to Latin. The latter attempt became at first, in the hands of Geri d' Arezzo, Campesani, Lovato, and Mussato, entirely external. These classicists seem to have thought that ancient literature was superior to their own merely because of the advantage it possessed of a more perfect medium of expression. Dante ranged himself from the outset of his literary career with those who treaded the former way.[2] As became a friend and a protégé of Cavalcanti he followed in Guinizelli's steps, who had been the first to introduce philosophical thought into vernacular poetry; and, as became an admirer of Brunetto Latini, who had opened out the wide field of encyclopaedic knowledge to the vernacular by writing his *Tesoretto* in Italian, he endeavoured to widen its possibilities still farther. I have

[1] Galletti, *op cit.*, pp. 38–39.
[2] Vossler, *Poetische Theorien*, pp. 25; 4–5; 10–12.

already recalled incidentally how his attitude towards the possibilities of the Italian language changed as he passed from the *Vita Nuova* to the *Convivio* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and from the *Convivio* to the *Commedia*. But so far, since Guinizelli's reform the progress had taken place only in externals. Dante rightly considered he had taken a decisive step forward when he was able to announce that he had learned his 'good style' from Virgil. He, a vernacular poet, was no less than Statius entitled to call Virgil his master, because he had succeeded in acquiring a knowledge, if not perfect, at least sufficient, of the Virgilian art, and believed that he had applied the methods of the Latin poet in his own works.

It would perhaps be possible, if we went into minutiae, to challenge Dante's assumed claim to priority, for we can discern minor isolated indications that students were moving in the same direction. But Dante has written that 'the large-souled man ever exalts himself in his heart, and so counterwise the small-souled man ever holds himself less than he really is'[1]; and he was certainly not inclined to be a small-souled man, nor to belittle his own achievements. Even the fact that the ancient poets in Limbus admit him, Dante, as sixth of their group could be taken to symbolize the newly-established link between ancient and contemporary poets, the re-born fellowship among poets of different ages and countries. By the side of Homer and Horace, listening to their discourses on poetry, as he listened later to the conversation between Virgil and Statius, Dante could not have felt in his heart of hearts that poetry was merely fiction, or that beauty in poetry was nothing more than a clumsy device intended to rivet the attention of readers while the lessons of virtue and truth were expounded.

All this would be immaterial except in its historical bearing, if it were true that readers are concerned only with the finished product of the poet's art, not with the poet's progressive effort to achieve self-expression. On the contrary it is this process which should, and in reality does, mainly interest an intelligent reader, and helps him to understand and to value the poet's achievement. It is for this reason that Dante's attitude towards the fundamental problem of the moral justification of art is so pregnant of meaning. On the theoretical side we have seen that he is in the main faithful to the doctrine of the rationalists; in his creative activity he reaches instead far beyond the limits imposed upon poetry by that doctrine. He possesses a consciousness of the importance of his art which he does not formulate as a theory, but which nevertheless underlies a considerable portion of his work.

[1] *Convivio*, I. xi. 127–130 (Wicksteed's transl., p. 51).

And Dante's consciousness of the importance of poetry, no less than his familiar communion with his ancient and contemporary models and masters, is made clear by yet another consideration. In the Middle Ages the study of the technicalities of poetry and literature was pursued with great zest.[1] While the secret of classical artistic creation became gradually obscured in the course of the centuries, men sought to facilitate creation by a constantly repeated endeavour to lay down poetical rules, rather than to rediscover the secret of creation. Towards the end of the mediaeval period books were written, in Italy and elsewhere, for the training and the use of prose writers and poets; but such books were as dead and uninspiring as grammars. They were nothing but series of extracts chosen according to the prevailing taste or expressly composed for the purpose. Literary composition was actively pursued, but it involved externals alone. Dante evinced a great interest in the technicalities of poetry, and though he did not always succeed in escaping the pitfalls of contemporary methods he threw considerable light on many a literary question. This fact has a twofold interest: it witnesses once more, if indirectly, to Dante's attitude towards poetry, and it shows the charm of the simple mediaeval conditions. Every artist of the Middle Ages, however great, was a craftsman, and as such was not ashamed to learn, to practise, and to teach the humble technicalities of his trade. Dante's words on this subject are well known, but I may be allowed to recall a few of the more significant.

As early as the days when he was writing the *Vita Nuova* Dante was watching himself at his work and judging of his own position among contemporary poets. When the persistent questions of a lady revealed to him his inconsistency in his relation with Beatrice, he suddenly changed the manner of his poetry and deliberately carried out a literary reform.[2] In the course of the prose part of that book he gives us an abstract of literary history and criticism, which besides showing the limitations of his classical learning seems to contain the seed out of which later developed the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. And he gives us more than this information. Poetry is to him, we learn, a relief from the anguish of love, but he tells us also how the phantoms which flitted indistinctly through his mind occasionally took shape of a sudden, and found expression in verse: 'I remained during several days in the desire of speaking, and the fear of beginning. After which it happened, as I passed one day along a path which lay beside a stream of very clear water, that there came upon me a great

[1] Janitschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.
[2] *Vita Nuova*, § xviii. 7-69.

desire to say something in rhyme; . . . Whereupon I declare that my tongue spake as though by its own impulse, and said, "Ladies that have intelligence of love"'.[1]

Later in the *Convivio* he extolled the vernacular as the natural and worthy medium of poetical expression; he even put forward a claim, tentative in its form but daring in substance, to the independence of art and morals. The *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, which contains some of Dante's most original philosophical conceptions, is substantially a vindication of the fitness and dignity of the vernacular as a medium of literary expression; it is an attempt at constructing a literary 'Volgare' for the use of all his contemporaries and the writers that were to come after. But the scope and the effect of the theoretical speculations are of little relevance as compared with the creative work in the *Commedia*.

If a poet's craftsmanship be a thing of the earth, Dante had good reason to say that 'heaven and earth had set hand to the poem'! And it is remarkable to note how much he tells us about his own craftsmanship and how proud he was of its excellence. Words have a sound for him as well as a meaning; there is also a class distinction among them as well as among styles; and who knows how much more he would have told us about his beliefs and his tastes had he finished the treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia*? When he attempted the 'sestina' for the first time in Italian, or when he invented a new and even more complicated scheme of verse, he took pride in his success.[2] The so-called 'rime della pietra', whatever their ultimate purpose be, show evident traces of the enjoyment the poet took in setting himself a difficult task and in accomplishing his task to his own satisfaction. In the course of his description of the weird transformations to which the thieves are subjected in Malebolge he challenges comparison with two even of the ancient poets whom he has placed in the company of Homer in Limbus no less on account of the excellence of his description than on account of the complexity of his invention. We may disagree with his estimate of the relative merits of the principal troubadours, but we cannot deny that it is justified by a deep insight into problems of technique, that it is in point of fact the verdict of a master craftsman upon the work of his equals.

But we have observed that he was not satisfied with mere technicalities. The *De Vulgari Eloquentia* itself is an attempt to bring the

[1] *Vita Nuova*, § xxv, § xviii. 67–69, § xix. 10–12. (*The Early Italian Poets*, together with Dante's *Vita Nuova*, translated by D. G. Rossetti. London, Newnes, 1904, p. 196.)

[2] *Amor, tu vedi ben che questa donna*; see *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II. xiii. 90–96.

classical spirit to bear upon the formalistic teaching of the Middle Ages. In an episode of the *Purgatorio* Dante points out with striking judiciousness the real basis of the reform of 'Stil Nuovo'; he says: 'I am one who, when love inspires me, takes note, and go setting it forth after the fashion which he dictates within me'.[1] Long before any scholar had proposed or sought to solve the fundamental problem of aesthetics the poet Dante intuited the secret of all artistic activity from an idealistic standpoint. No man can write verse, however learned and subtle he may be, who is unable to receive an impression that is itself a poem; an impression which sings in his heart before it sounds in the ears of his listeners. That is how love dictates.

But it is the business of the poet to focus his attention on that impression, to see it as clearly and fully as he is able, until it appears embodied in some line which is remarkable for its charm as it is felicitous as an improvisation—'Donne ch' avete intelletto d' amore'—or until he is able to express it by a skilful use of poetical technique. This is the labour of 'setting it out after the fashion which love dictates', and this is also the 'knot' which earlier poets and poets of a later age have been often unable to solve.[2]

Dante as a poet performs miracles in some of the openings of his lyrics or some of his verses in the *Commedia*. In an age of convention and formalism he went to Virgil to school; in an age when nothing gave reason to hope for the appearance of a masterpiece of form and structure, he produced such a masterpiece. His creative work is immensely superior in merit to his theorizings, but even these show how, in spite of the limitations of contemporary philosophy and rhetoric he was able to slip through the meshes of the network which encircled him, and to bring the vernacular poetry of Italy, when it was still in its infancy, to heights of perfection and finish that have seldom been equalled and never surpassed.

[1] *Purgatorio*, xxiv. 52–54.

[2] P. Tommasini-Mattiucci, *Una noticina dantesca a proposito dello 'Stil Nuovo'*, in 'Giornale storico della letteratura italiana', lviii, 1911, pp. 96–121. Vittorio Rossi, *Il 'dolce stil nuovo'* in Lectura Dantis, 'Le opere minori', Florence, Sansoni, 1906, p. 49.

SIXTH ANNUAL MASTER-MIND LECTURE

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

DANTE

By Professor EDMUND G. GARDNER

Read May 4, 1921

L' Italia cerca in lui il segreto della sua Nazionalità; l' Europa, il segreto dell' Italia e una profezia del pensiero moderno.—Mazzini.

Benedetto Croce, at the beginning of his recent volume, *La poesia di Dante*, asks the pertinent question: 'Is there any reason for which the poetry of Dante should be read and judged with a different method from that applied to every other poetry?' The answer that he gives amounts to a qualified negative; but it is obvious that, when speaking of Dante as one of those master-minds whose grasp has embraced the civilization of an entire epoch, whose intuition not only interprets what is of permanent significance in its own past and present, but seems, as far as may be, to reach out to the future, we are called upon to consider his work from a more comprehensive standpoint than that of aesthetics. In so doing, we do not forget that it is as poet, as supreme poet at least of the Latin races if not of the whole modern world, that Dante 'beacons from the abode where the Eternal are', and can never, in his own phrase,

perder vita tra coloro
che questo tempo chiameranno antico.

It is, indeed, a testimony to the power of inspiration, the irresistible vocation of poetry, that she could claim as her own, and compel to utterance in her medium, the ripest scholar and the deepest political thinker of his age, 'theologus Dantes nullius dogmatis expers', a man of action as well as of contemplation. The *Divina Commedia*—

il poema sacro
al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra—

came from the mind that had traversed every field of knowledge and of experience accessible to one who was born 'de li cristiani del terzodecimo centinaio'.[1]

And, to these 'cristiani del terzodecimo centinaio', the century had been one of spiritual adventure as well as literary development. In its first years, from among the mountains of Calabria, had rung out

[1] *Vita Nuova* xxix.

the prophecy of Joachim of Flora, announcing the advent of the third epoch, the epoch of the Holy Ghost, the kingdom of love in which men would live according to the spirit in the dispensation of the Everlasting Gospel. Swiftly upon this had followed the rise of St. Francis, as a mystical sun from Assisi, his espousals with Lady Poverty, the mystery of La Verna. Simultaneously, in the intellectual sphere, had come the recovery for western Europe of the works of Aristotle, opening men's minds to new possibilities of scientific attainment, giving them a fresh and less imperfect method, supplying reason with an armoury of new weapons for defence, should need arise, against the oppression of tradition and authority. The great schoolmen, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, had seized upon this method and these weapons for the cause of orthodoxy, and had restated and systematized the philosophy and theology of the Church in a synthesis which, in appearance at least, had harmonized reason and revelation by assigning to each its own respective field. The secular struggle between Papacy and Empire had left both powers weakened, sunk far below the ideal heights to which an Innocent III or a Frederick II had lifted them, both alike to be soon confronted with the new claims of nationality, then mainly represented in the Latin world by France; while the Latin continuity, that key to the civilization of Italy throughout the centuries, was kept unbroken in the peninsula in the life of the Italian cities, in the study of Roman law, in the educative work of grammarians and rhetoricians—those masters of the *ars dictandi* whose influence upon Dante has not yet been fully examined. Rome herself—*Latiale caput* as Dante, echoing Lucan, calls her—still held her unique sway over heart and imagination, and not alone to the poet were 'the stones that are fixed in her walls worthy of reverence, and soil where she sits more worthy than can be preached and proved by men'.[1] Those children of Rome in the linguistic sphere, the romance or Neo-Latin tongues which are the continuation and development of her speech, were becoming aware (to adopt a phrase of Croce's) of their own power. The prose and poetry of France, the lyrics of the Provençal troubadours, had been followed by the development of a vernacular literature in Italy herself: the lyrics of the *Scuola siciliana* dealing exclusively with love, those of its Tuscan successors extending the subject-matter to political and ethical themes as well, those of the *dolce stil nuovo* wedding the sentiment and experience of love with the new scholastic philosophy; the impassioned mystical *laude* of Umbria, the fierce factional *serventesi* of Romagna, the didactic poems of Lombardy. More slowly and tentatively,

[1] *Convivio* iv. 5. Cf. *Epistola* viii. 10.

Italian literary prose had come into being when the masters of the *ars dictandi* had turned, from setting models for elegant composition in Latin, to show how similar methods might be applied to the vernacular. Nor is it, perhaps, without significance that the earliest translation into Italian that, apart from rhetorical examples for letters and discourses, has come down to us from the thirteenth century, should be the story of the foundation of Rome and in the dialect of the Eternal City itself.

It is to the last year of that century—the year in which he himself shared for two months in the chief magistracy of the Florentine commune—that Dante, in later life, assigned the vision that, in the literal sense, was to be the subject of the *Divina Commedia.*

Dante's earliest works—the *Vita Nuova* and the greater part of his lyrics composed before his exile—belong, not only chronologically but spiritually, to the thirteenth century. The imagery and motives of the Provençal troubadours, or of his own Italian predecessors, are rehandled and given a more mystical colouring; there is nothing essentially new; but these traditions and this phraseology are employed to depict—or, at times, veil—a true personal experience of love, even as the Christian mystics, like Augustine and Bernard, had adopted the psychological terminology of the Neo-Platonists to interpret their own experience of eternity. There are regions of romantic feeling and romantic experience for which the Middle Ages had evolved the corresponding artistic utterance, and the lyrics which enshrine the mystical passion of Dante for Beatrice give technical perfection to the forms in which they had already found expression. Incidentally, in the comparatively rudimentary and tentative prose of the *Vita Nuova,* we perceive Dante already interested in questions some of which he will treat more fully later: the development of vernacular poetry, its legitimate sphere and relation with classical verse, the extent to which the use of figures and rhetorical colour is lawful without impairing the sincerity of the work.

Already in the *Vita Nuova,* in the hint of 'una mirabile visione', and in the promise with which the book closes, to write of Beatrice 'quello che mai non fue detto d'alcuna', we recognize the germ—if not the first design—of the *Divina Commedia.* But there is as yet no anticipation that the work, thus vaguely foreshadowed, would be linked with the destinies of man and bear the weight, with lyrical freedom, of all the knowledge of the age. It is in the early years of his exile, wandering 'per le parti quasi tutte, alle quali questa lingua si stende, peregrino, quasi mendicando',[1] that we first find Dante

[1] *Convivio* i. 3.

conscious of a mission. This is expressed in allegorical fashion in a canzone: *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute.* And its imagery is noteworthy. For Dante, the turning-point in history was the alleged donation by Constantine of imperial prerogatives and territorial possessions to the Church, the initial cause alike of the disunion of civilization and the failure of Christianity to lead the world to its Founder. The supremely significant incident in the Middle Ages was, therefore, the mission of St. Francis and his marriage with Lady Poverty, as the attempted return to the primitive ideal of religion that Christ had left—although, in the poet's eyes, the Franciscan movement itself had proved but a passing episode.[1] So the canzone is based on the Franciscan legend, on the story of how Lady Poverty came to meet Francis as he journeyed on foot to Siena. But to Dante, instead of Poverty, comes Justice—she, too, with her spiritual offspring, cast out by men—that the poet, hearing the mystical promise of the triumph of righteousness and finding such high companionship in seeming misfortune, may declare:

L' esilio, che m' è dato, onor mi tegno.

Thus, even as Francis had been the bridegroom of Poverty, Dante becomes the preacher of Justice: *vir praedicans iustitiam* (as he was to call himself in the famous letter refusing to return to Florence under dishonourable conditions); a man who has the charge laid upon him, as he says in the *De Monarchia*, of keeping vigil for the good of the world.[2] And in the *De Monarchia* itself, at the beginning of the second book, we have indicated yet another shaping force upon Dante's spirit: a conception, represented there as a kind of political conversion, of the meaning of Roman history, of the part played by Rome and her Empire in the providential design for the promulgation of law and the unity of civilization; a conviction that Rome represented for the commonwealth of the human race that justice of which he, the poet, was the individual proclaimer. It can be deduced from the *Convivio* that this realization had come to him at an early date in his career.

To the earlier years of his exile belong Dante's two unfinished prose works: the *Convivio* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. The former—in the shape of a commentary upon his own canzoni—is, under one aspect, a vernacular encyclopaedia; but distinguished from all other mediaeval works of the kind by its form, its artistic beauty, its personal note. In part a popularization of the christianized Aristo-

[1] *Paradiso* xi. 55–75, xii. 112–26.

[2] 'Ut utiliter mundo pervigilem' (*De Monarchia* i. 1).

telianism of 'Alberto della Magna' and 'il buono fra Tommaso d'Aquino', it holds a unique place in the development of Italian prose, of the potentialities of which, as a literary medium no less efficient than Latin, Dante professes himself the exponent. It is, he declares, by its prose, rather than by its poetry, that the capacity and beauty of a language must be tested.[1] The *Convivio* is full of passages of true beauty and insight, though at times obscured by excessive allegorization. Dante has made the discovery that man may love and pursue an intellectual ideal with a devotion similar to that which he offers to an adored woman. We have consequently the mystical conception of love as the yearning of the human soul to fortify its own being by union with God, or with what in nature appears a revelation of the divine perfection, and the personification of philosophy whose body is wisdom and whose soul is love. This aids us to understand how, in the *Divina Commedia*, what might well be arid scholastic disquisitions so often become great poetry; the interpretation of such themes is lyrical with Dante, because he can identify himself with them by approaching them in the spirit of a lover.

The *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is more original. If its opening chapters, in which, as Rajna observes, Dante appears as 'il primo storico cosciente del linguaggio', do not pass beyond the normal mediaeval circle of ideas, we are soon transported into a region where only occasional traces of specifically mediaeval thought remain. The Italy, throughout which he is seeking (in Mazzini's famous phrase) 'to create a form worthy of representing the national idea', is the Italy of to-day, and his examination and classification of the Italian dialects is an attempt so modern that it has only been fully accomplished in our own time by Graziadio Ascoli, that greatest of romance philologists whose native city of Gorizia is now happily redeemed for its motherland, and his more recent followers. Casini acutely observed that we owe to Dante the discovery that 'language is the symbol and character of nationality'. Like Aeneas, *Italiam quaero patriam.* Dante finds the symbol of the nation in her language, with all its then but partially realized possibilities of utterance for uplifting hearts and minds, and already he declares that, although their court in the body is scattered, the Italians 'have been united by the gracious light of reason'.[2] I will only add that the unfinished second book, with its lucid analysis of the art of the canzone, the highest form of Italian lyrical poetry, remains a masterpiece of intuitive criticism, indispensable still—not only for what it suggests, but also for its contents—to every student of early Italian poetry.

[1] *Convivio* i. 10. [2] *De Vulgari Eloquentia* i. 18.

We know how this epoch in Dante's life was cut short by the Italian enterprise of Henry of Luxemburg. It has been well said (by Zingarelli) of Dante : 'Egli, morto per Firenze, è risorto cittadino d' Italia'. The great Latin letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy reveals a keen sense of this Italian citizenship, and is a landmark in the evolution of the national idea in Italy. Rulers and subjects are addressed as members of one body, the advent of the potential deliverer from oppression and anarchy is announced to Italy as a whole; the writer's Italian nationality comes before his Florentine origin, when he subscribes himself: 'humilis italus Dantes Alagherii florentinus et exul immeritus'.

The question as to when the three parts of the *Divina Commedia* were composed has hardly yet been definitely solved by Italian scholars. We gather from his first Eclogue—that genial and delightful poem in which Dante revived the bucolic muse of Virgil and inaugurated the Latin pastorals of the Renaissance—that the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* had already been completed, and in some sort made public, and the *Paradiso* was still in preparation some two or three years before his death. It may be taken for granted that, even if the composition was spread over various periods in his life, or if the second and third canticles were written at definable earlier epochs, the work took ultimate shape, and was crowned by the third canticle, after the failure and death of Henry of Luxemburg had shattered the poet's hopes of an immediate renovation of Italy and his own return to Florence.[1] The *Divina Commedia* is the record of a life's experience, in which the various threads that we trace in his other works are ultimately woven together, and lifted to a higher sphere. It combines the fulfilment of the promise that Dante had made of old, to say of Beatrice 'what has never been said of any woman', with the fulfilment of the charge which he conceives laid upon him, of 'keeping vigil for the good of the world'.

Benedetto Croce has observed that the *Poeta-Vate* is a poet of a special character: one who, 'animated by a strong ethical spirit, proposes to his fellow-citizens, to his fellow-countrymen, or to men in general, a direction to follow in life. His poetry, then, is the objective rendering of a desire of moral force, whether for conservation or for revolution'. Such poets, he says, give expression to the aspiration of an epoch or

[1] For a masterly presentment of the view that an earlier date must be assigned to the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, the reader is referred to the two studies of E. G. Parodi, *La data della composizione e le teorie politiche dell' 'Inferno' e del 'Purgatorio'*, republished in his *Poesia e storia nella 'Divina Commedia'* (Naples, 1921).

of a people, and he notices how certain Italian poets, Alfieri and Carducci, who stand consciously in a symbolical relation to their age, claim this title for themselves. But Dante, while perfectly fulfilling Croce's definition of the *Poeta-Vate*, to our minds represents something more; something more nearly akin to the Old Testament idea of a prophet. The development of the prophetic element in Dante's works can be traced from the canzone of the *Tre donne* through the political letters to the *Divina Commedia.* He has grasped the special weapon of the Hebrew prophets: the conviction of the retributive justice of God. He is consciously renewing for the Rome of the new dispensation and for Christendom the moral and religious lessons, the terrible warnings, the Messianic and national hope that the Prophets had uttered for Jerusalem of old. From the beginning to the end of the *Divina Commedia* he makes their language his own. A comparison with Ariosto is possible. The first and last lines of the *Orlando Furioso* are modifications of lines in the *Divina Commedia*, which likewise echo the opening and concluding lines of the *Aeneid.* Dante knew and loved Virgil better than did Ariosto, and followed more closely in his footsteps; but the starting-point of the *Inferno*,

> Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita,

is from Isaiah; the final image of the *Paradiso*, symbolizing the assimilation of the powers of the soul with the Divine Will,

> sì come rota ch' egualmente è mossa,

has its ultimate source in the wheels of the divine chariot in Ezekiel's vision of the four living creatures.

But Dante is the successor, not only of the Hebrew prophets, but of the Latin poets as well. The *Divina Commedia* is at once the prophetic book of the Middle Ages and the first poem of modern times to claim equality with the masterpieces of classical antiquity. If, in the *Paradiso*, Dante can apply to himself the words of the Lord to Jeremiah,[1] he has already, in the *Inferno*, found himself bidden to be one of the band of classical poets:

> E più d' onore ancora assai mi fenno,
> ch' esser mi fecer della loro schiera,
> sì ch' io fui sesto tra cotanto senno.[2]

Nowhere does the debt of the mediaeval and modern world to the literature, the law, the civilization of ancient Rome find nobler expression than in the *Divina Commedia.* And the imagery of her poets—Virgil and Lucan in particular—often becomes a thing of more subtle beauty and significance in Dante's hands. Their

[1] Cf. especially *Paradiso* xxvii.

[2] *Inferno* iv. 100–2.

influence, more notably that of Virgil, is all-pervading, mingling even with the impassioned mysticism of Bernard's prayer to the Blessed Virgin:

> Ed io, che mai per mio veder non arsi
> più ch' io fo per lo suo, tutti i miei prieghi
> ti porgo, e priego che non sieno scarsi,
> perchè tu ogni nube gli disleghi
> di sua mortalità coi prieghi tuoi,
> sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi;[1]

and heard in the words with which Dante expresses his supreme experience of Eternity beyond space and time:

> Qual è colui che somniando vede,
> che dopo il sogno la passione impressa
> rimane, e l' altro alla mente non riede;
> cotal son io; chè quasi tutta cessa
> mia visione, ed ancor mi distilla
> nel core il dolce che nacque da essa.
> Così la neve al sol si disigilla,
> così al vento nelle foglie lievi
> si perdea la sentenza di Sibilla.[2]

Further, the successor of the Hebrew prophets and the Latin poets is the interpreter of the great thinkers of the ages that followed the decay of classical Rome. The theologians and the mystics—Augustine with his philosophy of history, Dionysius with his Neo-Platonic raptures, Boethius with his philosophic ardour and devotion, Richard of St. Victor and Bonaventura with their minute investigation of the steps taken by the soul in her spiritual ascent, Albertus and Aquinas with their vast synthesis of human thought in the terms of the Aristotelian wisdom—have all contributed *vital nutrimento* to the sacred poem. The new christianized Aristotelianism, that great philosophical achievement of the thirteenth century, receives its apotheosis in those cantos of the *Paradiso*, where Dante—with a certain triumphant intonation—cites the *Metaphysics* of the Stagirite as Reason's argument for the existence of God as first Mover, as Supreme Good and therefore supreme object of Love.[3] In wedding the thought and aspirations of centuries to the music of the *Divina Commedia*, the poet treats what he thus receives as an independent thinker, interpreting its abiding significance in the light of his own personal experience, bearing in mind that 'the whole as well as the part was conceived, not for speculation, but with a practical object'.[4]

[1] Cf. *Aeneid* ii. 604–6.
[2] Cf. *Aeneid* iii. 441–52.
[3] *Paradiso* xxiv. 130–2, xxvi. 37–9. Cf xxviii. 41–2.
[4] 'Non ad speculandum, sed ad opus inventum est totum et pars' (*Epistola* x. 16). I quote Dr. Paget Toynbee's text and translation (*Dantis Alagherii Epistolae*, Oxford, 1920).

It is inevitable that, in Dante's figuration of the classical world by the reconstruction of classical character, there should be traces of mediaeval anachronism, but there is immeasurably less of this pure mediaevalism than we should have anticipated from a man of his century. His profound and loving study of the Latin poets, his unique power of spiritual intuition, lifted him in this respect incomparably above all his predecessors and contemporaries. A notable example is his attitude towards Virgil and Virgil's poetry. We cannot regard his conception of the fourth Eclogue as a sheer anachronism, for—apart from the traditional interpretation dating from the fourth century—it is probable that the poem has a real, if indirect, connexion with the prophecies of Isaiah. Comparetti was, I think, assuredly right in urging that Dante entirely ignored the mediaeval legends, and that there is not the slightest trace of Virgil the magician in the Virgil of the *Divina Commedia*, who is a character constructed in the main from a prolonged and devoted study of his poetry. There is little that is purely mediaeval in Dante's representation of Virgil: a thoroughly human and perfectly realized personality; ineffably tender, courteous, and sensitive; a hater of all that is evil or unworthy; so oblivious of self in his devotion to his disciple's welfare that only on rare occasions does he give utterance to his own 'immortal longings', the infinite unrealizable yearning of those who 'without hope live in desire'.

As a rule, Dante reconstructs classical characters from the pages of the Latin poets. In some cases the result is little more than a transcript. Capaneus, lying prone on the burning plain of the violent against God, Curio, appearing among the sowers of scandal and schism, come directly from Statius and Lucan respectively. In the striking instance of Brutus, Dante shows his complete freedom in conception of character, in ethical judgement, when his sources are in conflict with his own convictions: freedom, not in his treatment of what he regarded as historical facts, but in what seemed to him their moral or political significance. Further, Dante inevitably approached his task in the spirit in which Albertus and Aquinas had turned to the interpretation of Aristotle, and the result is at times somewhat similar to that christianizing of Aristotle which those great schoolmen had effected. The two chief examples of this are Cato and Statius in the *Purgatorio*. The one is exalted from the *Pharsalia* into a type of something greater than he represented on earth, a higher conception of virtue than that of the Stoics, a truer liberty because spiritual instead of political; the other is depicted as a secret convert to Christianity, through the adaptation of an early mediaeval

legend (referring to another person) in the *Acta Sanctorum* to the poet of the *Thebaid*, in the light of the magnificent passage in its twelfth book—even as poetry standing alone in Statius—describing the *ara clementiae*, the 'altar of mercy', with phraseology strikingly in accordance with the language of the Gospels and the address of St. Paul to the Athenians. In a third case, poetically the most splendid of all, the story of Ulysses and his last voyage, where we can only in part trace his sources, Dante has—perhaps with greater freedom than elsewhere—brought his own imagination and invention into play, evolving a situation in accordance with his own philosophy of life. Ulysses, eager for experience and conceiving nobly of man's destiny, perishing on the shore of the purgatorial mountain on the summit of which is the Earthly Paradise, is for Dante the type of the pagan world; like the Platonists, in the *Confessions* of Augustine, who saw only the goal of vision, without knowing 'the way which leadeth, not to behold only, but to dwell in the beatific country'.

Dante's unfailing touch upon the unchanging factors of human character and drama, his revelation of the passions and motives of the men and women of his own day, have given us a unique interpretation of contemporary history. There are naturally many figures and episodes for which he drew from immediate and personal knowledge, but there are others in which we can only vaguely surmise what direct sources of information the poet may have possessed, over and above the often scanty records that have come down to us. We may draw analogy from Shakespeare. In Plutarch's account of the death of Cleopatra there is naturally nothing from the moment when the Queen has the doors closed upon her and the two women to that when Octavian's messengers break in and find her dead upon her couch of gold; but Shakespeare's creative imagination penetrated those closed doors, and gave us one of the most wonderful and moving scenes in literature. In like manner, Dante passes into the room at Rimini where Gianciotto Malatesta slew Paolo and Francesca, into the secret chamber where Pope Boniface took council with Guido da Montefeltro, into the locked-up dungeon tower of Count Ugolino and his sons, or reveals for us the mystery of the death of Buonconte and the last moments of Manfredi.

There are times when we can trace the construction of some of Dante's more dramatic episodes, and conjecture of what slight hints they may be the elaboration and interpretation. In his notable essay, *Il soggettivismo di Dante*, Egidio Gorra urged that the poet regarded history, tradition, popular sentiment, as having rights which he respected or, at least, seldom intentionally opposed; but he

reserved to himself the right of examining, shifting, and selecting, in accordance with his own feelings, his poetic instinct and aesthetic purpose. Recent research tends to show that Dante, with his supreme creative imagination, in general refrained from invention. He preferred to adapt to his purpose the records and legends that reached him, whether already written, or celebrated in the songs of the *giullari*, or passing on the lips of the people,—contenting himself with interpreting them in the light of his knowledge of the human heart, and illuminating them with his own characteristic dramatic touches. The damnation of Pope Celestine, as a dread possibility should he not accomplish his high mission, had been already indicated by Jacopone da Todi; Dante's instant recognition of the shade of him 'che fece per viltà lo gran rifiuto', whom he had never seen in life, is a satirical comment upon one of the miracles attributed to the hermit-pope after his renunciation. There is evidence, as Novati showed, that the repentance and salvation of Manfredi, when he fell at Benevento, had already become a tradition. Let me take two of the most famous episodes of the *Inferno*. Documents for the life of Guido da Montefeltro are copious, and chronicles—before the *Divina Commedia*—had dealt with his career; the words of evil counsel were already attributed to him. We may surmise that the Pope's summons to the old soldier turned friar is a historical fact. The interview would have been secret, but the surrender and destruction of Palestrina that followed would have thrown sinister light upon it, the whole story becoming summed up in the *lunga promessa con l'attender corto*, 'ample promise with scant fulfilment', placed upon Guido's lips. In this form it would have reached Dante, who expanded it, in accordance with the conception that he held of the character of Boniface, into the amazing dramatic scene of seduction, hardly rivalled elsewhere in the *Divina Commedia* itself. On the other hand, there is no trace of any previous legend or tradition concerning Francesca da Rimini. A few isolated documents incidentally naming the three chief actors in the drama are all we find before the poem, and these documents merely enable us to infer that, after a certain year, Paolo disappears from view and, by another year, Gianciotto has another wife. That Francesca and Paolo were lovers, and met their death at Gianciotto's hands, is simply deduced from Dante's lines. The wonderful passage, that closes the story, reveals with poetic insight the secret that lay hidden in the grave with the two protagonists. Nevertheless, as Torraca first suggested, Dante did not rely upon imagination alone, but turned to the legend of Tristram, to the scene on the ship that is bringing him and Iseult to Cornwall from Ireland,

substituting the reading of the romance of Lancelot by Paolo and Francesca for the playing of chess by Tristram and Iseult, the fatal kiss for the drinking of the magic potion. It is the interpretation of contemporary history with the aid of mediaeval romance. Such considerations do not detract from Dante's originality, but show him a more complete interpreter of the spirit of his age.

The power of Dante's characterization is more generally felt in the great episodes of the *Inferno* and in the tender humanity of the *Purgatorio*, for in the *Paradiso* the personalities of the souls in bliss are somewhat subdued to the universal background of light and love. But Piccarda Donati and St. Bernard, at least, are perfectly realized human characters; and it is noteworthy how admirably Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura are individualized in the fourth heaven. Aquinas throughout is the great university professor of the thirteenth century, even in Paradise speaking in the tone of the master to the pupil in his class; Bonaventura is far more aloof from the poet, whom he does not address directly, and delivers himself in a different style, in the manner of the head of a religious order rather than a lecturer.

For the rest, the *Paradiso*, in its highest flights, brings us to a problem which is not purely one of poetry in the light of the claim made by Dante himself in the letter to Can Grande; the claim, profoundly impressive in its reticence, that the final cantos at least are the attempted expression of one of those experiences, common to the mystics of all creeds, to the psychology of which so much attention has been directed in our own day, in which the mind seems brought into contact, here and now, with what it believes to be the ultimate reality, and to attain fruition of what it takes to be God. If we are believers in mysticism, there need be no difficulty in reconciling this claim with the obvious fact that much of the form, in which what would be the preparation for this experience is set forth, is to modern notions unthinkable except as a poetic fiction. Dante's realization of the evil of sin finds expression in an *Inferno* which is not only mediaeval, but employs the machinery of classical mythology; his yearning for the soul's purification is represented by a *Purgatorio* which, although absolutely original in conception, is materialized into an impossible region on earth; his sense of passing spiritually upwards, through successive stages of ever-increasing knowledge and ever-increasing love, is symbolized by the passage through nine moving spheres of the *Paradiso* according to an obsolete cosmography. But this inevitable appeal to the comprehension of his contemporaries, this representation in accordance with mediaeval conceptions and mediaeval ideas of the universe, no more invalidates the claim that

a true mystical experience inspired the *Divina Commedia* than the use of troubadour traditions and imagery, the personifications of love and the like, need prevent us from holding firmly that the love story of the *Vita Nuova* had its basis in reality. And for the consummation of the vision, once granted the mystical possibility that Dante postulates, the possibility that there can be one to say truthfully of himself.

> Io, che al divino dall' umano,
> all' eterno dal tempo era venuto;

that a soul can so transcend human limitations as to see, contained within the depth of the eternal light,

> legato con amore in un volume,
> ciò che per l' universo si squaderna;

once granted this, it is hard to conceive how human language could approach more nearly to the adequate utterance of such an experience than in certain passages of the closing cantos of the *Paradiso*.

It is needless to repeat the famous passage in the *De Monarchia* concerning the two ends that Divine Providence has set before man: blessedness of this life, which consists in the exercise of his natural powers; blessedness of eternal life, which consists in the fruition of the sight of God. This dual scheme, the two ends and the two corresponding guides, is transferred in the *Divina Commedia* from the sphere of Church and Empire to the field of the individual soul. The *De Monarchia*, whenever written, is the supplement to the *Divina Commedia*. We know Augustine's distinction of the two cities: 'the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly, which in this intermediate age are, as it were, enwound and intermingled with each other'. The earthly city is of higher significance for Dante than it was for Augustine, and its attainment is the function proper to humanity as a whole, the function 'for which the totality of men is ordained in so great multitude', the goal of human civilization. And this goal is the realizing or actualizing, the bringing into play, of the whole potentiality of the human intellect. This is the proper work of the human race, and, for it to be realized, the first requisite is universal peace, 'the best of all those things which are ordained for our blessedness', and the second is freedom, 'the greatest gift conferred by God on human nature'.[1] We know how constantly the words *libertà* and *pace* are upon Dante's lips in the *Divina Commedia*. 'Libertà va cercando' is the key-note of the *Purgatorio*; 'Tu m' hai di servo tratto a libertate' is the lyrical salutation to Beatrice in the Empyrean, itself the 'vita intera d' amore e di pace'. Liberty and

[1] *De Monarchia* i. 4, i. 12.

peace are perfectly attainable only when the soul has come from time to the eternal, and the whole potentiality of the human mind is realized in the fulfilment of its entire capacity of love and knowledge, when the goals of the two cities become one, in that eternity which is 'the completely simultaneous and perfect possession of unlimited life at a single moment', as the famous definition of Boethius has it. There will be that 'novissimum liberum arbitrium', of which Augustine paradoxically wrote that it will be more potent than the free will first given to man, 'inasmuch as it shall be unable to sin'; there will be that fuller *pax romana*, where the soul shall be

> sanza fine, cive
> di quella Roma onde Cristo è romano.

But, relatively, here and now, this realization of the potentialities of the human mind, in liberty and in peace, is the goal of the human race; for felicity of this life is in some sort man's right; 'ch' è quello per che l' uomo è nato'.[1]

Now the obstacle that is keeping man from this goal is *cupiditas*; greed of territory and economic advantage. 'Greed is the sole corrupter of judgement and impeder of justice.' 'Inasmuch as the human mind does not rest in the limited possession of land, but ever desires to acquire territory, as we see by experience, discords and wars must needs arise between kingdom and kingdom. These things are the tribulations of cities, and, through the cities, of districts; and, through the districts, of households; and, through the households, of man; and thus felicity is impeded.'[2] Given the mediaeval organization of society, Dante saw no association capable of ensuring peace and liberty except the Empire, and hence that idealistic imperialism of his, sketched in the *Convivio*, worked out and developed in detail in the *De Monarchia*, represented allegorically in many passages of the *Divina Commedia*. The Empire was established 'to abolish these wars and their causes', to 'keep the kings contented within the boundaries of their kingdoms, so that there shall be peace between them'. The Emperor, be he who he may, is but the servant of the commonwealth. He is to devote his powers and energy chiefly to one purpose: 'that, on this threshing-floor of mortality, life may be lived in freedom and in peace'. For this, as the highest judge, he is to represent a permanent court of international justice, a supreme and impartial tribunal of international arbitration, to which the quarrels of princes and peoples must be submitted. Guided by his rule to peace, nations and kingdoms and cities—within this restored

[1] *Convivio* iv. 4. [2] *De Monarchia* i. 13; *Convivio* iv. 4.

unity of civilization—will freely and peacefully develop in accordance with their own conditions and laws.[1] It is abundantly clear that the unity of civilization, to which Dante looked, anticipated Mazzini's United States of Europe and the ideal towards which we are now striving under the name of the League of Nations.

And the centre of Dante's earthly city, the nucleus of such a restored unity of civilization, was Italy. Mazzini wrote: 'Italy seeks in him the secret of her nationality; Europe, the secret of Italy and a prophecy of modern thought'. The 'garden of the Empire', the 'noblest region of Europe', Dante interpreted her historical mission in the past, revealed her national genius, looked forward to her leading Europe towards that goal of peace and liberty upon which his own eyes were set; for, with him no less than with Mazzini, *la parola della unità moderna* could come from Rome alone. Within that greater unity, it may be that her political unification was not directly envisaged by him, but her ideal unity—a part of her heritage in the sacred name of Rome—he most clearly saw and described. In celebrating this sexcentenary, in honouring Dante as the sovereign representative of her race, we offer our homage to Italy herself, 'mother of all men's nations', recognizing that the *più grande Italia*, the Greater Italy that the poet already foresaw, is—even as he said of the Roman Empire of old—'necessary for the well-being of the world'.

[1] *De Monarchia* i. 12, iii. 16, i. 10, i. 14. I have generally availed myself of Dr. Wicksteed's translation.

THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR IN THE MIDDLE AGES

By REGINALD L. POOLE

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Few questions of detail give the student of medieval history more trouble than that which concerns the date at which the year is reckoned to begin in the chronicles and charters of Western Europe, and few have given rise to so many wrong statements. Dr. E. A. Abbott, in his work on *St. Thomas of Canterbury, his Death and Miracles*, asks:

> Why do all our authorities, except Benedict and Garnier, either omit the date [of the archbishop's murder], or give it incorrectly, as 1171 instead of 1170? Perhaps the fact that, in most parts of England and Europe, the death (occurring on 29 Dec. 1170) would not be known till 1171, and would be associated with 1171, may have contributed to the error.[1]

But the error is Dr. Abbott's, who composed two volumes of elaborate criticism of twelfth-century evidence without informing himself of the elementary point, from what date it was then customary to begin the year. In England, of course, the established practice was to begin on Christmas Day, and the 29th of December was quite correctly placed in 1171. But another mode of reckoning was coming into fashion; and this began the year, not, as Dr. Abbott seems to suppose, on 1 January, but on 25 March. Even in modern times it is often difficult to persuade well-educated people that the Revolution of 1688 means, in our present way of speaking, 1689, since that event took place on 13 February of this year. If mistakes like this can be made in matters which can be easily ascertained, it is not surprising that they should occur when the facts are not so simple.

[1] Vol. i. 190 (1898); so too '1171, an error for 1170'; '1171 (wrongly)', in foot-notes to pp. 176, 177, 181, 183 (twice), 185.

Indeed in the Middle Ages they are very far from simple. Chroniclers seldom explained the system which they followed: they took a knowledge of it for granted; and any one who explores the mass of evidence as to the various usages prevalent, especially in France, which has been assembled by Ducange and the authors of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*,[1] and repeated with some additions and a few corrections by Arthur Giry, may be apt to think that the confusion is so great and the alternatives offered are so many that it must frequently be impossible to decide whether a particular date belongs to the calendar year named or to that which precedes or follows it. But these lists do not profess to do more than register recorded dates. They hardly distinguish between the evidence of a charter and that of a chronicler. Valuable as they are, they need at every point analysis and criticism.

When we are told that in the province of Rheims the year was computed as beginning at Easter in the ninth century, at Christmas in the eleventh, on 25 March in the thirteenth, and in the fifteenth on 25 March in the year preceding the current year, the series of variations at once provokes suspicion; and it is hardly doubtful that the first and fourth of these modes of dating depend upon records in which the year is miswritten. The second and third, on the other hand, reflect a gradual change which was introduced from the eleventh century onwards. Another cause of confusion arises from the statement that a particular practice prevailed at a certain place *down to* a given date, when the evidence only informs us that it prevailed there *at* that date, and it can be shown that a different practice was in use at that place some time earlier. Here there is no contradiction; it is only that one system superseded another. In France, as we shall see, there is a uniform sequence from the eighth century onwards: first, Christmas; then Lady Day; lastly, Easter. We shall hardly find an instance in which this order is disturbed.

In many books we find the different ways of beginning the year arranged according to the almanack: 1 January, 1 March, 25 March, Easter, 1 September, Christmas. This may be convenient for reference, but it entirely obscures the process by which these various dates came into currency. If we are to interpret dates correctly, we must follow the evidence for their use in the order of time; and for this purpose we must distinguish between the practices which prevailed before and after the introduction of the Year of the Incarnation, or as we call it shortly, the Year of Grace, in the seventh

[1] In an immense foot-note which extends from p. 21 to p. 31 of the first volume of the second series in the octavo edition of 1818.

century. The earlier modes of reckoning are in origin pagan; the later ones are strictly Christian, until in modern times there was a reversion to the pagan beginning of the year on 1 January.

I. Ancient Reckonings.

For our present purpose it is not necessary to go further back than the time when Julius Caesar established or revised the calendar. Thenceforward the Civil Year always began on 1 January. But the older system according to which the year began on 1 March, of which we are still reminded in the names of the last four months of the year, was still, as it seems, retained for the computation of the terms of military service,[1] and it seems to me not unlikely that to this usage we may trace the fact that the Franks are found to have begun their year on 1 March. It must be borne in mind that the Franks passed into Gaul probably as opponents of the new dynasty set up by Odoacer and as adherents of the Empire. There are signs that Chlodovech did not disdain appointment to a military command in Belgica Secunda,[2] and he accepted the proconsular dignity from the Emperor Anastasius.[3] Hence it would not be surprising if the Frankish 'March day' as the beginning of the year were derived from the Roman military system. In the eighth century, however, the solemn assembly which was wont to be held on that day was transferred to 1 May, and there was no longer any question of connecting it with the beginning of the year.

At Rome, as I have said, the civil year began on 1 January, and though in later times it was made to begin at other dates—days of Christian observance—the term New Year always meant 1 January. For instance, late in the seventeenth century, Mr. Pepys altered the number of his year on 25 March, but on 1 January he marked his Diary 'New Year', or at any rate made mention of the New Year. It is a striking testimony to the persistence of Roman usage. Even for Church purposes, though the date was condemned on account of its association with pagan festivities,[4] the Golden Number and the Sunday Letter were always changed on 1 January.

But in the Middle Ages it was only in the regions subject to Visigothic rule that the year was regularly counted from that day. This was due to the introduction, in the fifth century, of the Spanish Era,

[1] See Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften, iv. (1906) 102–109.

[2] See the letter of Bishop Remigius of Rheims, in Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi, i. (ed. W. Gundlach, 1892) 113.

[3] Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, ii. 28 [38].

[4] See below, p. 9.

reckoned from 38 B.C. Thenceforward, for eight hundred years and more, the Spanish peninsula alone in Western Europe possessed a chronological system which could not possibly be misunderstood. But the Era was abrogated in Aragon[1] in 1349, in Castile in 1383, and in Portugal in 1420; and it was ordered that the year should be reckoned from Christmas, a date which at that time had become almost obsolete as a chronological starting-point.

The simplicity of the calendar was disturbed towards the end of the third century after Christ by the adoption of a cycle which in its origin was designed not for chronological but for fiscal purposes. It was a series of fifteen years used in Egypt for reckoning a period of taxation,[2] just as in England new assessments for local rates are made at certain intervals of time. This Indiction, as it is called, became generally accepted in the Empire, and the Paschal Chronicle at the end of its record for what we know as the year 312 notes 'the beginning of the Constantinian Indictions'.[3] The Egyptian date for its commencement, 29 August, was altered to 1 September; and thenceforward the Byzantine year was reckoned from this day.

Meanwhile Christianity had introduced a mode of counting the months which we find mentioned in a religious or ecclesiastical connexion. According to this, March ranked as the first month, and the others were numbered conformably. Its origin must be sought very far back. The Mosaic ordinance for keeping the Passover was constantly repeated: *This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you.*[4] To Christians March continued to be 'the first month', because in it appeared the moon which became full at Eastertide, the date from which the Paschal Full Moon was reckoned. But this mode of statement, which found a place in the records of Church Councils and in the Lives of Saints,[5] stood out of relation with the common usage as to the beginning of the year. We may say nowadays that the ecclesiastical year begins with Advent, but no one computes the year from that fluctuating date. It was natural, however, that the date from 1 March should take a permanent place in Easter Tables, which were constructed for the purpose of ascertaining the day on

[1] This included the country of Roussillon beyond the Pyrenees, which since 1258 had been subject to Aragon.

[2] See U. Wilcken, Grundzuge der Papyruskunde, i. (1912) pp. lix seqq., 222 seqq.

[3] vol. i. 522, ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn, 1832. The Indiction in fact began fifteen years earlier: see Wilcken, p. 223.

[4] Exodus xii. 2.

[5] See the references in F. K. Ginzel, Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie, iii. 159 seq., 1914.

which Easter should be observed in any particular year. Among the elements contained in such tables were the Concurrents or numbers giving the week-day of 24 March; by adding to these the number of the Solar Regulars, which gave the relative week-days of the different months, for a given month one obtained the week-day of the first of that month in a particular year. These Solar Regulars were computed from 1 March right through the Middle Ages. *Habent enim ortum regulares a Martio*, said Bishop Durandus[1] in the thirteenth century; and the memorial distich which he quotes reappears in an Oxford manual printed in 1520.[2] But it would be idle to suggest that these writers reckoned the year from 1 March for other purposes.

A misunderstanding of this matter has led M. Charles Pfister[3] to lay down that it was the practice at Chartres to date the year from 1 March in the time of Bishop Fulbert, who died in 1028. We possess in fact a set of verses *de Signis et Mensibus* attributed to Fulbert,[4] which include an enumeration of the Solar Regulars in the usual arrangement; but this does not mean that Fulbert, any more than Durandus or the Oxford computist of 1520, began the year with 1 March. But M. Pfister, having fallen into this error, goes on to claim 1 March to have been the first day of the year not only at Chartres but also elsewhere in France, and indeed in the contemporary chancery of King Robert II. He finds a charter of Brioude in Auvergne, the date of which is given as 26 February 1011, *anno iam pene finito*,[5] which he takes as evidence of this mode of reckoning. If there were other examples of it, we might accept the charter as adding confirmation of the practice; but as it stands by itself, it is not sufficiently precise to establish it, and we may more reasonably follow Mabillon[6] in understanding that the year was to end shortly, that is on 24 March. For the usage in the chancery of Robert II, M. Pfister[7] adduces three documents which, he says, oblige us to place the beginning of the year on 1 March. One of these is dated at Sens on 24 February 1118 (=1119); the others have no month: they are all compatible with a reckoning from Lady Day. Moreover the charter of 24 February is taken from a chartulary of Lagny,[8] which was written in 1513,[9] and the regnal year *xxxii* may well be a slip for

[1] Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, VIII. v. 5, fo. 476 *b*, ed. Lyons 1584. A page earlier Durandus provides for convenience an alternative couplet with the months arranged from January.

[2] 'Compotus manualis ad usum Oxoniensium', 1519/20, reprinted by Christopher Wordsworth, The Ancient Kalendar of the University of Oxford, p. 163, 1904.

[3] Études sur le Règne de Robert le Pieux, pp. xxxvii seq., 1885.

[4] Migne, Patrologia Latina, cxli. 348.

[5] D'Achery, Spicilegium, iii. 386 *a*, ed. 1723.

[6] De Re Diplomatica, p. 173, ed. 1709. [7] p. xl. [8] Mabillon, p. 581.

[9] See H. Stein, Bibliographie des Cartulaires Français, p. 246, 1907.

xxxi. But even if the year is correctly transcribed, we have to remember that Robert's chancery was in extreme confusion. The dates of his documents present frequent difficulties, so that the authors of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*[1] were led, on insufficient grounds, to believe that he computed the year by the Pisan style.[2] He is known to have reckoned his regnal years from three different epochs. In some instances there is an error either in the regnal year or in the Indiction. For example, a document bears the date of 27 February a. 30, Indiction I; but the king's thirtieth year began on 30 December 1016, so that February would fall in 1017, whereas the Indiction denotes 1018.[3] It may be said with confidence that M. Pfister would never have propounded his theory about the practice of this king's chancery had he not stumbled into a mistake as to the meaning of the Solar Regulars.[4]

The reckoning of the year from 1 March is found, I believe, with a single exception, in only one place in the west, namely in Venice, where it held its ground until the fall of the republic in 1797. How it came to be used there, and at what time the practice began,[5] are questions which have not been satisfactorily explained and need not be discussed here. It has indeed been asserted by M. Georges de Manteyer[6] that the system was employed in the chancery of the Emperor Lewis III while he was in Italy from 901 to 902. This opinion is based solely on a diploma for Nonantola, dated 11 February 901 [=902], in the fifth Indiction;[7] and almost at the same time as M. de Manteyer wrote it was shown by Signor Schiaparelli to be a forgery.[8] It is in fact constructed out of a diploma of Berengar I

[1] Vol. i. 11.

[2] Cf. Pfister, p. xxxv.

[3] M. Pfister unaccountably says 1019 (p. xlii); but in another place (p. xl) he states that Robert's thirty-second year began in December 1018. His calculations indeed cannot always be relied on. He assigns, for instance, a document of 26 October a. 12, Indiction XII, correctly to 999 on p. xxxv, but on p. lxvi he takes it as 998. A charter of a. 39 (where the regnal year is reckoned from 29 March 991) he places before 1 March 1031 (pp. xl, lxxii), but as Sackur points out (Die Cluniazenser, ii. 34, 1894) it must be earlier than 29 March 1030.

[4] Late in the thirteenth century the reckoning of the year from 1 March does in fact appear in one single town of France. A notary of Figeac in the territory of Cahors adopts this computation for the years 1289 and 1290. See Noel Valois in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, xl. (1879) 422 seq. This looks like the caprice of an individual scribe, who had possibly been trained in Venice.

[5] It is found in original diplomas in the Venetian archives from the middle of the eleventh century; see V. Lazzarini, 'Originali antichissimi della Cancellaria Veneziana', in the Nuovo Archivio Veneto, new series, viii. (1904) 202.

[6] La Provence, p. 465, 1908.

[7] Printed by L. Schiaparelli, I Diplomi di Lodovico III, pp. 76 seqq., 1910; and by A. Gaudenzi, in the Bullettino dell' Istituto storico Italiano, xxxvi. (1916) pp. 99 seqq.

[8] Bullettino, xxix (1908) 185-188.

of 19 August 899,[1] which is likewise spurious. Both documents have their earliest witness in transcripts of the end of the fifteenth century. The single exception to which I have referred is formed by Falco, the chronicler, who wrote towards the middle of the twelfth century. He was a notary of the holy palace at Benevento, and judge of that city. Nothing appears to connect him with Venice; and as he was a layman, he can hardly be supposed to have brought into practice that old reckoning of the months from March, which we have seen to be limited to the dating of strictly religious transactions. The origin of Falco's plan of beginning his record of each year with the 1st of March is unexplained.[2] The supposition that, with this isolated exception, the style of 1 March was used in France or Italy, outside Venice, may then be rejected: it rests for the one country on a simple mistake, and for the other on an undoubted forgery. It is to be regretted that both errors have been incorporated in standard works.[3]

II. Reckonings by the Year of Grace.

Down to the seventh century after Christ we find the old Roman reckoning of the year from 1 January and the Byzantine reckoning from 1 September, besides the religious reckoning from 1 March, which hardly comes into account as a chronological element. The revolution which introduced more than one new mode of dating was immediately derived from the use of the Easter Table of Dionysius Exiguus. This table was constructed at Rome in 525, but there is no certain trace of its use until nearly a century and a half later. Some indications lead me to conjecture that it was preserved in the monastery founded by Cassiodorus at Squillace and that, when the famous library collected there was dispersed towards the middle of the seventh century, the manuscript passed back to Rome, where St. Wilfrid made acquaintance with it. The rules which Dionysius laid down for the date of Easter were first brought forward when Wilfrid expounded them at the Synod of Whitby in 664.[4] Now Dionysius had accompanied his list of the various elements necessary

[1] Printed by Schiaparelli, I Diplomi di Berengario I, pp. 373 seqq., 1903.

[2] See Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, v. (1724) 82, and the note of Camillo Peregrini there.

[3] The one in Giry, Manuel de Diplomatique, pp. 116 seq., 1894; the other in Ginzel, iii. 166 Both M. Luchaire and M. R. de Lasteyrie concern themselves unnecessarily with M. Pfister's hypothesis, though neither of them accepts it.

[4] See my notes on 'The Earliest Use of the Easter Cycle of Dionysius', in the English Historical Review, xxxiii. (1918) 57–62, 210–213.

for the finding of Easter year by year with a series of years reckoned from the Incarnation of our Lord. His intention was of course simply practical; he had no historical object in mind. But his reckoning from the Incarnation was almost immediately accepted in England as establishing an Era for chronological use. This application of it is generally supposed to be due to the Venerable Bede, who treated of the subject in his work *de Temporum Ratione* published in 725. But it did not need a book to evolve an Era from a collection of Easter Tables. The earlier cycle of Victorius, in which the years were computed from the Passion, was on the way to found an Era[1] when historical writing died out in the darkness of the seventh century. In like manner there is no difficulty in believing that the Table of Dionysius, as continued by Abbot Felix, was at once interpreted as furnishing an Era. And there are in fact a few charters which bear the date from the Incarnation earlier than the time when Bede wrote, though it is true that they are only preserved in transcripts and some of them have been considered to be of doubtful genuineness.

1. *The Reckoning from Christmas.*

It now becomes important to inquire at what point in the solar year the year reckoned from the Incarnation was deemed to begin. Bede in his theoretical work *de Temporum Ratione* states, as a matter which needs no explanation, that it began on Christmas Day; but when some time later he came to write his Ecclesiastical History he found himself confronted with the fact that the Acts of Councils and other documents which he cited all bore dates reckoned from the Indiction of September; and the same rule persisted for long after Bede's time in the dating of charters. The Indiction was the old, established, official date, and could not be interfered with. The Year of the Incarnation on the other hand was a quite new invention, and it was natural that its definition should give way to the old. Consequently throughout his History Bede made his Year of Grace begin in September.[2] An examination of a large number of chrono-

[1] See the 'Paschale Campanum', in Mommsen's Chronica Minora, i. 744 seqq.

[2] The beginning of the Indiction was shifted, apparently by Bede himself, from 1 to 24 September, and it has been suggested by Mr. A. Anscombe that, when Bede was not citing from documents but giving dates of his own, he reckoned from the later date. See the Athenæum, 3804, p. 380, 22 September 1900. But Mr. Anscombe is in error in quoting the Hist. eccles. v. 15 in support of this opinion. Bede says that St. Adamnan converted the Irish to the correct date for the observance of Easter and kept it on that date. Then he returned to Iona and hoped to persuade the monks to adopt the same usage, but was unable to carry out his intention because he died before a year was out; *contigit eum*

logical statements in that work has convinced me that this was the plan he adopted. It was by no mistake that he dated the Synod of Hertford 24 September, Ind. I, in 673, or the Synod of Hatfield, 17 September, Ind. VIII, in 680;[1] though these assemblies were held in what we call 672 and 679; and his dating of the comet observed in the autumn of 676 as appearing in 677 is decisive. The conclusion in this matter which I published in October 1918[2] has not, to my knowledge, been impugned. While I was at work on the subject another writer gave reasons for believing that the same practice was continued down to the tenth century;[3] and a long time earlier Sir James Ramsay suggested that it was dispossessed in favour of a reckoning from Christmas in the reign of King Edred, for his death on 23 November 955 is recorded under that year in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[4] The fact that the Canterbury and Abingdon manuscripts of that work (B and C) enter the king's death under 956 seems to show that the usage had not yet become regular.

The Year of Grace passed to the Continent with the English missionaries; but they, it would seem, had learned the system from Bede's chronological treatise, before he came to adopt the reckoning from the Indiction in his History. Thus St. Willibrord, in a note written with his own hand in 728, says that he was consecrated on St. Cecilia's day, 22 November 695,[5] while Bede, meaning the same date, says 696.[6] St. Boniface in 742 speaks with horror of the heathen rites with which, as he heard, it was customary at Rome to celebrate the New Year on 1 January[7]; and Pope Zachary joined in his condemnation of these customs.[8] Hence it was natural to choose for the beginning of the year a day which was associated only with Christian observances. But the holiday season of Christmas lasted at least through the eight days following the principal feast. Not much business was trans-

ante expletum anni circulum migrasse de saeculo. Adamnan died on 23 September and therefore had not another opportunity of keeping another Easter. There is no reference here to the date when the year ended.

[1] Hist. eccles. IV. 5, v. 24. [2] Journal of Theological Studies, xx. 24–35.

[3] See the late Mr. M. L. R. Beaven's paper in the English Historical Review, xxxii. (1917) 516–531. [4] Athenæum, 3810, p. 511, 3 November 1900.

[5] Calendar of St. Willibrord, ed. H. A. Wilson, 1918.

[6] Hist. eccles. v. 11. Yet there are signs that the reckoning from September was still advocated at the Palace School of Charles the Great at the end of the eighth century. Alcuin reproves the practice, Epist. xcviii (Jaffé's Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 403, 1873), now numbered cxlv. (Epist. Karol. ii. 231 seq.). It is of course possible, as Dr. Bresslau thinks, Archiv fur Urkundenforschung, vi. (1916) 23, that we have here to do with Byzantine influence.

[7] Epist. xlii, in Jaffé's Monumenta Moguntina, p. 115, 1866.

[8] Epist. xliii, pp. 120 seq.

acted in that week, and we have not many documents dated in its course. It is indeed likely that, as a date, Christmas was not infrequently equated with the beginning of the old Roman civil year on 1 January. If one used a calendar, one was apt to look to that date rather than a week earlier. But if in this way some confusion arose,[1] there is no doubt that in theory the reckoning from Christmas became the established system among the Frankish Emperors, at least from the last quarter of the ninth century. It was specifically the Imperial reckoning, and it prevailed wherever the Emperors held rule or exerted influence. From the Empire it passed to the Papacy after the Roman coronation of Otto the Great in 962, and it was regularly employed by the Popes from John XIII to 1098. After that time, though other dates were used in the more solemn documents (*Privilegia*), the style of Christmas continued in the Pope's ordinary correspondence. In the chancery of the French kings it was not abandoned until after 1111,[2] and generally in Western Europe, outside Spain, it kept its supremacy until the twelfth century. At Narbonne it persisted until the thirteenth. In England it was used in great Benedictine houses down to the beginning of the fourteenth; and an instance has been cited from Newcastle-upon-Tyne as late as 1404.[3]

2. *Reckonings from the Annunciation.*

(*a*) This paramount date was soon threatened by a mode of computation which began the year nine months before Christmas. Bede himself had observed that the reckoning from the Incarnation, according to Dionysius's table, started from the year 1 B. C. For the first year of his cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years was A. D. 532, and consequently the cycle which preceded it began in 1 B. C.: the calendar notes of Dionysius's second year, all correspond with those proper to A. D. 1.[4] His choice of the term *ab incarnatione* also

[1] Occasionally, even in originals, we may find the number of the past year entered by inadvertence in the course of January. Thus a charter of Lewis III, which certainly belongs to 19 January 901, bears the date 900: Schiaparelli, I Diplomi di Lodovico III, p. 18, cf. Bullettino dell' Istituto Italiano, xxix. 126.

[2] An instance of the Christmas dating is quoted from Soissons in the year 1135: Art de vérifier, i, note on p 28. See also below, p. 18.

[3] H. Grotefend, Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters, i. (1891) 206 *b* (where the year is misprinted 1407).

[4] Bede says, de Temporum Ratione, xlvii [olim xlv], that Dionysius, 'in primo suo circulo quingentesimum tricesimum secundum dominicae incarnationis annum in capite ponendo, manifeste docuit secundum sui circuli annum ipsum esse, quo eiusdem sacrosanctae incarnationis mysterium coepit. . . . Quia ergo secundo anno circuli, quem primum Dionysius scripsit, quinquagesimus tricesimus tertius ab incarnatione Domini completus est annus, ipse est nimirum iuxta concursus

favoured the interpretation that his years should be reckoned as beginning not on 25 December but on 25 March, 1 B. C. But when this theory was turned into practice has never been determined. Writers on chronology content themselves with the vaguest statements, and generally abstain from expressing a definite opinion. I venture to think that it originated in the kingdom of Burgundy towards the end of the ninth century. It was a time when men in that region were actively engaged in critical work, in manipulating texts, and forging documents.[1] An acuteness which was exercised in these ways would be not unlikely to lay stress on the precise meaning of the chronological term employed by Dionysius and Bede. At all events, the first known instance of the reckoning from 25 March before the current year, distinguished from its later prevalence at Pisa as the *calculus Pisanus*, is traced to Arles. It does not appear in an award of Archbishop Rostang of that see in 874;[2] but it is manifest in the archbishop's will, dated Sunday, 6 June 897, in the 14th Indiction, which can only mean 896.[3] Probably it is found also in precepts of Lewis III, when he was king of Lower Burgundy and Archbishop Barnoin of Vienne was chancellor, between 891 and 898. But there are discrepancies in the dates, and M. de Manteyer[4] has been obliged to assume that the Indictions were also anticipated by a year in order to range with the Pisan style. Of such a practice there is, I believe, no other example. It must be observed that of the seven documents[5] upon which M. de Manteyer bases his theory only two give the month and day, and they are preserved only in modern copies. Rather than believe that the Indictions were designedly altered, I would suggest either that there are errors of transcription or else that in the table of Indictions used in the chancery the regnal years were accidentally inserted a year too late.

When Lewis III went into Italy in order to be elected emperor, he naturally adopted the Imperial style and reckoned from Christmas; but some time after his return to Burgundy the Pisan dating is

siderum ille in quo incarnari dignatus est; quia hic secundus annus decennovenalis octavusdecimus est cycli lunaris, XI habens epactas, V concurrentes septimanae dies, lunam paschae decimamquartam VIII Calendas Apriles: omnia tunc fuere simillima, et si esset qui tunc Pascha more nunc ecclesiis usitata die dominica faceret, ipsa nimirum dies, quo modo hic adnotatum est, VI Calendas Apriles veniret, ac lunam haberet decimamsextam.'

[1] Compare my paper on 'The See of Maurienne and the Valley of Susa', in the English Historical Review, XXXI. (1916) 3 seqq.

[2] Gallia Christiana novissima, Arles, p. 89, 1900.

[3] This fact escaped the editors, ibid., p. 96.

[4] La Provence, pp. 456-459.

[5] Six are printed in Bouquet's Recueil des Historiens de la France, IX. (1757) 674-680, and one by M. Poupardin, Le Royaume de Provence, pp. 406 seq., 1901.

found once more, though documents are sparse and often badly drawn up.[1] There is, however, no certain evidence of its use in Italy[2] until Hugh of Arles became king of Lombardy in 926. The circumstances of his rule made it impossible for his chancery to be properly organized, and there are frequent irregularities in the dates of his documents. But it is worth noticing that the first definite instance of a charter bearing the Pisan date is also the first which was granted when Gerlannus was chancellor;[3] and Gerlannus is recorded to have been brought in by Hugh's queen Alda.[4] Therefore he was not a native official, but a man who no doubt came from Burgundy. It is probable, therefore, that it was Hugh's clerks who transplanted the reckoning into Italy. But in the royal chancery it did not survive the fall of his dynasty. It became a local style which held its ground in the districts where Hugh's authority had chiefly prevailed. We find it at Pisa and Lucca, but seldom anywhere else. It is said to have been in use at Siena,[5] but this was only for a short time; it has been observed in a document of that town in 947, but from about 1070 it was superseded by the Florentine reckoning.[6] Probably through the employment of scribes from the region of Pisa this style made its way into the Papal chancery under Urban II;[7] but his successors used it more and more rarely, and it is not found after Hadrian IV. Its persistence at Pisa down to 1750 is a remarkable fact, which justifies the name of *calculus Pisanus* given to this mode

[1] See Manteyer, p. 501. I have already corrected this writer's mistake that his year in Italy was taken from 1 March, supra, p. 6. His other hypothesis that when he went back to Burgundy he for a while dated from Easter Monday will be mentioned hereafter, p. 21.

[2] The documents of Berengar I are so full of discordant and contradictory dates that it is best to leave them out of consideration. See Schiaparelli, in the Bullettino dell' Istituto storico Italiano, xxiii. (1902) 81 seq.

[3] Two documents granted under his hand in February 927 bear dates compatible with the Pisan style, and this is found unmistakably in May 928. After this time it appears more and more frequently down to 939. From 939 onwards the chancery falls into confusion. See Schiaparelli's tables in the Bullettino dell' Istituto storico Italiano, xxxiv. (1914) 236–255.

[4] 'Miracula s. Columbani,' viii, in Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum O. S. B., ii. 44, 1669; and in C. Cipolla's Codice diplomatico del Monastero di San Columbano di Bobbio, i. (1918) 296.

[5] Grotefend, i. 9.

[6] F. Schneider, Regestum Senense, i. 5 and p. lxxviii (1911); cf. A. Luschin von Ebengreuth, in the Mittheilungen fur Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, suppl. vol. vi. (1901) 333–336.

[7] Hence no doubt the reckoning was used by Bishop Obert of Liège on 14 June 1095; see A. Wauters, Table chronologique des Chartes concernant l'Histoire de la Belgique, i. (1866) p. lvii. But this seems to be a solitary example in the north.

of reckoning, though it did not originate at Pisa. It was a very inconvenient style when it came to be twelve months in advance of that used at Florence; but its use never extended over a very large area. I once noticed it in a charter of Richard I of England; but this was in favour of the Pisan merchants at Acre, and was no doubt drawn up by a Pisan clerk there.[1] There is an isolated specimen of the date in a council held at Florence in 1455, where the year is given as 1456.[2] Whether the Acts were written by a notary from Pisa or there is an error in printing, I am unable to say.

(*b*) Of far greater importance is the reckoning of the year from 25 March after Christmas. This became famous as the *stylus Florentinus*, but it was no more invented at Florence than the Pisan use was at Pisa. The two modes originated in different centuries and sprang from different sources. The earlier one was based on a chronological interpretation; the later had a definitely religious motive. Both alike may be called reckonings from Lady Day, but in view of the wide diffusion of the Florentine mode I propose to reserve this name to it alone. The style of Lady Day became accepted in England in the latter part of the twelfth century and continued to be the official mode of reckoning down to 1752. It has been traced to the influence of the Cistercian movement, but there is no doubt that it was employed long before the foundation of the abbey of Cîteaux. When it first came into use has not been explained. Pagi is cited[3] for the statement that the practice of beginning the year at Lady Day or Easter—which are not at all the same thing—was first used in Aquitaine under Duke William I Tow-head, who died in 963. It is not unlikely that this is an inference from the charter of 1011 which speaks of 26 February as near the end of the year.[4] This charter relates to the abbey of St. Julian at Brioude in Auvergne, which had been presided over by William the Pious, duke of Aquitaine, the founder of Cluny, who died in 918.[5] His line died out ten years later, and Auvergne passed to the father of William Tow-head, who after an interval himself acquired the county in 951. Now Odilo, who became abbot of Cluny in 994, was brought up at St. Julian's, near his birthplace.[6] One might be tempted to suppose that the reckoning

[1] Proceedings of the British Academy, 1911-1912, p. 220.

[2] Labbe and Coleti, Concilia, xix. (1732) 182 *b*.

[3] Art de vérifier les Dates, x. 95. No reference is given. If it is to his Critica in Baronii Annales, a. 964, v., vol. xvi. 146, ed. Lucca 1744, Pagi speaks only of Easter. [4] See above, p. 5. [5] Gallia Christiana, ii. 472 seq.

[6] Sackur, Die Cluniazenser, i. 301 seqq.

from Lady Day came directly or indirectly from Cluny. But the charters of that house, which are often insufficiently and often wrongly dated, will hardly support this view. In 1004 the year was then reckoned from Christmas.[1] But in 1023 and 1029 the dates are interpreted by the editor of the charters, who disregards the Indictions, as calculated by the Florentine style.[2] If this be so, the approximation of date with that which we have noticed in Aquitaine is remarkable. Cluny at this time was active in bringing its influence to bear upon the monastic life of Aquitaine. St. Cyprian's at Poitiers, where William Tow-head became a monk not long before his death, was placed under Odilo's authority.[3] But he was also energetic in other parts, for example, in promoting the reform of Fleury, in the diocese of Orleans. We have therefore to consider the possibility that the Lady Day reckoning was adopted from Fleury, when the great basilica was dedicated to Our Lady. Gilbert, a kinsman of Abbot Abbo of Fleury, was abbot of St. Cyprian at Poitiers about 1004.[4] We find the Lady Day style in use at Fleury in 1030. A comparison of these facts raises a presumption that the reckoning was introduced through the Cluniac reform, and that it may have been connected with some special observance at Fleury.

It has been supposed that this reckoning can be found at Poitiers a few years earlier. A charter granted at that place for the building of the church of our Lady at Lusignan is dated on 6 March 1024 in the seventh Indiction.[5] The Indiction points to 1024, but M. Pfister explains the date as meaning 1025. For, he says, we know that William duke of Aquitaine, who attests the document, was not in France at that time; he had gone to Italy: and another witness, Bishop Jordan of Limoges, was not yet consecrated.[6] As a matter of fact, the year of Jordan's consecration is quite uncertain. His predecessor, Gerald, died in November 1020; but the Benedictine authors of *Gallia Christiana*[7] prudently abstain from fixing the year of Jordan's election. The particulars are recorded only by Ademar of Chabannes, whose editors, both before and after M. Pfister wrote, give the year as 1021.[8] Ademar says that the election took place

[1] Chartes de Cluny, iii. 643, no. 2588, ed. A. Breul.

[2] Ibid., pp. 799 seqq., no. 2777; vol. iv. 17 seq., no. 2814.

[3] See Abbo of Fleury's letter to Odilo, in Mabillon's Annales O. S. B. iv. (1707) 171.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Cousseau, 'Mémoire sur l'Église de Notre-Dame de Lusignan', in Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1844, pp. 291 seqq., 397 seq.

[6] Études sur le Règne de Robert le Pieux, p. xxxviii.

[7] ii. 514.

[8] Waitz, in Monumenta Germaniae historica, Script. iv (1842) 142, and J. Chavanon, Adémar de Chabannes, p. 182 (1897).

in January, and that then, as Lent was approaching and the duke was about to depart for Italy, he enjoined his son to take charge of the consecration, which was performed at Mid-lent.[1] There had been, however, some trouble about the election, and one may doubt whether it was made so early as January 1021. The facts that there was a dispute and that there was a popular movement to hasten the election suggest that a longer interval than two months elapsed after the death of Bishop Gerald. It is therefore more likely that Jordan was elected in 1022 or even 1023; but for M. Pfister's assertion that he was not yet consecrated in March 1024 there is no evidence whatever. Even if it were correct, we cannot say that it was impossible for Duke William to have been at Poitiers on 6 March 1024 and to have visited Rome about Easter, 5 April, in the same year, supposing indeed that he was at Rome by Easter.[2] He went to Rome most years, but we are not informed positively that he did so in 1024. He was invited to accept the kingdom of Italy after the death of the emperor Henry II in 1024; but that event occurred in July, and it was some time later that Duke William visited the country and found reason to abandon the proposed enterprise. We have not therefore sufficient materials for deciding whether the charter of 6 March 1024 belongs to that year or to 1025.[3]

Yet in spite of the Indiction I am disposed to think that the date for which M. Pfister contends is the right one. The church at Lusignan was dedicated in honour of our Lady, and there are many signs that the devotion to the Blessed Virgin was greatly stimulated by the religious movement which is connected with Cluny and Fleury. One cannot miss the significance of the fact, lately brought out by the Dean of Wells, that when St. Oswald returned to England from his training at Fleury and became bishop of Worcester, he rebuilt the cathedral church of St. Peter and dedicated it anew in honour of St. Mary.[4] This was in 983. In the following century this dedication, from a rare one in England, became the most frequent. The feast of the Annunciation thus assumed a greater prominence, and it is not an unlikely supposition that this led to the day being taken to begin the year. The primary

[1] Ademar, iii. 57, pp. 182 seq., ed. Chavanon.

[2] If the election was in 1023 there would have been abundance of time, for Easter in that year fell on 14 April.

[3] Cousseau, who edited the charter, gives its date as 1024, but speaks of Bishop Jordan as having been consecrated on the Sunday before. This implies that he took the year to be 1022, when Mid-Lent Sunday fell on 4 March.

[4] J. Armitage Robinson, 'St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester', British Academy, Supplementary Papers v., *s. a.*

meaning of the *annus ab incarnatione* was recalled, and the fact that the date was twelve months late was unheeded. It was the day, not the year, that men considered. A singular parallel to such inconsistency may be noticed in the use of the year *a passione Domini.* It was an ancient belief that the Annunciation and the Passion both took place on 25 March,[1] and so we find charters of St. Maixent (dio. Poitiers) in which a date given *a passione* is synonymous with one *ab incarnatione.*[2] The day was the important matter, and the difference of some thirty years between the two eras was disregarded.[3]

The increasing use of the Lady Day style as we advance in the eleventh century may be illustrated by a few examples. Richard III, the short-lived duke of Normandy, succeeded his father in August 1026; but there exists a charter granted by him which is dated in January 1026,[4] in the ninth Indiction, where though the Indiction denotes 1026 the year can only be 1027. In Andrew of Fleury's Life of Gauzlin we have a mention of Mid-Lent Sunday, 8 March 1029,[5] which means 1030. Another monk of Fleury, who passed to the monastery of St. Peter's at Sens, shows how the reckoning which I have connected with Fleury became diffused in other parts of France. This writer, Clarius, gives an account of the translation of the reliques of St. Benedict to the reconstructed quire of the abbey church at Fleury on 20 March 1107. He has already recorded the events of 1108, and then proceeds with remarkable precision:

> Verum ut ad quaedam quae de praeterito anno, incarnationis scilicet Dominicae millesimo centesimo septimo, quatuor diebus ante praesentem annum de quo agitur, meminisse decet.

After narrating the proceedings at the translation he concludes:

> Hoc totum factum est XIII Kal. Aprilis.[6]

The high altar, it may be noted, was then dedicated in honour of St. Mary.

While the reckoning from Lady Day was gradually becoming

[1] Augustin, de Trinitate, iv. 5. 9

[2] See A. Richard, 'Chartes et Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Maixent', in Archives historiques du Poitou, XVI (1886) 168 seqq.

[3] This mode of dating is unrelated to the early reckoning from the historical year of the Passion, supposed to be A. D 28, of which there are traces in the chronicle of Victor Tunnunensis and which was derived from the Paschal Cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine.

[4] D'Achery, Spicilegium, iii. 390, ed. 1723.

[5] Gallia Christiana, viii. 1552; Neues Archiv, iii. 383. The manuscripts give two discrepant Indictions, both wrong.

[6] D'Achery, Spicilegium, ii. 478 seq.

accepted in France, the old Christmas style held its ground in some religious houses. Thus in the monastery of Saint-Maixent charters of January 1099, March 1110, and February 1114 are unquestionably dated from Christmas. It is true that an original charter of that house of 24 February 1080 [= 1081] appears to be dated from Lady Day,[1] because it mentions Ansegisus as abbot, and he was elected on 29 September 1080;[2] but probably here the word *primo* was accidentally omitted in the year. Moreover, when Aquitaine passed under the rule of an English king the Christmas reckoning seems to have been revived. There is a definite example of this in a charter of 29 December 1198 [= 1197];[3] and two other instances have been cited from texts in chartularies dated so late as 1260 and 1290.[4] But Giry's statement[5] that it prevailed in Poitou *à l'exclusion de tout autre* down to 1225 needs considerable qualification.

This mode of reckoning the year was slow in penetrating into the chancery of the French kings. The evidence drawn from the charters of Robert II is, as we have seen,[6] too insecure to establish his system. It is probable that a close examination of the documents of his successors would show that most of them bearing a date with a year reckoned from Lady Day were drawn up in the religious house to which they were granted and were dated in accordance with the practice of that house. Henry I at Tours writes 19 January 1056, when we should write 1057; but not many weeks later at Angers on 1 March, he reverts to the traditional Christmas style,[7] which in fact continued to prevail in Anjou all through the eleventh century.[8] It was held by Natalis de Wailly[9] that in one document Philip I reckoned the year from Easter, but the charter cited contains such discordant dates that it cannot warrant any positive conclusion.[10] That the Christmas style was that which was regularly employed in the royal chancery down to 1111 has been abundantly proved by the

[1] See Richard, ubi supra, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv.

[2] Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou, ed. P. Marchegay and E. Mabille, p. 407, 1869.

[3] Giry, p. 115, note 4.

[4] Richard, p. xxxv.

[5] p. 115.

[6] Above, p. 6.

[7] Recueil des historiens de la France, xi. (1767) 592 seq.

[8] An exception is quoted from a document of St. Florent at Saumur, where 21 January 1075 means 1076. But slips about the year were apt to occur in January, and moreover the charter is preserved only in a transcript. Another document relating to the same monastery, of 30 December 1093 (= 1092), is definitely dated from Christmas Day. See Giry, p. 115, notes 2 and 3.

[9] Éléments de Paléographie, i. 350, 1838.

[10] The charter bears the date of 24 February 1100; but the Indiction and concurrent are those of 1099, and the epacts and the *luna* are of 1101.

evidence collected by MM. Robert de Lasteyrie[1] and Achille Luchaire.[2] Two documents a little before the year just named contain indeed a date reckoned from Lady Day; but one of these is an act executed in 1104 in the chapter house of Beauvais,[3] where that style undoubtedly prevailed, and the other is a private document recording an agreement made in 1110 between the church of St. Geneviève and the monastery of Bec.[4] From 1112 the Lady Day reckoning becomes normal in the French chancery.

About a century later it is certain that Philip Augustus began the year not from Lady Day but from Easter, and it has therefore naturally been disputed whether the dates which I have counted as from Lady Day were not really counted from Easter. It is agreed, however, that all the examples cited are equally consistent with either reckoning, and it seems more probable that a style was employed which is known to have been extensively used, rather than one of which there is no clear proof before 1215. But this of course is a matter of opinion. The difficulty in arriving at a certain conclusion with regard to the documents of Louis VII arises from the fact that his letters patent bore no date of month and day, and his royal charters bore them only exceptionally. One single document with the Christmas reckoning has been brought forward; but this is clearly not a production of the king's chancery; it was drawn up by an official of the church of Montpellier after an approved ecclesiastical pattern. Against this Luchaire[5] is able to set six charters in which the old year is continued into the early months of the new. One of these, a charter for the church of St. Benignus at Dijon, is dated in the year 1146, and we know that the king was at Dijon on 30 March 1147 and was present at the consecration of the church on the following day. This might be taken as proof that the year was reckoned from Easter; but M. Robert de Lasteyrie[6] points out that we cannot tell that the king was not at Dijon a week earlier, so that the charter may have been drawn up before 25 March.

The reckoning from Lady Day seems not to have travelled far into the regions eastward of France, parts of the old duchy of Lorraine. Here it is found in the province of Treves, where it persisted down to the seventeenth century;[7] and in the university of Cologne, a foundation of Urban VI. That it sometimes appears in the Imperial chancery from Philip of Suabia to Frederick II was probably due to Italian influence, but it was never a serious rival to the time-

[1] Cartulaire général de Paris, i, pp. xxxi, xxxii, 1887.

[2] Louis VI le Gros, pp. 296 seq., 1890.

[3] Luchaire, no 28.

[4] Ibid., no. 94.

[5] Étude sur les Actes de Louis VII, pp. 25 seqq., 1885.

[6] Cartulaire général de Paris, i, p. xxxiii.

[7] Grotefend, i. 8. See also below, p. 23.

honoured Christmas style. In the south-east, in the old kingdom of Burgundy, it was probably used at Lyons in 1201 and at Arles in 1249.[1] In the Papal chancery, where chronology had become disturbed from the time of Urban II, this reckoning was frequently adopted, until in the thirteenth century there was a reaction to the date of Christmas.

3. *The Reckoning from Easter.*

There was an ancient usage of appending to the candle which was lit on Easter Eve a label, *indiculus*, recording the chronological notes of the year. In the later centuries of the Middle Ages these included the Epacts, the Concurrent, the year of the Lunar and Solar Cycles, the day of Easter, and other data. In 700 the monks of Jarrow found such a label at Rome, which gave the number of years from the Passion of our Lord.[2] It implied a mode of reckoning, from A. D. 33, which nowhere obtained currency, though it is mentioned in order to draw attention to certain portents in 1033 by a nearly contemporary writer, Rodulf Glaber.[3] It might naturally be supposed that these inscriptions would lead to a computation of the year from Easter. But when this was done the Era was still that of the Incarnation. It was an attempt to combine two inconsistent systems. Nor has any sufficient evidence been brought forward to show that the year was in fact reckoned from Easter until about 1200, when Gervase of Canterbury, enumerating the various ways in which historians began the year, says *quidam vero a Passione*.[4] For a much earlier time a document of Adelard, abbot of St. Bertin, has often been cited which bears the following date:

> Actum Aria monasterio, VI kalendas Aprilis, anno incarnationis Domini dccclvi et bissextili ascensu I, indictione V ac embolismo, sabbato ante medium Quadragesimae, anno XVII regnante Karolo cum fratre Hludovico ac nepote Hlotario.[5]

All these notes of time, except the year 856, agree with 857. The authors of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*[6] indeed thought that *ascensu I* gave the Paschal regular for 856, but Auguste Bernard showed that

[1] Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 3rd series, II. (1855) 244 seq.

[2] Bede, de Temporum Ratione, xlvii. [olim xlv].

[3] Hist. iv. 1, 4, 5, 9, ed. M. Prou, 1886.

[4] Opera historica, I. 88, ed. Stubbs, 1879.

[5] Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Bertin, p. 162, ed. B. Guérard, 1840. The text is quoted inaccurately by Giry, p. 113, note 4.

[6] Vol. I. 27 note.

it goes with *bissextili* and means the first year of the *bissextus*, that is of the leap-year period; in other words, the first year after leap-year [1]. In the same way Bede speaks of the *crementum bissextile*.[2] We need not doubt that the year of Grace is miswritten. Folquin, the compiler of the chartulary a century later, was careless in matters of chronology. He almost always made blunders in adjusting regnal years to the years of Grace.[3] His inaccuracy may be shown by his notice of the death of his namesake Bishop Folquin of Térouanne, which he places on Tuesday, 15 December 855 in the third Indiction and the 15th year of Charles the Bald: 15 December fell on a Tuesday in 856, which was not in the third Indiction. The same writer composed a Life of Bishop Folquin in which he said that he died on a Saturday.[4] The bishop's epitaph places his death on 14 December, which was a Saturday in 855.[5] We cannot found the use of the Easter dating in the ninth century upon such an authority.[6]

A second piece of evidence for its early use was suggested by Dr. W. Levison in 1919. The biographer of Bishop Rigobert of Rheims mentions an event of 15 January 894 as occurring in the twelfth year of Archbishop Fulk of Rheims; so that, as Fulk was consecrated on 7 March 883,[7] either the bishop's year is wrong or else perhaps it was reckoned from Easter.[8] It would be simple to propose an emendation of XII into XI; but if the date is correctly given we have not a few examples of regnal and pontifical years being adjusted to the year reckoned from Christmas; so that if a bishop were consecrated in March, his second year would be counted as beginning on 25 December. Another example has been quoted from Rheims by a mere mistake. Archbishop Arnulf, says A. Wauters,[9] promised fealty to Hugh Capet in 989, in the second Indiction; and he was not made archbishop until after 23 January 990. But this latter date is an inference from a somewhat confused statement in

[1] Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 3rd series, ii. (1855) 252 seq.

[2] De Temporum Ratione, xxxix. [olim xxxvii].

[3] See Guérard, Cartulaire, notes on pp. 17, 20, 28, 31.

[4] Monumenta Germaniae historica, Script. xv. i (1887) 429.

[5] L. Duchesne, Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule, iii. (1915) 135, note 9.

[6] It may be added that Folquin, in the Cartulaire, p. 138, says that Charles the Simple died before Robert I. Charles died in September 939; Robert in January 936.

[7] Flodoard, Historia Ecclesiae Remensis, iv. 10.

[8] Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, vii. 78.

[9] Table chronologique des Chartes concernant l'Histoire de Belgique, i, p. lxiii (1866).

Richer's History; and the year of his appointment is proved by letters of Gerbert to have been 989.[1]

> It is contended by M. de Manteyer[2] that when the Emperor Lewis III departed homewards from Italy, disgraced and blinded, in 902, he adopted a computus beginning with Easter Monday. This he infers from a charter dated 17 April 902,[3] which indubitably means 903. But the dating clause is incomplete: it omits the Indiction and leaves a gap for the Imperial year. The charter, moreover, is preserved only in a modern copy taken from a chartulary. It would be more natural to emend *dcccii* into *dccciii* than to postulate the use of a style which is otherwise completely unknown.[4] But M. de Manteyer finds no difficulty in his hypothesis, and explains by its help a charter of 900[5] which but for this assumption would have seemed manifestly dated according to the Christmas reckoning. What is more likely than that Lewis should have made use of this—the Imperial—style in September 900 in anticipation of his quest for the Imperial crown?

Again, that the Easter reckoning appears in the Abingdon text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 1044 to 1053 was maintained by Henry Petrie,[6] who was followed by Mr. Plummer; but this opinion seems to me quite erroneous.[7] It would indeed be strange if an English monastery at that time employed a mode of dating more than a century and a half before it was used anywhere else.[8]

In the thirteenth century, certainly from 1215, the reckoning of the year from Easter became the established rule in the French chancery. The reasons which induced Philip Augustus to adopt a new and extremely inconvenient system of chronology have never been explained. I can only conjecture that he desired to mark his conquest of the English possessions in France by the use of a style

[1] See Julien Havet's note to the Lettres de Gerbert, p. 105, 1889.

[2] La Provence, pp. 462–465.

[3] U. Chevalier, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-André-le-Bas de Vienne, pp. 219 seqq., 1869

[4] There are signs that in France, long after the Easter reckoning was accepted, the year might be deemed to begin on the Monday following; but this was not for dating charters but for keeping accounts. Giry (p. 111, note 3) quotes from a register of the Cour des Monnaies an entry *jusques au samedi, veille de Pasques l'an [m]cccxiii, dont l'incarnation se mua le lundi ensuivant.* No business was transacted on Easter day, and therefore the accounts started a new year on the Monday.

[5] p. 469. See the text in Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens, ix 680

[6] Monumenta Britannica historica, i. 435, note *a*.

[7] See my note in the English Historical Review, xvi. (1901) 719 seqq.

[8] Giry indeed states, p 123, that it was in use in Béarn in the eleventh century, and cites the Cartulaire de Sainte Foi de Morlaas, ed. L. Cadier, p. xviii, 1884. The book does not seem to be found in England, and I can only presume that here as in other instances the reckoning is in fact from Lady Day.

different from those which had been current in them. The reckoning of the year from Lady Day was steadily gaining ground in the dominions of the English king, and Philip may very well have chosen a style distinct from it and yet so much like it that its adoption would not affect more than a small number of dates during a limited period of the year. Anyhow, from this time the date from Easter became specifically the style of the Court of France. It gradually prevailed not merely in the kingdom itself, but also in regions beyond where the French court had influence.

We have then to proceed by citing instances where this style was not observed. It is perhaps immaterial to mention that in a record of councils held at Beauvais in 1232 and 1233 we read: *Notandum quod more Gallicano mutatur annus in Domini annuntiatione dominica*;[1] for the dates are not long after the new reckoning was introduced. Besides, Beauvais lay in the province of Rheims, which was largely contiguous to the Imperial territory, and indeed in parts extended into it. Hence it was desirable to make it clear that the Imperial style of Christmas was not intended: by 1310 the court style was in use at Rheims.[2] Of greater significance is the fact that by the end of the thirteenth century the Easter date was so well established at Limoges and found so inconvenient that it was ordered that the year 1301 should begin with Lady Day.[3] The court style seems never to have penetrated into Cahors, Rodez, or Angoulême;[4] and it is more than doubtful whether it did into Poitou.[5] But it is found in Toulouse when that county passed into the hands of Alfonse of Poitiers towards the middle of the thirteenth century.[6] In Auvergne the reckoning from Lady Day was still current in 1478.[7]

The statement that the court style prevailed in the region of Lyons from the twelfth century is unproved and improbable. It is possible that that reckoning was adopted there from the time when Philip IV took the city under his protection in 1292;[8] but the documents bear a date which is equally compatible with a calculation from Easter and from Lady Day.[9] The earliest document which is indubitably dated according to the Easter style was produced in April 1310 on the eve of the French king's annexation of Lyons in the following

[1] Martene and Durand, Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum, iv. 182 (1717).

[2] Grotefend, i. 141 *b*.

[3] Giry, p 116, notes 1 and 2.

[4] Giry, p. 115, note 7.

[5] Richard, ubi supra, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.

[6] Giry, p. 122, note 6.

[7] Giry, p. 117, note 6.

[8] See A. Leroux, Les Relations politiques de la France avec l'Allemagne de 1292 à 1378, p. 144 (1882).

[9] See the Cartulaire municipal de la Ville de Lyon, ed. M. C. Guigue pp. 416 seq., 35, 36, 108 seq., 424, 110 seq. (1876).

July.[1] In Dauphiné, however, which became a French possession in 1343, the reckoning from Lady Day still continued. In other parts of the Burgundian kingdom we find the survival of the old reckoning from Christmas at Avignon in 1215.

When we pass to the eastern districts of what is now French territory, a clear distinction has to be drawn between the lands which were Imperial and those which were subject to the crown of France. In the former we should expect the Christmas reckoning to prevail, and this was so in Alsace and the County of Burgundy (Franche-Comté). But the date from Lady Day penetrated into Lorraine and the County of Bar. Finally, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the French court style of Easter was extensively adopted. It is found in Franche-Comté as early as 1246. When in 1301 the Count of Bar did homage to the French king for his dominions west of the Meuse, this territory (known as *Barrois mouvant*) naturally reckoned the year from Easter; but the rest of the county held to Lady Day. The Three Bishoprics were suffragans of Treves, where the year was reckoned from Lady Day;[2] but Toul and Verdun in time accepted the French style from Easter; Metz, however, which as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century had not altogether abandoned the older reckoning from Christmas, adopted that from Lady Day and maintained it until modern times.

Further north, especially in the Low Countries, the chronology was complicated by the varieties of ecclesiastical and temporal relations. Indeed, the dynastic changes in these regions led to such frequent disturbance of practice that in a short survey like the present it is impossible to attempt more than a general statement which must be subject to revision at many points. Beyond the French border the reckoning from Christmas was retained in Hainault; it is not until 1431 that we find the Easter date there. But as in the thirteenth century the province of Rheims began the year on Lady Day, we find this system in use at Ghent as late as 1308. In the thirteenth century, however, the church of Cologne accepted the French style of Easter, and this therefore makes its appearance at Liège and Utrecht. It was powerfully stimulated when step by step the dukes of Burgundy acquired the greater part of the Low Countries in the fifteenth century. It is, however, to be observed that here the Easter date was constantly noted as the style of the court, to

[1] The date is given as Saturday before Palm Sunday 1309. But there was no Palm Sunday in 1309 according to the Lady Day reckoning. In 1308/9 it fell on 23 March 1309; and in 1310 on 12 April. If, therefore, the year is correctly given it can only be reckoned from Easter.

[2] See above, p. 18.

distinguish it from the popular usages which were maintained in different places. Thus in the town of Rotterdam the reckoning from Christmas held its ground down to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Meanwhile in the latter part of the thirteenth century this Christmas style was more and more commonly used by the Popes, and in 1310 a council at Cologne ordered its adoption;[1] and this led to its reappearance at Liège in 1333; but even at Cologne itself the municipality adhered to the Easter reckoning.[2]

In a very different region, the County of Vienne, the Christmas date was established, in place of that of Lady Day, in 1292; but as the Dauphin had done homage to Rudolf of Hapsburg in the preceding year, this would seem to mean the acceptance of the Imperial reckoning, which agreed with that known as the usage of the Papal court. To distinguish it from the French practice it was called 'le style Delphinal'. In 1305 it was introduced into Geneva,[3] which thus fell into line with the lands of Switzerland proper.

III. The Restoration of the Ancient Reckoning.

We have seen that the Church steadily opposed the observance of 1 January as the beginning of the year. That date was indeed accepted for calendar purposes, and the Golden Number and the Sunday Letter were reckoned from it. By the sixth century at least it was also established as a festival, the feast of the Circumcision; but it was hardly ever employed as a chronological landmark, though its closeness to Christmas appears occasionally to have led to confusion between the two dates.[4] Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, however, there are definite symptoms of a return to the ancient pagan system. This was perhaps partly due to an increasing use of almanacks, which were naturally constructed from 1 January. Probably it was also influenced by the study of Roman law. The restoration is said to be traceable in the chancery of William of Holland,[5] the rival of the Emperor Frederick II, and of Rudolf of Hapsburg. It is attested at Münster in Westphalia in 1313, and is frequently found in the documents of the Emperor Lewis the Bavarian and sometimes in those of Charles IV. At Frankfort-on-the-Main it prevailed from 1338 to 1484, when it was abandoned. At Mainz it gradually won ground in the fifteenth century.

[1] Hartzheim, Concilia Germaniae, iv. 125 *a* (1761).

[2] Art de vérifier, i, note on p. 22.

[3] F. Rühl, Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, p. 38, 1897.

[4] This confusion has been observed in the documents of Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples, and his successors, from 1265 to 1343

[5] I take this and the following statements from Ruhl, p. 25.

This revival seems to have been almost entirely limited to Germany. It is noticeable that when in the latter part of the fourteenth century the Spanish Era was discontinued in the Peninsula the reckoning of the year from 1 January which went with it was also ordered to be given up, and the reckoning from Christmas took its place. Late in the fifteenth century the college of Sorbonne at Paris used a different system from that of the French court; but whether it reckoned from Christmas or from 1 January has not been determined.

Here our inquiry properly ends, but it may be well to add a short statement of the dates at which the older systems were officially abolished.[1] The orders usually provided that the year following their issue should begin on 1 January, but sometimes their execution was delayed. When the order was confirmed after an interval of years, I give both years.

Estates of Holland	1532
Spain	1556
The Empire	1558
France	1564–1567
Franche-Comté	1566–1575
Geneva	1575
Lorraine	1579

The reform of the calendar effected by the bull of Gregory XIII of 24 February 1581/2 enacted that thenceforth the year should begin on 1 January; and this change became operative in countries of the Roman obedience in 1583, but in Austria twelve months later. Scotland followed their example in 1599. It is said that, in spite of the reform which they had brought about, the Popes did not adopt 1 January as the day at which they began the year until 1621 for briefs, and 1691 for bulls. Some time between these dates the new practice was adopted at Treves. From 1700 it received a further extension and was ordered at the following dates in

Protestant states of Germany	1700
Guelderland	1700
Utrecht	1700
Grisons	1717
Protestant cantons of Switzerland	1739
Florence and Pisa	1749
England and Ireland	1751 [2]
Venice	1797.

[1] The list printed in J. J. Bond's Handy-Book for verifying Dates, pp. 91–101 (4th ed., 1889), needs a great deal of correction.

[2] This change involved several anomalies in 1752. See J. E. W. Wallis, English Time-Books, i. (1921) 45 note, and the Special Table for 1752 in E. A. Fry's Almanacks for Students of English History, 1915.

RALEIGH LECTURE ON HISTORY

THE ELIZABETHANS AND THE EMPIRE

By A. F. POLLARD

Fellow of the Academy

Read November 2, 1921

Some ten years ago, before the institution of this annual Raleigh lecture, there was founded at Oxford a club named after the same distinguished Elizabethan. The object of that club was to discuss, if not to solve, the domestic problems of the British Empire; and the adoption of Raleigh's name was due, partly no doubt to the fact that it had not already been misappropriated to party purposes or contaminated by any particular programme, but mainly, I suppose, to the idea that the last of the Elizabethans was the first of the builders of Greater Britain. At any rate, a series of popular biographies, collected under that title, begins with a life of Raleigh; and there is matter enough to connect Sir Walter with the British Empire, and to justify the use of this opportunity to inquire into the part which he and other Elizabethans played in laying the foundations of British dominion over the seas.

The result of our inquiry may be somewhat negative. 'If', says a competent critic of the particular biography to which I have referred, 'Raleigh was a builder of Greater Britain, the author has not shown it'[1]; and it is well enough known that at Elizabeth's death England possessed not a foot of land beyond the British seas. But builders may include architects, who must plan before the foundations are laid; and political edifices need thought and effort before they can take material form in expanse of territory. For one thing, the British Empire is founded on the waves, and the freedom of the seas was an indispensable condition of insular expansion. And deeper and broader than even that foundation

[1] Sir J. K. Laughton in *English Historical Review*, xiii 363.

were the ideas and habits and customs of the people, to whom the freedom of the seas itself was but an opportunity, and the expansion of territory but a means, for extending the principles of political architecture which they had already begun to fashion and formulate in their island home. Spain possessed in 1603, after her conquest of Portugal, almost a monopoly of colonial empire, a far greater proportionate share of the earth's surface than is occupied by the British Empire to-day. It is not overseas but at home, not in the material terms of territory or of wealth, but in those of mind, that we must seek the causes which led to the shrinking of those dominions of Philip II and to the expansion of those of Queen Elizabeth. The New Spain, the New France, the New England, about which men were talking even before the Spanish Armada, would depend for their future weal or woe upon differences which already existed between old Spain, old France, and old England. 'The kingdom of heaven', says Bacon,[1] who dimly discerned the dawn in which he lived, 'is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard seed, which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So there are States great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.'

It would not therefore follow that the Elizabethans did nothing to build up a British Empire because no empire was in sight in 1603. But had they empire in their mind? and, if so, did that visionary and implicit 'empire' bear the remotest resemblance to the actual British Empire as it grew from shadow into substance and from phantom into form? Here again, the answers to both these questions, if not negative, cannot be very positive. Elizabethans knew little of empire, and they hardly thought themselves British. Camden, indeed, being a great historian, was also among the prophets. For ten years, between 1575 and 1585, he devoted such leisure as his second mastership at Westminster School permitted, to studying the antiquities of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the three realms achieved a prophetic union on the title-page of his 'Britannia, sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae et Insularum adiacentium chorographica descriptio'. But Shakespeare is mere English; and 'when he speaks of Britons and British he always means the Celtic peoples of the island'.[2] Half a century earlier, Protector Somerset had proposed that English and Scots should alike

[1] Essay, *Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.*

[2] *Proc. of the British Academy*, 1917–18, p. 404.

forswear and forget those names associated with centuries of strife, and adopt the old, indifferent name of Britons. But he, too, was born before his time, and wanted both more union and more liberty than his generation could abide. Throughout Elizabeth's reign it was doubtful whether Britain would ever become anything more than a geographical expression, and still more doubtful whether its unity would lead to a British Empire.

A British Empire was, indeed, far below the political horizon when, in 1558, Elizabeth succeeded to a bankrupt treasury, a debased coinage, a throne dependent upon Spanish support and papal jurisdiction, and a sceptre over a people who had lost their faith with the loss of Calais. Scotland was under a French administration, and Ireland—ever green with fresh problems of politics—would, lamented its Governor, join the Scots and the French. Even the Anglo-Irish of the exiguous Pale, he declared, grew weary and irked of English rule, and he begged for his recall; for, he said, 'it shall be more for the Queen's honour that we be called home by order than driven out with shame'.[1] The day was dark for British unity and independence: a 'bone between two dogs' was the ignominious analogy in which even Englishmen expressed the situation of their own distressful country between the rival monarchies of France and Spain; and to be 'mere English' was not only Elizabeth's best claim to her subjects' loyalty, but the highest terms in which she could flatter their ambition. Nationalism and not imperialism was her lodestar, and the earliest triumph of her reign was the eradication of papal jurisdiction and of the control which Spain had wielded over English policy.

Within a year, skill and circumstances had enabled her to expand the cry of 'England for the English' into one of 'Britain for the British'. John Knox returned from his exile at Geneva and put, it was written,[2] 'more life into his hearers than five hundred trumpets continually blustering'. Where he preached, altars fell to the ground and armies sprang into being; and an English fleet placed Elizabeth's veto on the re-conquest of Scotland in the interests of Mary Stuart, her French husband, and Roman Catholic religion. An important chapter in the history of religion has yet to be re-written in the language of sea-power. 'When', wrote Maitland of Lethington,[3] 'in the days of your princes Henry VIII and Edward VI, means were opened of amity betwixt both realms, was not at all times the

[1] *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1509–73, pp. 141–2.
[2] *Foreign Calendar*, 1558–9, no. 710.
[3] *Cotton MS.* (Brit. Museum), Caligula B ix. 99.

difference of religion the only stay they were not embraced? Did not the craft of the clergy and power of their adherents subvert the devices of the better sort? But now has God of His mercy removed the block forth out of the way; now is not their practice like to take place any more when we are to come to a conformity and profess the same religion as you.'

Religion had not been the only stay. 'What', asked a Scot of an English diplomatist in the days of the wooing of Mary Stuart by Edward VI,[1] 'would you say if your lad were a lass and our lass were a lad?' Husband and wife, according to Roman Law, which was received in Scotland, were one person, and that person was the husband. England and Scotland would become one realm, and that realm would be England. In Elizabeth's reign the trouble was not between a lad and a lass, but between two lasses; and identity of sex was an impediment to the marriage of true minds which even Shakespeare would admit. Making the large assumption of evangelical unity, the two realms might, perhaps, have one religion; but more certainly they had two queens, and unity on that ambiguous basis was beyond the wit, even of woman, to conceive. There could be no compounding of their difference, no compromise of their claims. Mary, the protégée first of France and then of Spain, lost first her throne on the field of battle and then her head on the scaffold, while the mere English Elizabeth throve to the end of her reign. But Mary's son succeeded to both the realms, while Elizabeth left no issue. 'The Queen of Scots', she moaned as she heard of the birth of the future James I, 'is mother of a fair son, and I am but a barren stock.'[2]

That was the natural cry of the flesh. The spirit of wisdom discerned in that poignant contrast the solution of the problem and the future unity of Great Britain; and Elizabeth never wavered in her resolve that James should be her successor. She had no desire, she said, to weave a winding-sheet before her face, and to create in a recognized heir a centre of disaffection; and her refusal to commit herself to James's succession was an obvious precaution to ensure his good behaviour. But the question was settled in her own mind. She never intended to marry; her marriage negotiations, which might have produced a rival to James, were merely diplomatic pawns with which she sometimes checked a king and sometimes took a queen; and tales of her hesitation on her death-bed about nominating a successor were the idlest gossip of the court. The rival pretensions of the house of Suffolk had been systematically dis-

[1] *Sadler State Papers*, ii. 560.

[2] Melville, *Memoirs*, 1683, p. 70.

countenanced, its scions disparaged, its party proscribed, and even its marriages annulled in order to prejudice its title and leave the field clear for James I. A royal frost had blighted their hopes, and no true Englishman gave a thought to the Infanta who claimed from John of Gaunt and Mary Stuart's bequest.

The Scottish James was alien enough. The embers of Border strife were not extinct, and the 'auld enemy', as England was still known north of the Tweed,[1] had enough of the old Adam to make it no slight sacrifice of self-esteem to stoop to conquer, to forget the ancient claims to suzerainty, the newer memories of victory at Flodden Field and Solway Moss and Pinkie Cleugh, and the foolish dreams of conquest, and to welcome as an English king the first Stuart who came to London not a prisoner of war. But pride precedes the fall of empires rather than their birth, and he that ruleth his spirit is a better builder of empire than he that taketh a city. The self-control and political judgement, which enabled Elizabethans to stomach James I, were auspicious for the magnanimity of British empire; and no one is entitled to greater credit than the Queen herself for refusing to stand in the way of a great and greater Britain. She had no authority to bequeath the crown, but she could determine the succession by abstaining from interference. In dying a Virgin Queen, she gave birth to the British Empire. *Bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube.* A happier empire than the Habsburg owed its initial union to the maiden meditations of its greatest queen; and Virginia was the proper name for Elizabeth's offspring overseas.

Great Britain was therefore in the sight and minds at least of some Elizabethans. But would the union of the crowns produce a British Empire, and what did 'empire' mean? Richard II, who, albeit a pale and ineffectual luminary, was as much the Morning Star of the New Monarchy as Wycliffe was of the Reformation, had proclaimed himself 'entire emperor' in England; and Henry VIII had embroidered the words and translated them into lurid action. 'This realm of England', says the Act of Appeals in 1533, 'is an empire', and even two Catholic Convocations were constrained or inspired to claim that England was 'an imperial see of itself'. Protector Somerset, in proposing a union of the two realms, had also suggested that the United Kingdom should be called the Empire, and its sovereign the Emperor, of Great Britain.[2] Here, perhaps, there is a faint

[1] Hodgkin, *Wardens of the Marches*, pp. 2, 32.

[2] Odet de Selve, *Corresp. Politique*, p. 269; Protector Somerset, *Epistle to the Scots*, E.E.T.S., 1872, pp. 241–2.

foreshadowing of the idea of sister nations in a common empire which Burke, our great philosopher of empire, formulated when he said: 'my idea of it is this: that an Empire is the aggregate of many States under one common head'.[1] But all that men meant as a rule to assert in the sixteenth century, when they talked about England or Britain being an empire, was its national independence of catholic jurisdiction, whether the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope or the secular authority of the Holy Roman Emperor. Empire conveyed noidea of expansion into new worlds or of conquest in the old, and it implied no other conception of sovereignty than independent monarchy. Bacon has an essay 'Of Empire', in which he discusses 'the true temper of empire'. But the discussion has no reference to the birth or growth of a British Empire; and the essay, although it almost coins that disastrous phrase, 'the Balance of Power', consists mainly in advice to kings to be moderate in their ambitions and temperate in their government. For Bacon's counsel on 'empire', in anything like our sense of the word, we have to turn to essays bearing other titles, such as the severely practical one 'On Plantations' or the more suggestive essay on 'The True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates'. So, too, with the poets. Shakespeare's 'cutpurse of the empire' is simply the usurping king of Denmark

> That from a shelf the precious diadem stole
> And put it in his pocket.

The nearest we get to our empire is in Campion's line

> Of Neptune's empire let us sing:

and that approximation is due to Neptune rather than to empire.

But here we do light upon a real and vital link between Elizabethans and the Empire, and it leads us back to Raleigh. In a violent metaphor, which couples Arcadia with the sea and begs the question of the flock, the pastoral-minded Spenser calls his roving friend 'the Shepherd of the Ocean'. But it was no violence to historical truth when later ages saw in the shepherd of the ocean the prophet of the empire, or discovered a symbolical significance in the choice of Richard Hakluyt, the historian of 'The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation', to be the first spiritual pastor of Jamestown in Virginia.[2] For sea-power has ever been the secret of British empire; and it was the discovery of sea-power by the Tudors that changed the course of English history and the fortunes of the world.

[1] Burke, *Select Works*, ed. Payne, i. 193.

[2] Hakluyt, ed. Raleigh, xii. 86.

Writing at the close of the Lancastrian period, Chief Justice Fortescue laments that England is an island and therefore open to attack on every side.[1] His idea of insular security was unlimited liability to invasion. From over the sea had all her conquerors come, and all successful pretenders to the throne; and, casting about for comfort, Fortescue could find it—not in the Elizabethan sentiments which Shakespeare fathers on John of Gaunt,

> in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands,

nor in those wooden walls which had to wait for Tudor genius to build—but only in the skill of English archers; just as in later days a similar mentality looked not to the navy, but lined our eastern coast with trenches and filled them with troops which might have been in France. Fortescue had the better case, for England hardly possessed a royal navy in his time, and the sea was no protection by itself. It was rather an open road for those to use who had the power; and England could not be safe at home, still less dream of empire over seas, until she could command the approaches to her shores and her exits to the world.

The history of that revolution in her position is not to be told as an incident in an hour's discourse. It should be as familiar to us as household words. But naval history is no part of our normal education. Hakluyt tells us how he urged upon Elizabeth's Lord High Admiral, upon Sir Robert Cecil, and on others, the establishment of a modest lectureship in London on the subject at £40 a year, and how Sir Francis Drake promised him £20 a year towards the stipend.[2] But the balance has never been forthcoming, and popular legends elucidate the history of sea-power as little as Robin Hood tales do the development of the constitution. The growth of England's command of the sea has little to do with miraculous storms which wrecked none but Spanish ships, nor with diminutive vessels, like the 'little Revenge', which were in truth the super-Dreadnoughts of their time. The Spanish Armada was a convoy of transports rather than a fleet of battleships; and when Drake singed the Spanish King's beard at Cadiz, he was not hurling an impudent insult at imposing dignity but demonstrating the effectiveness of naval guns which were almost as good as Nelson's at Trafalgar.[3] The significance of his ships was

[1] *Governance of England*, ed. Plummer, pp. 115, 138.
[2] Hakluyt, ed. Raleigh, xii. 80-1.
[3] Corbett, *Successors of Drake*, p. 430; G. Callender in *History*, v. 156.

not their size, but their design and build, the tactics with which they were handled, and the calibre of the guns they carried.

The evolution of those guns and men-of-war began in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, when the new peace was made by the New Monarchy after the Wars of the Roses, and men's minds were turned abroad by the expansion of Europe and the emergence of rival national States. With the establishment of domestic law and order, inland castles, those hard kernels of feudal franchise and centres of civil strife, romantic in their ruins but subversive in their strength, fell into abeyance and were replaced by peaceful Tudor mansions designed for the comfort of living and not for the need of defence. Men's gaze was riveted on the sea; expectation took the place of introspection; and monastic masonry was used to line the coast with castles. Then, almost suddenly, men's outlook took a leap into the future; a flash of insight showed that England's true defence lay not in castles on her coasts, but in far-flung wooden walls upon the sea; and never since has England known the real terrors of a frontier. It was those wooden walls which enabled Henry VIII to defy the conscience of Europe; it was for the sake of England's ships that Philip II was induced to marry Mary Tudor; and the Tudor navy was the sure shield, behind which Elizabeth made England English, Britain British, and undermined the Spanish Empire.

But the command of the sea, which Elizabeth's shipwrights, gunners, and seamen secured, was a diluted form of supremacy. Indeed, it never is and never can be absolute. The command of the sea is a phrase which may cover a whole morass of loose thinking. It is, like strength or weakness, an indefinite quantity capable of infinite variation. A century later, Sir Clowdisley Shovel, a true 'Tarpaulin' if there was one, declared that an admiral, who kept his fleet out later than October, ought to be shot[1]; and Elizabeth, while she had twenty-nine capital ships in her royal navy, seldom kept more than two or three in commission. English command of the sea meant simply the individual superiority of the average English ship to that of any other nation, and not the continuous control of the seas by the organized fleets of an English government. There was little or no policing of the seas, where for the most part there were no Ten Commandments, and the Queen's writ did not run. The sea was no man's land, its freedom consisted in licence rather than liberty, and

[1] Corbett, *op. cit.*, p. 437. 'Tarpaulin' was a sobriquet which began to be applied to professional seamen during the Commonwealth; cf Halifax on 'the present controversy between the *Gentlemen* and the *Tarpaulins*' in *A New Model at Sea*.

a 'nation of pirates' was a common description of the English by their unsuccessful rivals. But there were pirates and pirates. There were crowds of professional Ishmaelites of the sea, and Elizabeth hanged over a hundred of her own subjects for piracy in less than half her reign, testimony as much to the good intentions of her government as to the extent of the evil she failed to cure.[1] Others tempered piracy with plausibility or with patriotism. Many a trader had suffered real wrong, and reprisals were often the only means of retribution. As relations with Spain grew more and more strained, the Queen granted letters of marque with a liberal hand to all who professed a grudge against Philip II, and pirates were converted wholesale into patriots by royal commission. Instead of a national declaration of war, she granted endless licence to privateers.

Piracy was the form into which all oversea enterprise tended to sink or to revert. Even during the crisis of the Armada, the Lord High Admiral and Drake were momentarily lured into seeking booty instead of the enemy's destruction; and lesser men were continually being diverted from the legitimate objects of exploration, commerce, and colonization to the pursuit of speedier profits and safe returns. It was not easy to say where piracy ended and patriotism began; and some of the more scrupulous of Elizabeth's ministers declined their share in the profits of Drake's voyage round the world on the ground that he returned laden with the spoil of unarmed traders with whom England was officially at peace. The Queen herself was less high-minded or more high-spirited, but even she has been described as the earliest 'little Englander'.[2] There was not much expansion of England, at least in the form of English territory, in the minds of most of Elizabeth's sea-dogs; and the peace that was made with Spain at the end of the war did not transfer to England an acre of Spanish territory. There was not even a temporary occupation of Spanish colonies during the war; and, though the idea of seizing and holding strategic points in the West Indies was sometimes entertained,[3] and Drake took 2,000 men with him in 1585, even that, the best equipped and most powerful of his forays into the New World, accomplished little more than pillage. Spain was to be weakened and impoverished, but the Elizabethan builders of greater Britain hardly did more than threaten the foundations of other empires. 'All that had been imagined and attempted, at the cost of so many years of effort and so many men's lives', says the editor of Hakluyt,[4] 'was yet to do.

[1] Cheyney, *Hist. of England*, 1588–1603, p. 514.
[2] Corbett, *op. cit.*, p. 406.
[3] *Spanish Calendar*, 1586–1603, p. 600.
[4] Vol. xii, pp. 119–20.

No thoroughfare had been discovered by the North-East or the North-West. No English community had been established overseas. No gold-mine was in the possession of England. . . . So far the record is one of failure.'

Two explanations, at least, have been afforded of this apparent misfortune. Elizabeth had no army, and she was averse from territorial aggrandizement, even at the expense of Spain. 'Without a mobile military force capable of seconding the navy', writes our naval historian, 'it was impossible to carry the war further. . . . As it was, the end of the war saw Spain far more powerful on the sea than when she began. We had taught her the lesson of naval power, and she had learned it according to her lights. We had not learned ours.'[1] This lack of a standing army and a proper expeditionary force helps to explain Elizabeth's reluctance to embark upon a policy of conquest. She resolutely refused, in spite of invitations from abroad and pressure from councillors at home, to countenance an extension of her territorial sovereignty over Philip's revolting subjects in the Netherlands or Huguenots in La Rochelle; she even acquiesced in the permanent loss of Calais. For what was conquest worth without an army to maintain it? and Elizabeth was much too careful of her throne to tax her people with the maintenance of armies overseas. Naval warfare was feasible enough because it was waged for the most part by individual subjects on their own initiative and at their own expense.[2] But England had no army, in the modern sense, until the days of Oliver Cromwell. She did not like it then, and there is no reason to suppose that a standing army would have been more popular in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The truth is that England had sickened of military enterprise in the later stages of the Hundred Years' War; and though Henry V, the arch-militarist of England, was galvanized into a theatrical popularity by Shakespeare, no subsequent English statesman dreamt of following in his footsteps. Even Henry VIII was modest in his military ambitions; 'the English', remarks a French ambassador in 1539, 'have got out of the way of war'.[3] There was always the

[1] Corbett, *Successors of Drake*, pp. 408–10.

[2] Cf. Don Guerau to Philip II in 1570, *Spanish Cal.* 1568–79, p. 250, 'The whole Channel from Falmouth to the Downs is infested. They assail every ship that passes, of whatever nation, and after capturing them equip them for their own purposes, by this means continually increasing their fleet, with the intention on the part of the Queen thus to make war on his majesty through these pirates without its costing her anything.'

[3] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xiv. i, p. 557; cf. Stubbs, *Lectures on Mediaeval and Modern History*, p. 279.

obligation, limited to the shires in which men lived, to help in keeping the peace and resisting invasion; but the few 'prest' men who served abroad were volunteers, whose 'prest' or 'imprest' was that advanced pay, which was given them on enlisting, and became familiar in later times as the king's shilling. Munitions and skill as well as the men were wanting. Archery was still in Elizabeth's reign the form of military exercise enjoined by statute upon the musters; and as late as 1596 an old soldier lamented the new-fangled preference of fire-arms to the long-bow, 'a weapon wherewith God hath naturally adorned us above and before all nations in the world', and could only account for it on the theory that God intended 'in his secret wisdom to scourge us for our sins'.[1] Whatever ideas of empire the Elizabethans had were not based on military science or ambition.

The literary evidence on the point is easily misquoted and misread. Bacon declares that 'above all, for empire and greatness it importeth most that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation'; but he proceeds to instance Turkey and Spain as the only possessors of 'empire' in his day, and he can hardly have envisaged either as a model for British imitation. Poetic licence was less restrained than Bacon's legal caution, and Marlowe makes his dying Tamburlaine demand a map that he might

> see how much
> Is left for me to conquer all the world.

But what else could one expect, in the way of an artistic exit, from a Tartar hero? Alexander the Great had stereotyped the pose of a dying conqueror, and even Marlowe's originality was not proof against the classical model. Drayton strikes the same note:

> A thousand kingdoms will we seek from far,
> As many nations waste with civil war . . .
> And those unchristened kingdoms call our own
> Where scarce the name of England hath been known;

and this has been called 'imperial language'.[2] It is certainly crude enough to gratify the least regenerate Prussian. But it is unsafe to identify a dramatist either with his characters or with his audience as a whole; and the only safe assumption is that there was a gallery in the Shakespearian theatre as well as our own.

Nor can the more sober testimony of foreign statesmen be accepted

[1] Sir H. Knyvett, *Defence of the Realme*, pp. 17, 20-1.
[2] Hakluyt, xii, Pref. p. 34.

without discrimination. That the English were greedy of dominion was a common complaint of Spain; but the Spaniards, while good judges of imperial greed, were hardly impartial witnesses to the greed of other people. More weight might attach to the warning which the king of France addressed to the king of Denmark in 1560, that the English 'were marvellous greedy of dominion and desirous to enlarge the limits of their kingdom'.[1] But the warning was of the peril to Denmark 'if the whole monarchy of Britain came into English hands', and it conveyed an invitation to Denmark to assist France in re-establishing her dominion over Scotland.

More substantial testimony to imperial ambition may be found in Henry VII's commission to John Cabot to subjugate, occupy, and possess lands hitherto unknown to Christendom, and in the popular welcome which Cabot received on his return in 1497. 'Vast honour', writes a Venetian resident in England,[2] 'is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues besides.' 'These same English', writes another Italian diplomatist to the Duke of Milan,[3] 'say that they could bring so many fish that this kingdom would have no further need of Iceland. . . . Before long they say, his Majesty will equip some ships, and in addition he will give them all the malefactors, and they will go to that country and form a colony. By means of this they hope to make London a more important mart for spices than Alexandria.' Cabot, he continues, was styled Admiral, and had bestowed an island on one of his companions. 'He has given another to his barber, a Genoese by birth, and both consider themselves counts, while the Admiral esteems himself at least a prince. I also believe that some poor Italian friars will go on this voyage, who have the promise of bishoprics. As I have made friends with the Admiral, I might have an archbishopric if I chose to go there, but I have reflected that the benefices which your Excellency reserves for me are safer.'

This contemporary account of the earliest English experiment in empire, with its references to popular enthusiasm, exploration and exploitation, fisheries and spices, commercial enterprise and military conquest, convict settlements and colonial bishoprics, illuminates most of the many-coloured threads out of which the garment of British empire was woven on the loom of time. It is a glimpse into the future, sufficient to show that the expansion of England was not, as

[1] *Foreign Calendar*, 1559–60, p. 516.
[2] *Venetian Calendar*, i, no. 752; Pollard, *Reign of Henry VII*, ii. 332.
[3] *Milanese Calendar*, i. 336–8.

has sometimes been supposed,[1] entirely the outcome of the Protestant Reformation, but not enough to indicate what the empire might have been, had, for instance, Drake remained a Roman Catholic or Philip II become a Protestant. For a century after Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland, his schemes lingered in the land of dreams, while England set her hand to the more immediate task of determining what she would be like herself before she aspired to reproduce and multiply her image overseas.

That image could not be cast in a Spanish mould. We had in Elizabeth's reign no conquerors like Cortes or Pizarro, because we had no class of professional soldiers. There could be no English Mexico or Peru, no superimposition of a dominant caste upon a subject population, and therefore no such mixture of races as produced the republics of Central and South America, partly no doubt because those countries were already more civilized and therefore more liable to political conquest than the ruder tribes of North America, but mainly because the English did not make that profession of arms 'as their principal honour, study, and occupation' which Bacon considered indispensable to empire. The professional soldiers of the sixteenth century were Swiss, German, Italian, or Spanish mercenaries; but arms in England were already being relegated to a serio-comic College which manufactured pedigrees and dealt in peaceful coats of armour.

It was otherwise in Spain, where racial and religious conflict with the Moors maintained the vigour of military expansion and of theological inquisition far into the colonial period. Indeed, that 800 years' war only ended with the conquest of Granada in the year that Columbus discovered the West Indies; and to Spaniards their conquest of the New World was but a continuation of their crusade against the infidels in the Old. The religious impulse, or at least the religious idea, was not entirely absent from the minds of English pioneers. Cabot had been commissioned to conquer only lands unknown to Christendom; and Englishmen contended that Alexander VI's bull had authorized the Spaniards not to conquer but to convert the Indies.[2] Even Drayton's imperial language referred but to 'unchristened' kingdoms to be called our own; and John Davis attained a height of moral elevation in which he could ask. 'Are not we only set upon Mount Zion to give light to all the rest of the world?' But this was an atmosphere more suited for sky-pilots than

[1] Cf. Froude, *English Seamen*, p. 101, where he says that 'no interest had been aroused' by Cabot's discoveries.

[2] *Hatfield MSS.* ii. 230.

for Elizabethan seamen; and the 'sea-divinity', as Fuller terms it, of Hawkins and Drake was somewhat weak in pastoral theology. Neither the Church nor the Army provided the characteristic pioneer of the British Empire; he was less warlike than the soldier, more secular than the priest.

But the expansion of England in Elizabeth's reign consisted mainly in the expansion of the English mind, and 'empire' in the outlines of an aspiration; and it is clear that the basis of that expansion was the boundless curiosity which comes out alike in the Elizabethan drama and in Elizabethan exploration. 'The searching and unsatisfied spirits of the English', says the chronicler Stow, 'to the great glory of our nation, could not be contained within the banks of the Mediterranean or Levant Seas, but they passed far towards both the Arctic and the Antarctic poles, enlarging their trade into the West and East Indies.'[1] 'The great affection', writes Queen Elizabeth to the king of Cambaya, 'which our subjects have to visit the most distant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of merchandize of all nations whatsoever they can . . . is the cause that the bearer of this letter . . . jointly with those that be in his company . . . do repair to the borders and countries of your empire.'[2]

'And who', asks Daniel the poet, in 1601,

> knows whither we may vent
> The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
> This gain of our best glory shall be sent
> To enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
> What worlds in th' yet unformèd Occident
> May come refin'd with accents that are ours?

The reference to refined accents in the unformed Occident may sound a little optimistic, but optimism and imagination were the two pinions which winged the flight of enterprise to empire. Faith and hope, often enough frustrated, and not certainty or science, led men to seek uncharted seas and unknown worlds to put their girdle round the globe. But while poets could compass the ends of the earth on the wings of imagination, Willoughby and Chancellor, Gilbert and Davis and Drake, had to go down to the sea in ships, and ships could not be built by a stroke of the pen or on the financial proceeds of poetry or prose. Curiosity moved men's minds, but more material means were needed to transport their bodies; and the voyages of the explorers were financed by companies of traders and speculators who did not look for their reward in the next world, but in the discovery

[1] Cheyney, *op. cit.*, p. 310.   [2] Hakluyt, v. 450.

of quicker and safer routes to the other side of this. The heroic and romantic stories of the North-East and North-West passages, of journeys overland by Moscow or Damascus to Bokhara and the East, of Fitch's travels throughout India, of William Adams's residence in Japan, where he helped to build a Japanese navy and is annually commemorated to this day, have their duller background in the prosaic details of joint-stock companies, of lotteries to float colonial enterprise, of the suing of shareholders who had come in—as a correspondent remarks—'when the Virginia business was at its highest' and refused to pay up when, as Charles I puts it, they saw no 'better fruit than tobacco and smoke', with the consequent 'danger to the bodies and manners of the English people through the excessive growth' of 'that contemptible weed', or when they feared failure owing—to quote the words of a contemporary, which must surely be as old as the hills—to 'the extreme beastly idleness of our nation . . . who will rather starve than be industrious'.[1]

But the finest of human minds are condemned to dwell in bodies more or less vile, and the British empire was not made of pure gold. If there was often the market behind the missionary, there were mean designs at the back of colonization. Distance has lent enchantment to the view; we have lost sight of Botany Bay in the Commonwealth of Australia, and the sordid aspects of more remote Elizabethan enterprise have been painted in fairer colours by the redeeming labours of later ages. The purpose of Elizabethan projects of colonization was less to reproduce desirable communities in new worlds than to expel undesirable elements from the old. These came under three main categories: dissidents, whether Roman Catholic or Puritan, from the established religion; the unemployed; and the criminal classes. Burghley once recommended Roman Catholic Ireland as an ideal resort—from the government's point of view—for Puritans of the preciser type.[2] North America was considered a suitable exile for Catholic recusants who were growing too numerous to be accommodated in Her Majesty's English prisons; and the disastrous voyage, in which Sir Philip Sidney was forbidden to sail and Sir Humphrey Gilbert lost his life, was planned to provide a retreat for Catholics, in which they would cease to trouble Elizabeth, but might become a thorn in the side of Philip II.

The unemployed and the criminal classes figure in an earlier scheme of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's; and his first project of a commonwealth overseas, drafted in 1572, contemplated the settle-

[1] *Colonial Calendar*, 1574-1660, pp 13, 14, 25, 39, 125

[2] *Domestic Calendar*, Addenda, 1566-79, p. 439.

ment there of 'such needy people of our country which now trouble the commonwealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are daily consumed with the gallows'.[1] Eight years later an anonymous adviser of the government proposed that the Straits of Magellan should be seized and fortified, and that 'Clarke the pirate' should be sent out 'upon promise of pardon' with some 'condemned Englishmen and women in whom there may be found hope of amendment'.[2] In James I's reign the government was still considering a plan for emptying English prisons and relieving the poor by plantations,[3] in spite of Bacon's protest that 'it is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant ... The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers.'[4]

Some progress towards this more desirable consummation was made in the reign of James I after the peace, but none in Elizabeth's. There had, indeed, been efforts, even by those who projected convict settlements, to procure more suitable colonists; but Gilbert's plans in Newfoundland and Raleigh's in Virginia were frustrated. The war, which grew out of trade, was fatal to colonization; and pioneering gave place to pillage. No idea of conquest had entered the minds of those who sought the North-East and North-West passages, or bore Elizabeth's letters of recommendation to the Tsar, the Sultan, the Great Mogul, or the Cham of Tartary. Discovery and peaceful commerce were their objects, and if they found the door barred they did not dream of war to force it open. But Philip II was less complaisant than Oriental despots, and Englishmen less disposed to acquiesce in their exclusion from markets which the long arm of their sea-power could invade. They disputed the title upon which Philip claimed his monopoly, and the Protestantism of Drake and Hawkins was grounded in their objections to a papal jurisdiction which had divided the New World between Spain and Portugal. Protestantism became the ally of commercial enterprise, and their union begat Elizabethan 'sea-divinity' and the slave-trade.

The slave-trade was the easiest wedge with which to force open the door of Spanish monopoly, because Spanish planters were as eager to buy the forbidden human goods as Hawkins was to sell; but the rival resolves of Philip II to keep it shut and of English traders to force it open inevitably led to war. The actual process was one by which

[1] Cheyney, p. 363. [2] *State Papers*, Eliz. Dom. ccxxix. 97.
[3] *Colonial Calendar*, 1574–1660, p. 50. [4] Essay, *Of Plantations*.

merchant ships armed themselves more and more heavily until they were indistinguishable in their build, their armament, and their conduct, from men-of-war; and a similar change came over our colonization. Instead of schemes of plantation we have plans to seize strategic points, instead of trade, piracy, instead of settlements of our own, attempts to conquer other peoples'; and overseas enterprise was swallowed up in war. Thus, too, the scene shifts from north to south, from temperate climes to torrid zones. From Gilbert's plans to colonize Newfoundland in the fifteen-seventies we pass to Raleigh's schemes in the disputed area of Virginia in the fifteen-eighties, and then still farther south in the 'nineties to attempts to conquer the Spanish Main. Raleigh himself personifies that perversion; he abandoned the colonization of Virginia to attempt the conquest of Guiana.

The war, for which this sacrifice was made, established England's command of the sea. 'All this country', writes a Spaniard from Panama in 1590, 'is in such extreme fear of the Englishmen our enemies that the like was never seen or heard of.'[1] A Venetian in 1597 refers to England's 'present lordship of the seas'[2]; and the Dutch Linschoten declares in 1591 that Englishmen have become 'lords and masters of the sea, and need care for no man'.[3] But their lordship had not enabled them to conquer Spanish colonies. That was freedom from encumbrance, a blessing in disguise; and so, too, was that absence of the necessary military force, which we are sure to lament so long as we limit our gaze to the sphere of military or even of naval operations. But, just as it would have fared ill with English liberty, had George III possessed the military force to reduce the American Colonies, so it would have fared even worse with the British Commonwealth of Nations, had Tudor autocracy controlled a standing army, and an irresponsible government been able to fashion after its own image New Englands across the sea. It was our good, and not our evil, fortune that postponed the expansion of England until we had learnt ourselves, and had taught to our rulers, the lesson of responsible government and some of the virtues of self-determination.

Recent rivals have gibed at our 'ramshackle Empire'. Three centuries ago Spaniards were indignant that 'a company of voluntary and loose people'[4] should aspire to curb the haughtiness of Spanish monarchy in the Indies. There were even qualms about the looseness and irregularity of the colonists at the court of James I. The king found the 'popularness' of the Virginia Company's rule distressing.

[1] Hakluyt, x. 178.
[2] *Venetian Calendar*, 1597–1603, p. 265.
[3] Hakluyt, vii. 74.
[4] *Colonial Calendar*, 1574–1660, pp. 14, 17.

Bacon urged that the government of the colony should be in the hands of a single person, with few counsellors, but with power to execute martial law[1]; and the Privy Council was recommended to proceed against those who had gone to New England 'in contempt of authority'.[2] Camden had tried to point the moral of Gilbert's and Raleigh's failures by remarking that it was more difficult than they thought, for individuals to found colonies.[3] The future of British empire did not, however, lie in the organized expeditions of bureaucratic governments, but in the untied hands of those who went out in contempt of authority. The logic of that contempt had been foreseen in Elizabeth's reign. 'Admit', cries the anonymous author of the project to seize Magellan's Straits, 'that we could not enjoy the same long, but that the English there would aspire to government of themselves.' Whatever Elizabethans lacked, they possessed a prophetic soul.

The capital of Virginia, the godchild of the last of the Tudors, was, indeed, named Jamestown after the first of the Stuarts, and James was an autocrat in his ideas of free monarchy and self-determination. But, while James was ruling without responsibility at home, at Jamestown the first-born child of the mother of parliaments saw the light. There was, it is true, no vision of an Imperial Conference nor of an empire founded in liberty, reared to equality, and composed of sister nations; but some things were being settled without which that empire could not have come to pass. Englishmen shied at a standing army which they could not control themselves, and it may be that their refusal to arm cost us an empire like that of Spain; but it gave us the empire we have to-day. Abstention from conquest left the field free for colonization, and the paucity of professional soldiers swelled the irregular ranks of the pioneers. British civilization overseas could not be a mere imposition on subject peoples, nor depend on garrisons and half-castes. The quality which made, and makes, unique the character of British empire is not 'dominion over palm and pine', still less its 'far-flung battle-line', but something in it, which is itself, yet makes for liberty in other peoples. 'Slavery', cried Burke, 'they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But freedom they can have from none but you... Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break the sole bond, which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the Empire'.[4]

[1] Essay, *Of Plantations*.
[2] *Colonial Calendar*, pp. 30, 63, 65.
[3] *Annales*, ed. Hearne, 1717, ii. 403.
[4] *Select Works*, ed. Payne, i. 232.

ANNUAL PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

THE NATURE OF UNIVERSALS AND PROPOSITIONS

By G. F. STOUT

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read December 14, 1921

There are various types or forms of unity which may all be regarded as partial phases of the unity of the universe. There is the unity of the complex of qualities qualifying the same thing or concrete individual. There is the unity of space and time or space-time. There is the teleological unity, exemplified in a living organism. And there are others which I need not enumerate. It is only with one of these that I am here directly concerned—the unity of a class or kind as including its members or instances. What I am going to mean by the term 'universal' is either this unity itself, if it is taken as ultimate, or if it is not taken as ultimate, whatever principle is supposed to account for it. I mean what Mr. Bosanquet names the abstract universal in distinction from other forms of unity which he names concrete universals. The so-called abstract universal is, no doubt, when considered by itself, relatively superficial and shallow. None the less, it is vitally important, inasmuch as it is presupposed in all other forms of unity, so that without it there can be no thought. Hence the view taken of it by a philosopher essentially contributes to determine his whole philosophical position.

I hold myself that the unity of a class or kind is quite ultimate, and that any attempt to analyse it leads to a vicious circle. But this is not the traditional view, and it is not the view taken by leading philosophers of the present day such as Mr. Bradley, Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. Bertrand Russell, Mr. McTaggart, and Mr. W. F. Johnson in his recent admirable work on Logic. According to these writers, qualities and relations, as such, are universals. They are so inasmuch as the same relation may severally and separately relate distinct sets of terms, and the same qualities may be common to many distinct

particular things. A plurality of particular things, sharing a common character, is a logical class, signified by a general term. The diverse particulars are the denotation, and the common character is the connotation of the general or distributive term applicable to each member of the class. Thus, the unity of a class or kind is regarded as derivative, not ultimate. It is constituted by the identity of some character, simple or complex, characterizing the things denoted by the general name. The identity of the character is interpreted strictly and literally. There is no plurality of particular qualities corresponding to the plurality of particular things. The common quality is regarded as indivisibly single. Two billiard balls are both round and smooth. So far as they are both round, the roundness of the one is the roundness of the other, and so far as they are both smooth, the smoothness of the one is the smoothness of the other. Abstract nouns, as standing for the quality in its singleness, without reference to any multiplicity of things qualified by it, are thus regarded as singular terms, like proper names. If we ask how, for example, shape can be identical both in square things and round things, the best answer is that of Mr. Johnson, who distinguishes between indeterminate and determinate characters. Shape is a single indeterminate character capable of being variously determined as square, round, or triangular. Similarly for relations. My nose is above my chin, and Smith's nose is above Smith's chin. His nose is distinct from mine, and the same is true of our chins. But there is the single identical relation of 'above and below' which relates both my nose to my chin and his nose to his chin. The question whether relations are or are not characters predicable of things is not here relevant. In order, however, to explain my language in what follows, I may say that I hold them to be predicable characters. I agree entirely with Mr. Johnson's treatment of the question in his chapter on Relations. 'My nose is above my chin' means 'my nose is to my chin as above to below, the nose being above and the chin below'.

This whole doctrine which I have roughly outlined, of the singleness of characters, whether qualities or relations, seems to me fundamentally wrong. A character characterizing a concrete thing or individual is as particular as the thing or individual which it characterizes. Of two billiard balls, each has its own particular roundness separate and distinct from that of the other, just as the billiard balls themselves are distinct and separate. As Jones is separate and distinct from Robinson, so the particular happiness of Jones is separate and distinct from that of Robinson. What then do we mean when we say,

for instance, that roundness is a character common to all billiard balls? I answer that the phrase 'common character' is elliptical. It really signifies a certain general kind or class of characters. To say that particular things share in the common character is to say that each of them has a character which is a particular instance of this kind or class of characters. The particular instances are distributed amongst the particular things and so shared by them. It is true that the term 'class' tends in ordinary usage to be applied to classes of things, whereas such words as 'kind' or 'sort' are naturally applied also to qualities and relations. My point is that these terms all express the same ultimate form of unity, the distributive unity which comprehends what are for that reason called members of a class, instances or examples of a sort or kind. To define a general term exclusively by reference to classes of things, therefore, involves a vicious circle. There is no generality in substances which is not entirely derivative. It is wholly constituted by the generality of the adjectives which qualify them, and the generality of adjectives does not consist ultimately in possessing common adjectives.

Abstract nouns are, on my view, not singular but general terms. Shape, for example, stands for 'all shapes as such', and squareness stands for all square shapes as such. On the other hand, the shape of the table at which I am now writing is a singular term. Abstract nouns supply the appropriate verbal form for naming qualities and relations when they are to be themselves characterized by other qualities and relations, as when we say that 'human happiness is transient'. Adjectives and verbs supply the appropriate verbal form for attributing characters to things. The statement found in some text-books of Logic that adjectives are not names of qualities but of the things they qualify is, of course, nonsense.

The position that characters are as particular as the concrete things or individuals which they characterize, is common to me and the nominalists. But I differ from them essentially in maintaining that the distributive unity of a class or kind is an ultimate and unanalysable type of unity. The nominalists, on the contrary, say that it can be explained through the relation of resemblance. This view seems to me entirely indefensible. Distributive unity is signified by such words as 'all', 'every', 'any', 'some', and the indefinite article. Can the meaning of these words be stated adequately in terms of resemblance? This is plainly impossible. Consider the example 'all triangles'. It may be said that this means all shapes that resemble each other in a certain respect. But such formulas pre-

suppose that the word 'all' has a meaning of its own that cannot be reduced to relations of similarity. It is precisely the concept of distributive unity which remains unexplained. The nominalist entirely fails to show how we can think of a class or kind as a whole without setting out before our mind each one of its members or instances so as to discern relations of similarity between them. Yet he cannot help tacitly assuming that this is not required for our apprehension of the class as a whole. Berkeley, for example, says that we take a given particular triangle as representing all other figures which resemble it in a certain respect. But this is nonsense, unless we can think of all the other figures as one total object without severally apprehending each of them or indeed any one of them.

What again is meant by resemblance in a certain respect? In what respect must figures resemble each other to be classed as triangles? Shall we say 'by being enclosed by three lines'? The answer is a good one if we suppose that three-sidedness is a single quality indivisibly present in the plurality of things which it qualifies. But nominalism is based on a denial of this position. Hence in the mouth of the nominalist the answer can only mean that the figures must resemble each other inasmuch as they are all triangles—inasmuch as they are all members of the class 'triangular figures'. This is plainly a vicious circle, when what requires to be explained is precisely the meaning of the words 'class' or 'kind'.

How then, it may be asked, are relations of resemblance connected with the distributive unity of a class or kind? My own view is briefly as follows. A relation considered as subsisting between terms presupposes some complex unity within which both the terms and relations fall. This complex unity is the *fundamentum relationis*. For example, a relation of 'above and below' as subsisting between *a* and *b* presupposes a spatial complex including both *a* and *b* and the spatial relation between them. In like manner, resemblance presupposes a complex unity of the peculiar type which I call the distributive unity of a class. The same holds for dissimilarity so far as this admits of degrees, as between colours, and does not amount to disparity which makes comparison impossible, as between colours and sounds. The unity of the complex as a whole ought not to be confused with relations between terms. Thus the resemblance is always between members of a class of things or particular instances of a kind of quality. The unity of the class or kind as a whole is not a relation at all. It is what, with Mr. Johnson's permission, I should like to call a 'tie'—a *fundamentum relationis*.

Agreeing with the nominalist that characters are as particular as the things or substances they characterize, the inference I draw from this thesis is not that there really are no universals, but that the universal is a distributive unity. I have now to defend this thesis and consider some of the implications.

It will be convenient to begin with characters which consist in transient states, acts, or processes, e.g. a sneeze, the flight of a bird, the explosion of a mine. These are so obviously particular that they present a special difficulty for those who hold that qualities and relations are, as such, universals. The difficulty is so pressing that it has driven more than one recent writer to assert that transient states or acts are substances, not characters of substances. Mr. McTaggart, for example, after defining a substance as that which has qualities or relations but is not itself a quality or relation, writes as follows (*Nature of Existence*, p. 73). 'A sneeze would not usually be called a substance, nor would a party at whist, nor all red-haired archdeacons. But each of the three complies with our definition, since each of them has qualities and each is related without being a quality or relation'. Mr. McTaggart's definition is defective. If we are not to ignore a fundamental and relevant distinction we must add to it that a substance must be a particular existence and not a universal. This excludes the red-haired archdeacons. We may pass the whist party, considered as a group of men sitting at a table and playing a game. A sneeze is certainly particular. But it is equally certain that it is not a substance, even according to McTaggart's definition. It may indeed have characters predicated of it: it may be violent and inconvenient. But it is also a character predicable of something else, the particular man who sneezes. It has its being only in its concrescence with the other qualities and relations of the concrete individual while he is sneezing. The sneeze cannot continue to exist in however altered a form apart from the sneezer, as a hand or eye may when severed from the body. Similarly, when Mr. Johnson says that a flash of lightning is a substance, I admit that this is true of the lightning, while it flashes but not of the flashing of the lightning.

We may then assume that at least a large and important group of characters are as particular as the substances which they characterize. Is this true of all qualities and relations? It must be so, because there is no distinction of substances as separate particulars which does not involve a corresponding distinction of their characters as separate particulars. I apprehend two billiard balls as separate substances, inasmuch as each is taken to be in a separate place. One is here and

the other there on the surface of the billiard table. How can I know or suppose this unless I know or suppose that the roundness, smoothness, and whiteness of the one ball is locally separate from the roundness, smoothness, and whiteness of the other, and that the relation of contact between the one ball and the cloth is locally separate from the contact between the other ball and the cloth?

It has been objected that what is really the same indivisible quality may none the less appear separately in different times and places. There is here, I think, a serious confusion between two senses of the word 'appear'. We say that something may appear to be what it is not. So used, appearing is synonymous with seeming. But we also say not that something appears or seems to exist, or to be this or that, but simply that it appears, meaning that it is an actual apparition, that it is actually presented or given in experience. In this sense, nothing can really appear except what really is, and really is as it appears. I may, in double vision, have two images of a single candle flame. There then appear or *seem* to be two candle flames, whereas in fact there is only one. But the visual presentations not only appear or seem to exist and be separate. Both they and their separation really appear, are really presented or given, and must therefore really exist. It is only because the images really exist and are really separate that there appear or seem to be two flames. Now, when it is said that, for instance, the brightness of one light appears separately from the brightness of another, what is meant is simple appearance and not seeming. This must be so, because the separate appearance is taken as explaining how the qualities may seem to be separate though they are not, just as the double image explains why the single candle flame seems to be double. But the explanation refutes itself. If the qualities of separate things really appear separately, and if their separateness really appears, then they really are separate, and do not merely seem to be so.

I may restate my general argument in another way. Whatever view may be held of the distinction of a substance from its qualities, it is almost universally admitted that the substance is nothing *apart from* its qualities. Mr. McTaggart makes this proposition the basis of an argument to show that substances cannot be diverse without being in some respect dissimilar. In this he may be right. But the same principle seems also to lead to a conclusion which he would reject, that qualities are distinct particulars, just as substances are. If substance is nothing apart from its qualities, to know the substance without knowing its qualities is to know nothing.

It follows that we cannot distinguish substances from each other without discerning a corresponding distinction between their qualities. It follows also that if the distinction of the substances is not preconditioned by any discerned dissimilarity between their qualities, the qualities must be primarily known as separate particulars, not as universals. The universals will be involved only inasmuch as they are particulars of the same general sort or kind. Now in looking, let us say, at a sheet of white paper, I am able to discern the several parts of the paper without discerning qualitative unlikeness between each part and every one of the others. Even if I am aware of qualitative unlikeness between one part and some other part I can clearly recognize that this is not the primary ground of the distinction between them. Whether I suppose the unlikeness to be great or almost imperceptible or quite absent, diversity is still discernible. Indeed if it were not presupposed, there could be no question of likeness or unlikeness. Nor can we say that each part is distinguishable by its distinctive relations to other parts. For in order that one particular may be known as related in the required way to other particulars, it is a logical precondition that it shall itself be known as one particular among others.

In this argument I have assumed that a thing is nothing apart from its characters, and that therefore there can be no knowledge of it which is not knowledge of its characters. But Mr. Bertrand Russell and, I believe, Mr. Moore reverse this reasoning. According to them, knowledge of a thing as in any way characterized, is only knowledge about it, and presupposes a logically prior and independent knowledge of the things themselves, which they call acquaintance. Hence they would argue that inasmuch as things can be known independently of any knowledge of their characters, it cannot be true, as I have assumed, that they are nothing apart from their characters. Mere acquaintance with a thing is supposed to involve no apprehension of anything which could possibly be predicated of it. What is known in this way cannot be expressed in words. I am acquainted with a colour presentation while it is being presented, and with a toothache while I am feeling it. If, however, I am aware of the toothache as being painful or intense, or as felt, or as existing, or as mine, or as beginning, persisting, or ceasing, or as in any way distinct from or connected with anything else, or even as being 'something or other', such awareness is knowledge *about* the toothache and not merely acquaintance with it. Acquaintance with the toothache consists in the fact that it is felt, not in knowledge of this

or any other fact. Acquaintance with a colour presentation consists in the fact that it is presented, not in knowledge of this fact or of any other.

I do not at all doubt that what is here called acquaintance really exists. Without it there can be no knowledge; for if we were not acquainted with some things we could not know anything. It is what I have called actual appearance as distinguished from seeming. It constitutes the radical meaning of the word 'experience' which gives distinctive significance to all its other applications. It is what, following Mr. Bradley, I have been accustomed to call immediate experience. But it cannot, I think, be properly regarded as knowledge. It is true that I can know about a toothache while I am actually experiencing it, as I cannot know about it while I am not experiencing it. And we may perhaps call this way of knowing, knowledge by acquaintance. Still, the knowledge is only knowledge *about*, and is distinct from the acquaintance which conditions it. How, indeed, can we know anything, if it is supposed that we know absolutely nothing about it?

Let us, however, for the sake of argument, concede that acquaintance, as such, is knowledge. There is still no ground for regarding it as a knowledge merely of things, apart from their qualities and relations. It is true, indeed, that we do not know *about* the qualities and relations when we are merely acquainted with them. We do not know that they exist or what they are. We do not distinguish them from each other or from the things they characterize. If reasons of this sort prove that we do not know the qualities, they prove equally that we do not know the thing qualified. For in mere acquaintance, we do not know that the thing exists or what it is: we do not distinguish it from other things or from its qualities. If we can know the thing in this blind way, then in the same blind way we can know its characters. If we inquire what in mere acquaintance we are acquainted with, mere acquaintance itself, being blind and dumb, can supply no answer. The answer must be sought in analytic judgements which involve knowledge about. But these judgements never reveal a mere thing apart from its characters, but always the thing as in some way characterized. Both for mere acquaintance with things and for knowledge about them the principle holds good that a substance, being nothing apart from its adjectives, cannot be known apart from them.

At this point, we are confronted by the ultimate question, What is the distinction between a substance on the one hand, and its

qualities and relations on the other? To me only one view appears tenable. A substance is a complex unity of an altogether ultimate and peculiar type, including within it all characters truly predicable of it. To be truly predicable of it is to be contained within it. The distinctive unity of such a complex is *concreteness.* Characters of concrete things are particular, but not concrete. What is concrete is the whole in which they coalesce with each other. This view of substance as a complex unity, when coupled with the doctrine that qualities and relations are universals, leads naturally, if not inevitably, to the denial of an ultimate plurality of substances. This is the line of thought which we find in Mr. Bradley and Mr. Bosanquet. Reality must be concrete and individual; the individual cannot be constituted by any mere union of universals. Yet if we inquire what so-called finite individuals are, we find nothing but qualities and relations, which, as such, are taken to be universals. Hence, the true individual transcends the grasp of finite thought. There can be only one substance, the absolute and individual whole of being; all finite existences including finite selves are merely adjectives of this. If taken as ultimate they are mere appearances.

On the other hand, those who maintain that there is an ultimate plurality of substances, and yet hold that characters are, as such, universals, seem logically bound to deny that a substance is the complex unity of all its qualities and relations. Thus Mr. McTaggart, who occupies this position, asserts in his *Unity of Existence*, ch. v, that the complex unity is itself only a complex adjective, and therefore presupposes a subject ultimately distinct from itself. I have elsewhere criticized this view on the ground that it makes the whole being of substance consist in its relatedness to something else, to the characters which characterize it. Mr. McTaggart now replies that when, for instance, 'Smith is said to be happy', the fact that he is happy is the primary fact, and the fact that he is related to the quality of happiness is only derivative (p. 70). But this leaves my difficulty untouched. What Mr. McTaggart calls the primary fact, the happy Smith, is, according to him, a complex containing two existences ultimately quite distinct from each other, the substance, on the one hand, and, on the other, all characters predicable of it. But two distinct existences within a complex can only be connected by a relation; and the relation in this case can be no other than what is directly expressed in such propositions as 'Smith is happy'.

Mr. McTaggart also directly attacks the alternative view that the substance is the complex unity comprehending what for that reason

are called its characters. Unfortunately his argument starts with a misunderstanding. 'It has', he says, 'been maintained that we shall, if we take the right view, be able to dispense with the conception of substance and use only the conception of qualities.' This is certainly not what I take to be the right view. For me, the concrete complex containing all the characters of a thing is not a character but the thing itself. To say that the inclusive complex must itself be a predicable character, is like saying that a triangle must be the side of a triangle, that the class 'horses' must be a horse. What remains of Mr. McTaggart's argument, after we have allowed for such misunderstanding, amounts only to this, that a proposition such as 'Smith is happy' cannot, without absurdity, be formulated in the language of my theory. We cannot, he urges, assert of the complex comprising all characters predicable of Smith that this complex is happy. We cannot. But this rendering of 'Smith is happy' is not mine. Mine would rather be: 'The concrete unity including the character of being known by the name of Smith also includes the character of being happy.' This, I take it, is precisely what is meant by asserting that Smith is happy. The formula given by McTaggart itself needs to be translated in terms of my theory. So translated it would run:—'The complex including all the characters of Smith includes, besides these, another character of Smith, that of being happy.' This is nonsense. But in my view there is no reason why it should be sense.

There still remains one question which I have not yet considered, though it is of vital importance to my general argument. If I am right, what is meant by a character common to a class of things is a general kind of character of which a particular instance characterizes each member of the class. It follows that the logical division of a wider class into mutually exclusive subclasses according to the same *fundamentum divisionis* is possible only through a corresponding division of a wider class of characters into subclasses of characters. This view is, of course, quite incompatible with the position of those who regard a common character as a single quality or relation indivisibly belonging to each and all of the things it characterizes. Have they any alternative explanation? I know of no other than that which is offered in ch. xi of Mr. Johnson's *Logic*, on 'The Determinable'.

Mr. Johnson begins by comparing the propositions 'Red is a colour' and 'Plato is a man'. He inquires whether Red is asserted to be a member of a class called 'colours', as Plato is asserted to be

a member of the class 'men'. He simply takes for granted without discussion, that redness at any rate, if not colour, is a singular term, standing for a single quality and not for a general kind of qualities. He thus, from my point of view, partially begs the question at issue from the outset. In his way of dealing even with the problem as he himself formulates it, there seems to be a similar *petitio principii.* He decides that 'colours' does not stand for a class of which redness is a member. The sole reason which he gives is that whereas Plato, for example, is recognized as a man through the quality of humanity common to him and other men, it is not true that red is recognized as a colour through a quality distinct from itself and common to it and other colours such as blue and yellow. But this is merely to assert, what is in any case evident, that inasmuch as substances are not qualities, classes of substances are not classes of qualities. On any view, the division of substances into classes is in some way dependent on a corresponding distinction between their adjectives. It presupposes that, in some sense, a plurality of things share in a common character. The only question is, what is meant by their sharing in a common character? I take this to mean that each is characterized by a particular instance of a general kind or class of characters. We may if we choose apply the term class exclusively to general kinds of substances. But the real question is whether the words 'kind' and 'class' stand for the same ultimate type of distributive unity, which is found in substance, only because and so far as it is found in their characters, and cannot therefore be ultimately different for substances and for characters.

This is not Mr. Johnson's view. Does he offer any tenable alternative? Instead of the distinction between general and particular, and between more and less general, he would in dealing with characters substitute the distinction of the determinable and the completely or relatively determinate. 'To predicate *colour* or *shape* of an object', he says, 'obviously characterizes it less determinately than to predicate of it *red* or *circular*; hence the former adjective may be said . . . to be indeterminate as compared with the latter.'

There is certainly a sense in which this distinction is valid and useful. If I know or consider merely the fact that something is a colour, this does not determine what special sort of colour it is. This is determined only by further propositions in which it is asserted to be red or to be blue. So understood, the distinction is relative to the knowing mind. It is what Mr. Johnson calls 'epistemic'.[1]

[1] The proper form is 'epistemonic', but the barbarism is convenient.

In this sense I am myself prepared to use the terms determinable and determinate. But in this sense the distinction is applicable to substances as well as adjectives. If I consider something merely as being an animal, this leaves undetermined the question whether it is a mouse or a man.

Mr. Johnson, of course, means far more than this. For him the relation of determinable is constitutive, not merely epistemonic. It is a relation between qualities as such; and for qualities it takes the place of the distinction between degrees of generality which is supposed to hold only for substances. According to Johnson, colour is not a general kind of quality comprising redness as a sub-kind. On the contrary, colour and redness are both singular, each standing for a single positive quality. Colour, he tells us, 'though it is indeterminate, is, metaphorically speaking, that from which the specific determinates, red, yellow, green, &c., emanate, while from shape emanate another completely different series of determinates such as triangular, square, octagonal, &c. Thus our idea of this or that determinable has a distinctly positive context, which would be quite inadequately represented by the word indeterminate.' On this view the proposition 'red is a colour' means that a single positive quality red is related to another positive quality colour by a peculiar relation appropriately named that of a determinate to its determinable. Now it seems to me that Mr. Johnson has not only failed to show that there is such a relation, but that he has also, in the course of his argument, suggested a cogent reason for denying it. He points out very clearly that red is not recognized as a colour through any quality distinct from itself and shared in common by it and all colours, as redness is shared by all red things. As he puts it, 'the several colours . . . are given the same name colour, not on the ground of any partial agreement, but on the ground of a special kind of difference which distinguishes one colour from another.' I would add that there is a peculiar kind of resemblance as well as of difference. The point is that red and yellow do not resemble each other in one character and differ in another. The respect in which they are alike, i. e. colour, is also the respect in which they are dissimilar. The same holds for squareness and roundness. As the late Professor Cook Wilson used to say, 'square shape is not squareness plus shape; squareness itself is a special way of being a shape.'

Are considerations of this sort inconsistent with my view that redness is a subclass of the more general class 'colour' as red things is a subclass of coloured things? There would be an inconsistency only

if it could be shown that a red thing is distinguished from a yellow thing not merely by its colour but by some other character. But, as Mr. Johnson himself expressly points out, this is not so. In the logical division of a class of things into subclasses, the *fundamentum divisionis* is always a determinable adjective predicated of every member of the class divided; and the subclasses are always distinguished by determinates of this determinable. It is true, indeed, that a concrete thing is, or implies, the concrete union of many characters which are not related to each other as determinable and determinate. Hence it is possible to select this or that indeterminate adjective, simple or complex, as a basis of division. Thus we divide books according to their size or according to their binding. But a subclass is never distinguished by the presence or absence of a fresh adjective which is not indeterminately applicable to all members of the wider class. When we divide books into bound or unbound, the *fundamentum* is the status of books as regards binding; the term unbound has a positive meaning as applied to books which it would not have if applied to coals or candles.

There is nothing in these statements which is not fully accounted for if we suppose that the distinction of general and particular and of degrees of generality in things is constituted by, and therefore presupposes, a precisely corresponding distinction of general and particular, and of degrees of generality in adjectives. On the other hand, Mr. Johnson's view is not really self consistent. Assuming as he does that redness is a singular term, and denying that colour is a class including rednesss as a member, he is bound to regard colour also as a singular term. As such it can only stand for a single quality, just as redness stands for a single quality. What, then, can be meant by saying that red, green, or blue are colours? What is asserted cannot be that each is identical with colour. For they would, then, be identical with each other. We seem compelled to say that redness is in part identical with colour and in part different. It must be a complex including the indeterminate quality colour which is equally present in blue and green, and also a determining quality which distinguishes it from blue and green. But as Mr. Johnson has himself shown, this is untrue. There is no determining quality which makes the determinable determinate. We must, therefore, give up the initial assumption that redness and colour are singular terms.

They are both general, i.e. distributive terms. Redness, considered as a completely determinate general term, stands for the distributive unity of particular reds. To be a particular red is to be *either* this,

that, or the other particular instance of redness. Redness in general is comprised within a more comprehensive unity called 'colour in general', which also comprises yellowness and blueness. Every particular instance of redness is a particular instance of colour. Colour in general is nothing but the distributive unity of its specific sub-kinds, just as these are ultimately the distributive unity of their particular instances. To be a particular colour is to be a particular example *either* of this, that, or the other special kind of colour. The words 'either, or' mark the distributive tie, and exclude the conception of colour as a single though indeterminate quality.

The distinction of the determinable and its determinates, though it presupposes generality, has none the less, as I said before, its own place and value if we regard it not as constitutive but epistemonic. In particular it is important in considering the nature of propositions. I have included this topic in my title. But I have left myself so little time. that I must be content with a brief indication of what I intended to say about it.

A proposition, whatever else it may be, is something proposed or set before the mind as the object of certain subjective processes—questioning, doubting, asserting, supposing, and also practical deliberation and decision. Belief and will do not necessarily consist in such processes. I may be aware of myself as sitting at a table and writing, without mentally asserting that this is so, and without at all questioning whether it is so or not. There is knowledge about things without any explicit mental act of judging. Similarly, I may voluntarily shake hands with a friend without any thought of doing otherwise, and therefore without choosing or deciding to shake hands. What is thus taken for granted constitutes a vast and vague background from which propositions emerge here and there.

Nothing takes shape as a proposition, either theoretical or practical, unless it is in some way suggested, however transiently, that from some general point of view it may or might be otherwise. If the thought of its being otherwise is prolonged, there is questioning or practical hesitation. If it is still further prolonged, and developed in detail, there is doubt or deliberation. Thus we may say that a proposition is apprehended as a possible alternative. What then is an alternative? There are two meanings of the word, distinct though inseparable. In one sense an alternative is such only relatively to the variable knowledge and interest of the individual. But this presupposes that the objective universe is so constituted as to present alternatives to the knowing and willing mind. Their existence is

ultimately implied in the existence of general classes or kinds, of generalities as the distributive unity of particular instances and subclasses. To have shape is to have this, that, or the other special sort of shape. This holds good whether or not some one knows which special shape the thing in fact has. Even when the thing is known or believed to be square it is still true that it is either square or round or octagonal or so forth. But a mind interested in knowing what the specific shape is, and already knowing it to be square, need not and does not concern itself with the existence of other alternatives, unless it is suggested, for example, by the words or behaviour of other persons. Otherwise the proposition that the thing is square will not occur to it at all. In mere supposition, the mind attends to the nature and implications of an alternative as such, ignoring, either provisionally or entirely, the question whether it is realized or to be realized. Consider the following. 'If I get this post I shall have no time for research work.' 'If I had been appointed to that post, I should have had no time for research work.' 'If there had been no carbon there would have been no organic life.' 'If there were no incompatible qualities, the logical law of contradiction would have no application.' These are all propositions about what, from some more or less general point of view, is an alternative possibility. They are propositions which have a proposition as their subject. They rarely occur where the alternative is already known or fully believed to be realized, or where it has already been practically decided that it shall be realized. On the contrary, they occur frequently where it is known that the alternative is not, and is not to be, realized. They are then called fictions.

This view implies that there really are alternative possibilities. Now, in the most natural and common use of language the real and possible are correlated and opposed in such wise that it is as absurd to say that the possible *quâ* possible is real, as it is to say that what is above is, as such, below. None the less, possibilities as such are not mere inventions of the understanding, or mere appearances. They really exist. Their existence is not merely possible. When a man has to choose between death and apostasy, these alternatives are really contained in the general situation with which he is confronted. But only one of them is realized. Which of them it shall be depends on the man himself. Only determinism gone mad could deny that, to this extent, there is free-will.

The meaning of the adjectives 'true' and 'false', in their ordinary use, presupposes the conception of the proposition as an alternative. Alternatives are such only in relation to some real fact. One of

them, and when they are fully distinguished, not more than one, is identical with the real fact. A proposition is true when it is identical with the realized alternative. To assert, deny, doubt, or suppose that this alternative is realized, is to assert, deny, doubt, or suppose what is true. The unrealized alternatives are false propositions.

Of course the distinction between truth and falsity holds also for the inarticulate domain of what is merely taken for granted. But it is only so far as alternatives are apprehended as such, i.e. as propositions, that we become aware of the distinction: then only can we consider and examine competing claims to truth. Even at this stage our assertions, denials, and doubts are, on the most important matters, conditioned and controlled by a vast background of what is merely taken for granted. If in this background there is anything which is incapable, from any point of view, of being apprehended as an alternative, then, though it may be transcendently important, we can never be aware of it as a proposition so as to express it in language and discuss it.

A word in conclusion on the metaphysical bearings of the logical doctrine of universals.

I have already indicated how the philosophy of those who maintain the unity of the universe is affected by the view that universals are qualities and relations. But it plays an equally important part with Mr. Russell, for whom there is no universe, but only an indefinite aggregate of disjointed items, each conceivably capable of existing by itself. As an integral part of this theory, he disjoins particulars and universals as two intrinsically independent realms of existence. He finds it possible to do this because, for him, qualities and relations are, as such, universals. Inasmuch as they are universals, they cannot in any way form part of the being of the particular things which they qualify or relate. On the other hand, inasmuch as they are qualities and relations, they cannot contain the particular things. Characters cannot contain what they characterize. It follows that the domain of concrete things and individuals in its own intrinsic being falls entirely apart from the domain of universals in their intrinsic being. From this point of view, we can understand Mr. Russell's distinction between acquaintance with things and knowledge about them, and his still more perplexing distinction between knowledge about and knowledge by description.

Plainly, the nature of general and abstract ideas is a topic which has the same philosophical importance now that it had for Berkeley; and however defective his treatment of it was, some things which he said deserve to be repeated even now—though with a difference.

ON THE TEXT OF ABBO OF FLEURY'S *QUAESTIONES GRAMMATICALES*

By HENRY BRADLEY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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THE Frenchman Abbo, known as Abbo of Fleury (Floriacensis) from the monastery on the Loire in which he was a monk and of which he afterwards became abbot, taught Latin in the monastic school at Ramsey during the years 980–982. His work entitled *Quaestiones Grammaticales* is an epistle to his English pupils, containing replies to their inquiries on various grammatical points. It is preserved, so far as I have been able to ascertain,[1] only in a single MS., now in the Vatican Library (*Reg. Lat.* 596), from which it was edited in 1833 by Cardinal Mai (*Classici Auctores*, vol. v, pp. 329–49). Mai's text has been reproduced, with a few misprints, in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. cxxxix, col. 522–31.

In the introduction to his useful treatise, *Die gelehrten lateinischen Lehn- und Fremdwörter in der altenglischen Literatur* (Halle, 1914), Dr. Otto Funke has discussed the significance of those of Abbo's statements that relate to pronunciation; and Funke's explanations have been elaborately criticized by Prof. M. H. Jellinek, of Vienna, in an article ('Zur Aussprache des Lateinischen im Mittelalter') contained in the volume of essays by various scholars published in honour of Wilhelm Braune (*Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte*, Dortmund, 1920). Unfortunately both these scholars, through no fault of their own, have seriously misunderstood what is perhaps the most interesting and instructive portion of Abbo's work—the beginning of cap. 12.[2] The fact is that at this particular place the text has been reduced, by an extraordinary editorial blunder, to a state of confusion which it would hardly be possible for any human ingenuity to unravel without the aid of the MS. original. It is evident that the work of an ignorant transcriber must have been

[1] It is not unlikely that the Le Pelletier MS. (*codex peleterianus*), from which Mabillon (*Ann. Bened.* iv. 687) published some passages of the epistle, may be still in existence. I must, however, leave to the future editor of Abbo the presumably difficult task of discovering its present whereabouts.

[2] The division into chapters, it should be said, is purely editorial, and is strangely unskilful.

sent to the printer without having been collated with the MS. by any competent scholar.

Through the kindness of Professor Lindsay, I am in possession of a rotograph of the two pages (fol. 17 b and fol. 18 a) of the Vatican MS. which contain the passage referred to. An inspection of this facsimile shows that the scribe, having discovered that in line 5 of col. 1 of fol. 18 a he had made an extensive omission (beginning in the middle of a sentence), proceeded to rectify his error by writing the omitted words at the top of the page. They extend over the heads of both columns, and run out into five short lines in the right-hand margin. The scribe was careful to insert the reference marks .·. and × at the point in the text where the lacuna occurred, and to place the same marks respectively at the beginning and the end of the passage that was to be inserted. Overlooking this and other equally obvious indications, Mai's copyist actually took the two halves of the *inserendum* to be the first lines of the two columns. In the printed edition they appear in the positions naturally resulting from this mistake—widely separated from each other, and each far away from its original context. The copyist's misdeeds do not end here, for although he cannot possibly have found any sense whatever in the sentences as he had transcribed them, he has made at least one conjectural emendation on account of what he wrongly supposed to be the grammatical construction. In two or three places Dr. Funke and Prof. Jellinek, rightly perceiving that what lay before them in Mai's edition was nonsense, have offered emendations of their own, which yield a more or less plausible sense, but not the sense intended by the author.

I will now give (for the first time in print, so far as I know) the correct text of the end of fol. 17 b and the beginning of fol 18 a, marking by a double vertical line the commencement and the ending of the passage inserted from the upper margin, and by a single vertical line the place at which it has been cut in two by Mai's copyist.

De littera .G. scitote quia si non sequatur .V. propter diptongum [1] non inpinguatur. ut lagoena. tragoedia. Sed aspirationes bene uos angli peruidere potestis. qui pro .Θ. frequentius .B. scribitis [*margin*, effertis [2]] sicut pro digamma [3] .P. [4] Ante consonantem quoque in

[1] Corrected in the MS. from *diptongon*.

[2] Mai places *effertis* in the text after *digammate*. But there is a reference-mark which shows that the word is the scribe's proposed correction for *scribitis*. I think the scribe was wrong: Abbo was speaking primarily of writing, and of pronunciation only by implication.

[3] Mai silently alters this into *digammate*, which is a mere barbarism, though the Latin Thesaurus gives one example of it.

[4] Mai reads L, but the letter resembles the capital P in *Pupugit* a little lower

eadem syllaba .G.[1] || habet[2] sonum uestrae litterae .&;.[3] | tandem[4] dicendum est quod uitando[5] cauenda est collisio quae solet fieri uel pronun⟨t⟩ia⟨to uel⟩[6] scripto. ut ue⟨ni⟩ trex pro eo quod est uenit || rex. et[7] par sest pro pars est et feli xes pro felix es.

Of these four sentences the first is the only one that is given correctly in the printed edition. The only point in it that can require explanation is the use of *impinguatur* for 'has its hard (or guttural) sound'. Abbo's pupils appear to have asked whether the rule that G is 'hard' before *o* (and *a*) is applicable when the *o* (or *a*) is followed by *e* in the same syllable. As in the tenth century the original diphthongs had already become phonetically equivalent to *ē*, the letter G when preceding them was of course pronounced 'soft' (= *dzh*). From the clause 'si non sequatur V' we may probably infer that in Abbo's pronunciation *gu* before a palatal vowel was sounded merely as 'hard' *g*, not as *gw*. The same thing is implied in certain statements in cap. 10, which Funke has misunderstood, but which Jellinek has explained correctly.

The second sentence (which seems either to have strayed from its proper context or to have lost something at the beginning[8]) must

down It consists of an upright stroke with a small ring or blob at the top, and a concavely curving upstroke attached at the bottom. It looks rather like the L of some scripts and the V of others; but in this MS. these capitals are formed quite differently

[1] Mai omits this letter, which is close to an erasure and is not very clear.

[2] Mai silently alters this into *habent*.

[3] The curious character which I have here tried to imitate as nearly as can be done with ordinary type is compounded of the usual symbol for *et* and a mark like a semicolon with a long tail. It stands for the Anglo-Saxon ʒ, which the French scribe perhaps thought looked like ⁊ (= *et*) with a curved tail added to it. Mai prints simply *et*, ignoring the punctuation of the MS. In the printed text the words *habent sonum uestrae litterae et* come between *potestis* and *qui*. Jellinek (excusably, but of course wrongly) proposes to emend *et* into *ut*.

[4] In Mai's edition the words from *tandem* to *uenit*, which are missing at their proper place, are printed as the beginning of the first sentence of cap 13 In that position they are naturally quite unmeaning, and destroy the sense of the following words. The editorial division into chapters here falls in the middle of a sentence, which when the interpolation is removed will be found to present no difficulty It is right to say that Jellinek has detected the interpolation, though he has failed to see where the intruded words come from.

[5] Corrected in the MS. from *uitanda*.

[6] The letters *to ł* here, and *ni* just afterwards, have disappeared because the edge of the leaf has been cut off. The omission of *t* a little before is an error of the scribe. Mai prints *pronunciatione vel*, but from the facsimile it does not appear that more than three letters can be missing, and on other grounds *pronuntiato* seems to be the better reading.

[7] Mai omits *rex et*; the words are close to the erasure after G (see note[1] above).

[8] The former supposition is the more probable. I suspect that Abbo handed

have been written by Abbo as follows: 'Sed aspirationes bene uos angli peruidere potestis, qui pro θ frequentius þ scribitis, sicut pro digamma ƿ.' The French scribe naturally supposed the two exotic letters to be merely Latin letters peculiarly written, and substituted for the unaccustomed forms the letters for which he believed them to be intended.[1] Perhaps he took the þ for a minuscule *b* (whence the B of the extant MS.); that he should mistake the ƿ for a *p* needs no explanation. The purport of the first part of the sentence is, of course, that Englishmen are better able than Frenchmen to understand what sounds were denoted by the Greek aspirates, because their own tongue has the sound of θ, which they express by a peculiar letter. Abbo goes on to remark that the English had also a letter of their own corresponding to the digamma. Now the quotations s.v. *digamma* in the Latin Thesaurus point to the rather surprising conclusion that the correct sound of the obsolete Greek letter (a *w* or a true consonantal *u*) continued to be traditionally known to grammarians (even in the West) long after the Latin consonantal *u* had assumed the phonetic value of *v*. The fact that Abbo identifies the sound of the digamma with that of the Anglo-Saxon 'wyn' (ƿ) shows that the correct tradition still subsisted in his time—at least among scholars who had learned some Greek. The French language of the tenth century, it may be remarked, had the sound, but only the English had a non-Latin symbol for it.[2]

The word *quoque* in the third sentence might at first sight lead one to think that the sentence had been transferred from a place in which the rules for 'hard' G had been stated. It is, however, more likely that Abbo, having just before mentioned two peculiar letters of the English alphabet, recollected that there was a third, which he could make use of to illustrate a phonetic point. Instead of saying 'Ante consonantem in eadem syllaba G impinguatur',

a batch of detached scraps (wax tablets?) to his amanuensis, who sometimes mistook the intended sequence. But Abbo's own arrangement must have been rather haphazard, perhaps depending on the order in which the questions were asked, or on some casual reminder.

[1] Similarly, I have seen 'Eikon Baeiaikh' in a catalogue of second-hand books. English compositors often do the same sort of thing when they meet with a Russian word written in the native script.

[2] Funke emends Mai's B into D, and his L into B, supposing that Abbo uses the term *aspirationes* to include *voiced* spirants, and that by 'digamma' he means the bilabial *v*. His interpretation of the passage is inadmissible on grounds of Old English philology, but it need not be discussed here, because the correct text shows that what is common to the two clauses is not that they both relate to *aspirationes* (which the second does not), but that they both mention something peculiar to the English alphabet. Here, again, Jellinek has seen the truth.

he thought it might be clearer to tell his pupils that the sound of G before a consonant was the same as that of their native letter in the same position.

Of the fourth sentence only a small fragment has been printed by Mai in its original position. Funke and Jellinek, while recognizing that there must be something wrong with the text, have endeavoured to interpret this fragment, with unfortunate results. Both scholars assume that the pronunciations *par sest*, *feli xes* are those which Abbo recommends to his pupils; but with regard to the inferences to be drawn from this non-existent fact they are widely at variance. Funke infers from it that the English of the tenth century still retained (as the modern Germans do) the Primitive Germanic practice of prefixing a glottal catch (or 'smooth breathing') to initial vowels. Abbo, he thinks, in order to cure his students of the vicious pronunciation of Latin resulting from this national peculiarity, advises them to transfer a final consonant to the following word if it begins with a vowel. Jellinek rightly rejects this ingenious speculation (though, by the way, he condemns it for a bad reason[1]), and proposes a theory of his own. He believes that Abbo's pupils found it quite easy and natural to pronounce *x* as *ks* when it was initial, but had an inveterate habit of pronouncing it merely as *s* when final. In order to correct this, he supposes, Abbo counsels the adoption of an artificial mode of word-division, according to which the final *x* would become initial, and so would get its correct pronunciation. Jellinek admits that his hypothesis does not account for the mention of *par sest*, which he is forced to regard as an irrelevance on Abbo's part, or at least as intended merely to furnish an additional illustration of the process he is describing. This is surely very far-fetched; it would have been simpler to suppose that Abbo was stating (as a general rule not confined to his particular examples) the manner of word-division that it was proper to practise in reading Latin. Either Funke's conclusion or Jellinek's, if it had been correct, would have been an interesting addition to our knowledge of the history of pronunciation. Unhappily for both these ingenious speculations, the full text of the sentence as printed above shows that Abbo is really warning his readers against such faulty divisions as *ueni trex*, *par sest*, and *feli xes*, which he says are often met with both

[1] Namely, that it is inconsistent with the opening words of the passage, 'Ante consonantem quoque in eadem syllaba'. Funke really seems to have had at least a suspicion that there might be a lacuna after *syllaba*; if so, he has for once been more sagacious than his critic.

in pronunciation and in writing. He does not say that Englishmen are more addicted to this vicious practice than other people; and as a matter of fact it is conspicuously alien to English (and indeed Germanic) tendencies of speech. Possibly the students of Ramsey had been led astray by the teaching of some of Abbo's own countrymen. What we may really deduce from this passage is that the *liaison* characteristic of modern French pronunciation is more than nine centuries old; which is a conclusion not without philological interest.

The two pages of facsimile in my possession show that in several points besides those hitherto dealt with Mai's edition does not accurately represent the text of the MS. In cap. 11 Mai reads 'Quem tamen sonum mutat sigma, si *pro illa* sit χ posita ut σχημα'. For *pro illa* the MS. has *post illam*, as the sense obviously requires. A little lower down, where Mai has correctly *post illam*, the marginal note *uel eam* is ignored. In the last sentence of cap. 12 the reading of the MS. is 'omnia uerba quae ante crescunt in praeteritis'; Mai omits *ante*. In cap. 13 Mai's text absurdly says that the reduplicating syllable of certain verbs ends in G. This is not a misprint: the letter in the MS. looks like G, but on close inspection it will be seen to be E. In the same sentence Mai (harmlessly enough, no doubt) inserts 'littera' before 'A'. Lower down the MS. has 'Secundum analogiam ergo cedo cecaedi facere debuit'; Mai omits *ergo* and turns *cecaedi* into *cecedi*, but does not correct the scribe's error of *cedo* for *caedo*.

These trivial slips, no doubt, any intelligent reader would be able to correct for himself. I come to a matter of greater importance. Abbo quotes several Greek words in Greek characters, and almost always incorrectly. The mistakes, with one or two exceptions, probably proceed from the author himself and not from the scribe, and in any case they have some historical interest. The editor, however, has throughout silently given the words in their correct Greek form, usually providing them with accents. The result is that the printed text gives an unduly favourable impression of the knowledge of Greek possessed by French monks in the tenth century. Where the MS. reads θηος, κιρος, κουνον, πορφιρηοη, the editor substitutes θεος [sic], κύρος [sic], κοινόν, πορφύριος. What Greek word is meant by 'κηρας unde *primicerius*' it is not easy to see; Mai accents κῆρας, which does not seem helpful. One might suggest κηρός, but then why does Abbo mention *primicerius* instead of *cera*? In view of the mistake in the spelling of θεός, it seems possible that κηρας may stand for κέρας, which, in days when vowel-quantity was of small account, may well

have been considered a likely etymon for *primicerius*.[1] Abbo says that in transliterating Greek words some persons make the mistake of rendering χ by *x*, and gives as an example *maxera* for *μαχηρα*. The editor corrects these forms into *maxaera* and *μαχαίρα* [sic!]. Where the printed text has *Χηρηας* and *Kereas*, the MS. has *χηρηα* and *s. kerea* (probably the scribe's misreading of *cherea*). A few lines higher up, outside the limits of my facsimile, Mai's text has *Chereas* (in Latin letters only); if this be the reading of the MS., it probably suggested the subsequent corrections. It appears from Priscian that the name intended is *Χαιρέας*, but the editor can hardly have known this, or he would have corrected the spelling of the Greek. A somewhat interesting feature of the MS. is that when the letters *θ*, *φ*, χ are mentioned, their names, *teta* [sic], *fi*, *chi*, are written above them; and similarly the name of the Latin *x* is given as *ix*. All this is ignored in the printed edition. In a passage of cap. 11 already quoted Mai prints simply 'sigma', where the MS. has the Greek letter with its name written over it as *simma*—a misspelling which is not without significance. A more excusable correction occurs in the sentence preceding this, where *dicant* is printed for the ungrammatical *dicunt* of the MS.; but it is not certain that the faulty syntax may not be Abbo's own.

In those parts of the printed text that are not covered by the facsimile I have noted a few obvious errors (whether scribal or editorial I do not know), most of which admit of easy correction. In cap. 2, 'licet in medio utrumque fieri liceat', for *medio* read *metro*. In cap. 9 a fictitious proper name Obbaob has been evolved from the sequence 'obba, ob, Iob', exemplifying the rule that a consonant when final ought to be pronounced in the same way as when it is doubled in the middle of a word; both Funke and Jellinek have quoted the passage without perceiving the blunder. In the next sentence *fest* (there is no such Latin word) should probably be *fert*; Jellinek says that the word is 'offenbar fehlerhaft', but proposes no correction. In cap. 10 *cuius*, quoted as an example of 'soft' C, ought surely to be *ciuis*. Funke amazingly accepts *cuius* without question (admitting, indeed, that it is 'auffallend'), and makes an absurd attempt to account phonologically for the 'soft' sound of the C in this word;

[1] As Abbo usually employs stock examples, the above conjecture may admit of confirmation or correction by reference to some earlier grammarian. A gloss of uncertain date, quoted by Carpentier in an addition to the article on the word in Du Cange, reads thus. 'Primicerius, id est, prima manus: *chera* enim Graece Latine manus dicitur.' But it is not certain that this is the explanation that was in Abbo's mind.

Jellinek, however, points out the true reading. The correction of 'suspicio suscepi suscepit' is so self-evident that it has been made in Migne's edition, which does not profess to be more than a reprint.

Mai's untrustworthiness as an editor is so notorious, that if his MS. sources were more readily accessible probably no scholar would venture to base any important conclusion on one of his texts without first verifying the reading. How serious is the risk involved in the neglect of this precaution may be seen from the fact that even so wary and keen-sighted a scholar as Prof. Jellinek has been unable to avoid the snares laid in his path by the Roman editor. Abbo's treatise has some value for students of mediaeval Latin and the history of learning, and I trust that this paper will have rendered safely available so much of it as is included on two pages of Mai's edition. The remaining nineteen pages do not, apart from the small matters referred to in the preceding paragraph, contain anything that is obviously corrupt; but it will be evident that they require to be used with great caution.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY

XIII

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ENGLISH ANTHOLOGY

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY)

By JOHN DRINKWATER

Read February 23, 1922

'HE may at least be sure of a place in the anthologies of the future' is a reviewer's phrase that has brought comfort, I suppose, to a good many poets who have not hoped for the larger things of fame. And yet it is strange, for all the diligence of the compilers, to find how many good poets pass with their death into what it would seem may be, but for some lucky accident, permanent oblivion. Herrick publishes his *Hesperides* in 1648, and no further edition of what is probably the greatest single volume of lyrics in the language is called for until 1810, when John Nott of Bristol, M.D., comes forward with *Select Poems embellished with Occasional Remarks*. Andrew Marvell dies unpublished, but, a little more fortunate in his posthumous fame, appears in a handsome little folio in 1681, which is followed by a new edition forty-five years later, by another fifty years later still, and then he waits nearly another hundred years for the almost universal industry of Dr. Grosart. So good a poet as Richard Corbet, with his *Farewell Rewards and Fairies*, appears first in 1647, then again in a surreptitious edition in 1648, and then for a third time in 1672. In 1807 he is rediscovered by Octavius Gilchrist, and after that he remains unedited until our own time; while a poet such as Rochester, at his best a lyrist that none of them can surpass, has never from the beginning had his text or his canon rescued from confusion.[1] These poets are among those who, even in long periods of public neglect,

[1] Since writing this, I am glad to see that Mr. Montagu Summers is engaged on an edition of Rochester.

have never wholly escaped the attention of scholars or occasional inclusion in the miscellanies, but the absence of any readily accessible editions of their works has meant that over and over again one student or compiler has merely relied for his knowledge or selection upon one or two poems singled out by his predecessors, and this even when the work in hand has been a serious study and not merely a piece of easy book-compiling. The ordinary hack anthologist need not be considered. In nearly every case he simply steals, more or less at haphazard, from the patient labours of honester men than himself. But it is remarkable how, if we take our view of a poet from, say, ten standard English anthologies, we may easily get a hopelessly inadequate view of his work. To take two examples. Richard Barnefield is a name at least known to every reader who is familiar at all with English poetry. His original editions are practically unprocurable, there being in each case perhaps but three or four known copies, while the Roxborough reprint is by no means common, and otherwise the ordinary reader is cut off from access to the full texts. Looking at these ten anthologies, *The Golden Treasury*, *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, Ward's *English Poets*, Beeching's *Paradise of English Poetry*, Mrs. Meynell's *Flower of the Mind*, Sir Arthur Quiller Couch's *Golden Pomp*, Henley's *English Lyrics*, Mr. Massingham's *Seventeenth Century English Verse*, Mr. Braithwaite's *Elizabethan Verse*, and, last, the frankly popular but very comprehensive *Book of English Poetry* published by Messrs. Jack, we get this result. Mr. Massingham omits Barnefield altogether, as he does not come within his period; of the other nine, seven give *The Nightingale* alone, while the other two give *The Nightingale* and *If Music and Sweet Poetry Agree*, and Ward adds one other sonnet. This means that to all intents and purposes Barnefield is known to nearly the whole English poetry reading public by one poem, and that, charming as it is, not in my opinion his best. As an example of the quality which is entirely unknown to the general reader, and almost so to the scholar, let me quote two of Barnefield's pieces from *Poems in Divers Humors* published by John Jaggard in 1598:

AN EPITAPH UPON THE DEATH OF HIS AUNT,
MISTRESSE ELIZABETH SKRYMSHER

Loe here beholde the certaine Ende, of euery liuing wight:
No Creature is secure from Death, for Death will haue his Right.
He spareth none: both rich and poore, both young and olde must die;
So fraile is flesh, so short is Life, so sure Mortalitie.
When first the Bodye liues to Life, the soule first dies to sinne:
And they that loose this earthly Life, a heavenly Life shall winne,

If they liue well: as well she liv'd, that lyeth Vnder heere;
Whose Vertuous Life to all the Worlde, most plainly did appeere.
Good to the poore, friend to the rich, and foe to no Degree:
A President of modest Life, and peerelesse Chastitie.
Who louing more, Who more belov'd, of euerie honest mynde?
Who more to Hospitalitie, and Clemencie inclinde
Then she? that being buried here, lyes wrapt in Earth below;
From whence wee came, to whom wee must, and bee as shee is now,
A Clodd of Clay: though her pure soule in endlesse Blisse doeth rest;
Ioying all Ioy, the Place of Peace, prepared for the blest:
Where holy Angells sit and sing, before the King of Kings;
Not mynding worldly Vanities, but onely heavenly Things.
Vnto which Ioy, Vnto which Blisse, Vnto which Place of Pleasure,
God graunt that wee may come at last, t'inioy that heauenly Treasure.
Which to obtaine, to liue as shee hath done let us endeuor;
That we may liue with Christ himselfe (above) that liues for ever.

A COMPARISON OF THE LIFE OF MAN

Mans life is well compared to a feast,
Furnisht with choice of all Varietie:
To it comes Tyme; and as a bidden guest
Hee sets him downe, in Pompe and Maiestie;
The three-folde Age of Man, the Waiters bee.
  Then with an earthen voyder (made of clay)
  Comes Death, & takes the table clean away.

My other example is James Shirley. All ten anthologists give us *The Glories of our Blood and State*, with the exception of Mr. Massingham, who omits it on the plea that it is too well known for inclusion, six add *Victorious Men of Earth No More*, four add the hymn *O Fly my Soul*, three *You Virgins That Did Late Despair*, two *The Garden*, while Ward and Mr. Massingham each add one individual selection. This means that Shirley's total representation in ten serious anthologies is by seven poems, four of which only make seven appearances between them. Of these seven poems, four are taken from the Plays or Masques, and only three, which three make but six appearances between them, are taken from Shirley's principal lyric production, the *Poems* of 1646, a volume of which the future anthologist might take further notice. Here is a sombre but finely lyrical fragment to tempt him:

THE PASSING BELL

Hark, how chimes the Passing bell,
There's no musick to a knell;
All the other sounds we hear,
Flatter, and but cheat our ear.

This doth put us still in mind
That our flesh must be resign'd,
And a general silence made,
The world be muffled in a shade;
He that on his pillow lies
Tear-enbalmed before he dies,
Carries like a sheep his life,
To meet the sacrificer's knife,
And for eternity is prest,
Sad Bell-weather to the rest.

It is true that in some cases the anthologist could plead that in following the general choice he was also representing the poet at his indisputable best. If we want to know what, say, Lovelace and Waller were as poets, we must read *Tell me not, Sweet, I am unkind*, and *When Love with unconfined Wings*, and *Go lovely Rose*, and it would be an affectation for the compiler to pretend that any other choice could be within reasonable distance of matching these. But with poets like Barnefield and Shirley, and there are many of them, it is another matter. And we find over and over again even first-rate writers whose general reputations rest on two or three well-known pieces because the compilers of anthologies have failed to familarize themselves with the original sources. And if this is so with poets who, like Shirley, because of the general volume of their work, cannot escape some attention, what is likely to happen to those less fortunate, and doubtless on the whole less admirable ones, who, publishing like Herrick perhaps in 1648, have no Dr. Nott in 1810 nor Dr. Grosart in 1870.

It is as a slight contribution to the answer to this question that the present paper is offered. The history of English poetry, of which, I suppose, the father may be said to be Thomas Warton, is as likely as other histories always to remain incomplete. The explorer of the by-ways of English verse knows how often he can defeat the indices of even so learned and exhaustive scholars as Doctors Courthope and Saintsbury. This paper makes no pretence to learning of the standard which modern editorship has made prevalent at every seat of learning in the country. The minutiae of research into questions of texts and sources may be said to have become a special profession requiring a most exact and arduous training. That is not my job. I come before you as the most amateur of scholars, but, having all my life read English poetry as widely as I could, I have for some time amused myself by collecting any books of English verse which bore unfamiliar, or, better still, unknown names. In offering a garland from these little books, mostly of the seventeenth century, while I cannot claim

that in every case the poet in question is one unknown even to the most diligent student, I am sure that they all have so small a reputation through the body of their work as to amount to nothing at all, and as a group they may be said, with but little exaggeration, to have escaped the anthologists altogether. For some time I had intended to make a small anthology covering this ground myself, but then I realized that for the dozen or twenty discoveries that I might make there were ten times as many that I should miss, and it seemed better in this way to make a few notes in the hope that other readers might from time to time do the same thing, until something really comprehensive in the way of material might be ready for the perfect compiler when he arrives. In most cases these poets are not even known to the historians, and their only monument is inclusion in such publications as the splendid Grolier Club bibliography, mention in which is a guarantee to the bookseller rather than to the critic, although it should be said that though that publication is clearly bibliographical in intention, it had the great advantage of being supervised by Mr. Beverly Chew, who is not only a most distinguished collector but also a man of the finest literary taste and judgement.

With one of my unknown poets, John Collop, I have already dealt at length in a separate paper. He happens to be a poet whose little book, *Poesia Rediviva*, 1656, is of considerable quality throughout, whereas in many cases one finds only a snatch here and there which merits remembrance:

> The house is swept
> Which sin so long foul kept:
> The peny's found for which the loser wept.
>
> And purg'd with tears,
> God's Image re-appears.
> The peny truly shews whose stamp it bears.

Collop could write so, and often, but the paper referred to contains a good many examples of his work, and he need not be considered further here. I now propose to present my gatherings with as little in the way of design as may be found in the occasional note-book.

In 1662 there appeared a volume entitled *Flamma sine Fumo: or Poems without Fictions*, by R. W., being a collection of miscellaneous poems including at the end *A Looking-Glass for the sick, or The Causes of Symptoms or Signs of Several Diseases with Their Cures and Remedies*, being the complete physician in amusing doggerel. My copy of the book from the Huth Library comes from the Heber Collection and contains a note in Heber's writing to the effect that R. W., who as we learn from the signed Preface was Rowland Watkyns, was minister

of Baru in Brecknockshire. He is unknown to Corser, Collins, and Courthope, but he is to be found in the Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica. So far as I can discover, except for occasional mention in a catalogue, his is to-day an entirely dead name, and I have discovered no critical reference to him. Here are a few examples of his work:

THE BIBLE

Much books I have perus'd, but I protest
Of books the sacred Bible is the best,
Some books may much of humane Learning boast
But here's the Language of the Holy Ghost,
Hence we draw living water, here we do
Observe the Patriarchs lives, and doctrine too:
Here Christ himself directs us how to pray,
And to the Gate of Heaven chalks the way.
Here is the salve, which gives the blind their sight,
All darknesse to expel, here is the light:
Here is strong meat for men; and milk to feed
The weaker babes, which more perfection need;
Cast off erroneous pamphlets, wanton rhymes,
All feigned books of love; which cheat the times;
And read this book of life; those shall appear
With Christ in Heaven which are written here.

THE WEDDING GARMENT

Faith is the wedding garment, lind within,
With love, without foul spots, or staines of sin.
Humility is the most decent lace,
And patient hope, which doth this garment grace.
Without this royal robe no guest is fit
To sup, or at the Lords own table sit.

THE WISH

Hoc est summum mei, caputque voti;

A little house, a quiet wife,
Sufficient food to nourish life,
Most perfect health, and free from harm,
Convenient cloths to keep me warm.
The liberty of foot, and mind,
And grace the ways of God to find.
This is the summe of my desire,
Until I come unto heavens quire.

UPON THE FAIR AND VERTUOUS GENTLEWOMAN MRS. M. S. THAT CAN SING EXCELLENTLY

Gratior est virtus veniens è corpore pulchro.

When first I did this Virgin spie,
The object pleas'd my serious eye:
But when I heard her sing, I swear,
The musick took both heart and ear.
Those inward vertues please us best,
Which are with outward beauty drest;
And 'tis a comely thing to find
In bodies fair, a fairer mind:
The Harp, the Viol hither bring,
And Birds, musitians of the Spring;
When she doth sing, those must be mute,
They are but Cymbals to the Lute:
She with her Notes doth rise, and fall,
More sweetly than the Nightingal:
God in her pious heart keeps place,
Some Angel in her voice and face.

UPON THE MOST BEAUTIFUL, HOSPITABLE, AND INGENUOUS GENTLEWOMAN MRS. BLANCH MORGAN OF THE THEROW

Some fragrant flowers the smell, some trees the sight
Do much content, some pearls are wondrous bright:
There's not so sweet a flower, so fair a tree,
So pure a gemme in all the world, as she:

Some Ladies humble are, and some are wise;
Some chast, some kind, some fair to please the eyes;
All vertues do in her like stars appear,
And make a glorious constellation there.

THE MERCIFUL SAMARITAINE

No balm from Gilead, no Physitian can
Heal me, but Christ the true Samaritan.
When I am sick, and when my wounds are foul,
He hath his oyle and wine to clense my soul.
My sins the thieves, which wounded me, have bin,
Help, Lord, conduct me to thy peaceful Inn.

THE GARDENER

She supposing him to be the Gardener, said unto him,
Joh. 20.

Mary prevents the day; she rose to weep,
And see the bed, where Jesus lay asleep.
She found out whom she sought; but doth not know
Her Masters face; he is the Gardener now.

This Gardener Edens Garden did compose,
For which the chiefest Plants and Flowers he chose.
He took great care to have sweet Rivers run
T'enrich the ground, where he his work begun.
He is the Gardener still, and knoweth how
To make the Lilies and the Roses grow.
He knows the time to set, when to remove
His living plants to make them better prove.
He hath his pruning knife, when we grow wild,
To tame our nature, and make us more mild:
He curbs his dearest children: when 'tis need,
He cuts his choycest Vine, and makes it bleed.
He weeds the poisonous herbs, which clog the ground.
He knows the rotten hearts, he knows the sound.
The blessed Virgin was the pleasant bower,
This Gardener lodg'd in his appointed hour:
Before his birth his Garden was the womb,
In death he in a Garden chose his Tomb.

PROVERBIAL SENTENCES

Who hath the better game, doth fear the end.
Who hath the worse, doth hope the game may mend.

. . . .

Who in the glass doth oft behold her face,
Hath little care to dress her dwelling place.

. . . .

When once the tree is fallen, which did stand,
Then every man will take his axe in hand.

. . . .

No Church yard is so hansome any where,
As will straight move one to be buried there.

. . . .

Here is great talk of Turk and Pope: but I
Find that my neighbour doth more hurt than they.

A disappointing poet is Robert Wild, whose *Iter Boreale* was first published in 1660. That Wild should have escaped the critics and enthusiasts is not surprising, since as a poet he is continually within a word of an achievement that he as continually misses. I mention him here merely on account of a bibliographical point in connexion with his one lovely moment of inspiration. Mr. Braithwaite, in his *Book of Restoration Verse*, gives his *Epitaph for a Godly Mans Tomb* without any proper indication as to its source, and Mr. Massingham, whose *Seventeenth Century English Verse* is on the whole a very satisfying and original piece of work, gives the same *Epitaph* as coming from the *Iter Boreale* of 1660. In fact it was not in the first edition of 1660 nor the second of 1661 nor the third of 1665, but it made its

first appearance in the fourth edition dated 1668. Once elsewhere in a single line,

> Newgate or Hell were Heav'n if Christ were there . . .

Wild promises to satisfy expectations. But otherwise it is in the *Epitaph*, and here alone, that he proves himself, for one glorious breath, a poet. I know of hardly any other case of a man courting the muse so constantly with no favour given, and then coming into the full presence for one marvellous moment, to return to the darkness for ever:

AN EPITAPH FOR A GODLY MANS TOMB

> Here lies a piece of Christ, a Star in Dust;
> A Vein of Gold, a China Dish that must
> Be us'd in Heav'n, when God shall Feast the Just.

Had Wild done any considerable body of work at that pitch he would have been among the great lyrists. As it is he is dust, with his one little jewel to catch the eye of a very occasional traveller in passing. His second best is the not charmless doggerel:

> Alas, poor scholar
> Whither wilt thou go?

which, however, is of little importance.

Another poet almost, although not entirely, unknown to the anthologists is Edward Sherburne, whose *Salmacis, Lyrian and Sylvia, Forsaken Lydia, The Rape of Hellen, a Comment thereon, with severall other Poems and Translations*, was published in 1651. Mr. Braithwaite, whose anthological range is an unusually wide one, gives seven of his lyrics, and Mr. Massingham one. But it remained for Professor Grierson, in his *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century*, to re-publish the lovely lyric *The Proud Aegyptian Queen.* I may boast to myself privately that I had the poem in my note-book before Professor Grierson's book appeared, and he will, I am sure, not grudge me the pleasure of following him in drawing attention to his discovery in the hope that by this Sherburne may find yet two or three more readers:

AND SHE WASHED HIS FEET WITH HER TEARES, AND WIPED THEM WITH THE HAIRS OF HER HEAD

> The proud Ægyptian Queen, her Roman Guest,
> (T'express her Love in Hight of State, and Pleasure)
> With Pearl dissolv'd in Gold, did feast,
> Both Food, and Treasure.

And now (dear Lord!) thy Lover, on the fair
And silver Tables of thy Feet, behold!
  Pearl in her Tears, and in her Hair,
    Offers thee Gold.

Another poet who has hitherto received far less attention than is his due is Thomas Flatman,[1] whose *Poems and Songs* first appeared in 1674. Quite lately Professor Saintsbury has given a full edition of his work in the third volume of his admirable *Caroline Poets*, so that the fame of

There's an experienc't Rebel, Time,
  And in his Squadrons Poverty;
There's Age that brings along with him
  A terrible Artillery. . . .

and many other such fortunate things can no longer be said to be in obscurity.

Mathew Stevenson, whose *Occasions Off-spring or Poems upon Severall Occasions* was published in 1654, appears, on the other hand, apart from an occasional bibliographical reference, to have escaped the attention of anybody at all. His book is pleasant reading always, and one longish poem, *At the Florists Feast in Norwich*, is full of colour and delight. It is too long to quote in full, but here is the concluding Song, which in itself ought to give Stevenson his place in the collections:

THE SONG

Stay! O stay! ye winged howers,
The windes that ransack East, and West,
Have breathd perfumes upon our flowers,
More fragrant then the Phœnix nest:
Then stay! O stay sweet howers! that yee,
May witnesse that, which time nere see.

Stay a while, thou featherd Syth-man,
  And attend the Queen of flowers,
Show thy self for once a blyth man,
  Come dispence with a few howers:
    Else we our selves will stay a while,
    And make our pastime, Time beguile.

This day is deignd to Floras use,
  If yee will revell too, to night
Weel presse the Grape, to lend ye juyce,
  Shall make a deluge of delight:
    And when yee cant hold up your heads,
    Our Garden shall afford ye beds.

[1] Flatman was, of course, well known to Mr. Bullen. But then, what poet was not?

A poet even less known than Stevenson, if that were possible, is Daniel Cudmore, the author of *Ευχοδια or A Prayer-Song. Being Sacred Poems on The History of the Birth and Passion of our Blessed Saviour*, published in 1655. His muse is a little laboured, and his lyric flights generally more notable for length than for certainty and grace. Nevertheless he sometimes achieves a dark beauty of his own, as in the following on a text from Mark:

1

If could some Delius with divided hands
Sound the Seas depth, and on his souls recorder
Imprint the wracks, huge rocks, and heaps of sands,
Which there lie scatter'd in confus'd disorder:
  This could he do, by Nature's strength or art,
  Yet none could sound the bottom of the heart.

2

Should some Ship-master make's fore-split the Probe
Of Nature's secrets, and so bring to view
Land to make up a perfect earthly Globe,
Which Drake nor Kit Columbus never knew:
  Yet, as in the great world, so in his own,
  He must confess there's yet much land unknown.

3

The heart's a Sea for depth, like Sodom-lake,
Dead, thick, and gross; in it will sink no good:
Th' hearts land's unknown; wherein what monsters make
Their hides and dens, few yet have understood
  The centre may be purest earth; yet th' heart
  The bodies centre's the corrupter part.

4

Our heart-strings are the cords of vanity;
Their caverns are the devil's lurking-holes;
No fit Triangle for the Trinity;
An habitation more fit for moles:
  Their cauls the veils of damn'd Hypocrisie.
  Thus is sum'd up man's wretched Majestie.

5

If thus the Sun within our firmament
Into a Meteor degenerate;
If thus the King within our continent
Let's sin and lust usurp his Royal state:
  If thus corrupted be the bodies leaven,
  How shall we manchets be prepar'd for heaven?

6

Whe'er Hell be in th'earth's centre, I suspend;
But in man's centre's couch'd an Hell of sin:
Nor do so many lines to th' centre tend,
As in a wicked heart fiends make their Inne:
  Which yet most know no more, then can be found
  Where Arethusa windes beneath the ground.

7

Lord, shew me in the Mirrour of thy Law
The horrour of my heart by bright reflection:
In that thy Glass, there falshood is nor flaw:
Though wickedly some scorn its true direction,
  And whip the Tutor for his discipline;
  Yet Lord direct me by that Glass of thine.

8

Oh daign my heart with graces to perfume,
And th'rowly purge it from each noisome vapor,
Whose rank infection choaks each neighb'ring room,
And strives to damp my soul's aspiring tapor.
  O make my heart-strings, Lord, thy cords of love;
  So mine according to thy heart shall prove.

In 1638 was published *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae. The Kalender of Mans Life.* The volume is a charmingly produced one, embellished with wood-cuts, and consists of reflective poems on the changes of the year, done in both Latin and English verse. The author was Robert Farley, again a poet to-day wholly unknown to fame beyond a collector's note here and there. The following Spring piece, reminiscent in its verse of the poet of *Everyman*, called *Aprill, or Mans Infancie*, is an example of many that should have brought him better luck:

Thine Infant (Lord) to be I crave,
Let not my gray haires sinne to grave.
My soule doth cry, still thou it Lord
With milke of thy eternall Word;
Author of grace, nurse grace in me,
So I at length shall strengthened be.
Clense me from first and second guilt,
Onely thou canst (Lord) if thou wilt;
Then shall I be a Dennizon
There, where uncleannesse commeth none.
Let not Hells Siren lull asleepe
My soule to drowne it in the deepe;
Lord make it watch for Heav'ns joyes
Regarding nothing worldly toyes.

Behold my soule rock't too and fro,
Doth cry for feare and cannot goe;
Now least in storme it drowned be,
Take it into the ship with Thee.
So shall Thou thinke me to be thine,
And I shall thinke thy kingdome mine;
So shall my soule thy mercies prove
And learne thy mercies how to love.

Mr. Braithwaite and Mr. Massingham give examples, the former three, the latter one, of John Hall, whose *Poems* was published at Cambridge in 1646, and reprinted in *Caroline Poets.* Both these editors give what is perhaps on the whole his best poem, *The Call,* but Mr. Braithwaite's other selections are not, I think, the best that could be made. Otherwise I do not find him quoted anywhere, although here, as in other cases, I am naturally prepared to find that in the great field of poetical research references have escaped me. In any case Hall, like most of these poets, has only been discovered in these two hundred years by lucky accident or the rarest erudition such as Professor Saintsbury's. His work is full of charming touches, although he seldom brings off a poem completely. This opening of *The Christall,* for example, is a lovely but unfulfilled promise:

This Christall here
That shines so clear,
And carri's in its womb a little day;
Once hammerd will appear
Impure as dust, as dark as clay.

When, however, our perfect anthology is compiled, this little book will have to be examined carefully, as the following example will show:

HOME TRAVELL

What need I travell, since I may
More choiser wonders here survay?
What need I Tire for purple seek
When I may find it in a cheek?
Or sack the Eastern shores, there lies
More precious Diamonds in her eyes?
What need I dig Peru for Oare
When every hair of her yields more?
Or toile for Gummes in India
Since she can breath more rich then they?
Or ransack Africk, there will be
On either hand more Ivory?
But look within, all Vertues that
Each nation would appropriate,

And with the glory of them rest,
Are in this map at large exprest;
That who would travell here might know
The little world in Folio.

There are not only poets whose claim to some brief attention rests on a stray lyric or two, but even the more difficult cases of men whose good things, even in short poems, lie surrounded by mediocrity. Alexander Ross, for example, whose *Mel Heliconium: or, Poeticall Honey, gathered out of the weeds of Parnassus*, published in 1642, will, I think, yield no completely satisfactory poem to the most diligent search, can yet not infrequently set all our expectations agog by such felicities as

We're all in Atalanta's case,
We run apace,
Untill our wandring eyes behold
The glitt'ring gold:
And then we lose in vanity
Our race, and our virginity. . . .

and

Who glory in your golden hair,
And in smooth Alabaster skins;
And think with Swans you may compare
In whitenesse, that your cheeks and chins
Can match white Lillies, and
Vermilion.
Yet think upon
The flower that 's in your hand.

Again, to turn to our perfect anthology, this particular problem will be greatly intensified for the compiler when he passes beyond the seventeenth into the eighteenth century, that long smooth poetical waste-land in which lie hidden all sorts of treasures for the finding, apart from the few that have already become common property. So early as 1692 we have a little volume, *Poems on Several Occasions*, by Thomas Fletcher, written, as the author's Preface informs us, when the author was hardly out of his 'teens, and for the most part without any merit but that of a common precocity. But suddenly in the middle of the book we come across *Content, A Pastoral Dialogue*, with passages as good as this:

Damon. Some wish, and see their Flocks increase;
They gain Wealth, but lose their Peace:
Folds enlarg'd enlarge their Care;
Who have much, for much must fear:
Others see their Flocks decay;
With their Flocks they pine away.

The Shepherd, who would happy be,
Must not seek Causes for his Joy;
Must not for Pretences tarry:
But be unreasonably merry.

. . . .

If tuneful Birds salute the Spring,
From the Birds I learn to sing;
If the Heavens laugh a while,
From the Heav'ns I learn to smile:
But if Mists obscure the Day,
And black Clouds fright the Sun away;
I never dread the angry Sky;
Why should I think it frowns on me?

. . . . [I]

Think on the Time, when I shall be
From Clouds and Storms for ever free;
Plac'd in Elysium; where, they say,
Blest Ghosts enjoy Eternal Day,
Eternal Spring; where, all the year,
The Fields their freshest Honours wear.

. . . .

In vain the sullen Heavens scowl,
Storms and Tempest round me howl;
I make fair Weather in my Soul.

Before ending this momentary digression into a later age, I should like to quote two trifles from another of the innumerable *Poems on Severall Occasions*, this time published in 1735, the author John Hughes, the friend of Addison and Steele, and the dramatist of *The Siege of Damascus*, a very far from negligible play:

SONNET

(From the French)

I die with too transporting Joy,
  If she I love rewards my Fire;
If She's inexorably Coy,
  With too much Passion I expire.

No Way the Fates afford to shun
  The cruel Torment I endure;
Since I am doom'd to be undone
  By the Disease, or by the Cure.

SONG

THE FAIR TRAVELLER

In young Astrea's sparkling Eye,
Resistless Love has fix'd his Throne;
A thousand Lovers bleeding lie
For Her, with Wounds they fear to own.

> While the coy Beauty speeds her Flight
> To distant Groves from whence she came;
> So Lightning vanishes from Sight,
> But leaves the Forest in a Flame!

Here is at least an elegance which we might expect from a writer who tells us in one of his Essays that 'A plain unletter'd man is always more agreeable Company, than a Fool in several Languages'.

I may, perhaps, here ask a question in the hope that some eighteenth-century expert may be able to throw light on a curious little textual problem. Locker-Lampson in his *Lyra Elegantiarum* gives this lovely lyric:

THE WHITE ROSE

Sent by a Yorkist Gentleman to his Lancastrian Mistress.

> If this fair rose offend thy sight,
> Placed in thy bosom bare,
> 'Twill blush to find itself less white,
> And turn Lancastrian there.
>
> But if thy ruby lip it spy,—
> As kiss it thou mayst deign,—
> With envy pale 'twill lose its dye,
> And Yorkist turn again.

Locker-Lampson strangely ascribes this to James Somerville, whose dates he gives as 1692 to 1742. There seems to be no authority for bringing such a James Somerville into being, and there is no doubt that William Somervile, 1677, or thereabouts, to 1742, is meant. And, in fact, in *Occasional Poems*, published in 1727, by the author of *The Chase*, there is a poem entitled *Presenting to a Lady a White Rose and a Red, on the Tenth of June*, five stanzas in length, the last three of which are poor, with this opening:

> If this pale rose offend your Sight,
> It in your bosom wear;
> 'Twill blush to find itself less white,
> And turn Lancastrian there.
>
> But, Celia, should the Red be chose,
> With gay Vermilion bright;
> 'Twou'd sicken at each Blush that glows,
> And in Despair turn White.

One almost wants to make a composite of the two versions, and it would be interesting to know Locker-Lampson's authority for his text. He makes no reference to the poem in his notes. Before leaving Somervile I should like to give this jest from his Moral Fables:

THE MORAL TO A FABLE, 'THE OYSTER'

Ye men of Norfolk, and of Wales,
  From this learn common Sense;
Nor thrust your Neighbours into Jayls,
  For ev'ry slight Offence.

Banish those Vermin of Debate,
  That on your Substance feed;
The Knaves who now are serv'd in Plate,
  Wou'd starve, if Fools agreed.

In addition to the acknowledged and original work of these poets, and many like them, there are the immense fields of the Translations and the poetical Miscellanies in which to go treasure-hunting. The Miscellanies themselves still offer wide and profitable opportunity for research. Mr. Bullen and others have done much, but there are still volumes, such as one which I have in my possession, called *New Court Songs and Poems*, by R. V. Gent, who is supposed by the cataloguers to be Robert Veele, which are full of delights and riddles. I am approaching the end of my allotted time, and, in any case, I should be very hesitant to venture into these very tricksy regions of speculation. Each of us, as we follow our own reading, may make a lucky attribution here and there, but to sort any of these volumes out into clear order would need qualifications not mine. Mere guess-work brings no enlightenment with it, and to indulge in it would mean that one could only approach one's audience something in the mood of the Printer of Richard Fanshawe's *Il Pastor Fido* in the second issue of 1648, who addressed his reader thus:

'Reader,

Thou wilt meet in the Additionall Poems with many literall Errours, and in Pastor Fido with some, besides the two noted at the end thereof. It will be easie for Thee, with thy judgment and good heed to rectifie all as thou goest along. I beseech thee doe it to salve my credit with him that set me a work. Who am of Those that had rather confesse their faults, than mend them.

Farewell.'

In reading through such poems as these that have been here considered, one is struck anew with the immense wisdom of Wordsworth's remark that 'Poetry is emotion recollected in tranquillity'. These poets, we may be sure, were most of them passionate, heady people, troubled and shaken by life and their own character. And yet in reading through their verses all the smother has gone, and we move through clear and tranquil, but none the less exhilarating, airs.

Indeed it is this kind of tranquillity which is the most bracing of all conditions. Here is to be found the true balance of form. As William Habington, the poet of *Castara*, said:

> 'He hath by a liberall education beene softned to civility; for that rugged honesty some rude men professe, is an indigested Chaos; which may containe the seedes of goodnesse, but it wants forme and order.'

And by way of Habington we may, before closing, make a brief return to the seventeenth century, which has been chiefly our concern. Habington, on the whole, has been dealt fairly with by the anthologists, but his book contains many pieces worth remembering besides *Ye blushing Virgins happy are*, and *When I Survey the bright Celestial Sphere*, by which he is usually represented; this, for example, *Upon the Thought of Age and Death*, which I take from the third edition of 1639, as having at one point a better text than the first edition of 1634:

> The breath of time shall blast the flowry Spring,
> Which so perfumes thy cheeke, and with it bring
> So darke a mist, as shall eclipse the light
> Of thy faire eyes, in an eternall night.
> Some melancholly chamber of the earth,
> (For that like Time devoures whom it gave breath)
> Thy beauties shall entombe, while all who ere
> Lov'd nobly, offer up their sorrowes there.
> But I whose griefe no formall limits bound,
> Beholding the darke caverne of that ground,
> Will there immure myselfe. And thus I shall
> Thy mourner be, and my owne funerall.
> Else by the weeping magicke of my verse,
> Thou hadst reviv'd to triumph o're thy hearse.

In conclusion, a word of Joshua Sylvester, known to fame, that strange public that so often reads so little, as the translator of Du Bartas. He appears in a great number of anthologies with the lovely Sonnet *Were I as base as is the lowly plain*, the original appearance of which I have been unable to trace in any of his books that have been accessible to me. Otherwise he has, I think, not been called upon by the compilers at all. And yet there is a very attractive fat little volume, or rather volumes, since a small group of these are nearly always found together, of which the chief titles are *The Parliament of Vertues Royal*, and *The Second Session of the Parliament of Vertues Reall*. There is no date on either of the title pages, but from dates on some of the sub-titles it appears to have been published

less than ten years, in any case, before Sylvester's death in 1618. Over and over again the poet catches the great note of a great age, as in

> I cannot strike Appollo's string,
> Study for Heav'n and timely ring
>   Sacred Aaron's golden Bell;
> Nor sing at once the Thespian Songs,
> And serve my Country, as belongs:
> Therefore, Muses, heere Fare-well.

The best poem in the book is *Memorials of Mortalitie,* a long and sustained meditation full of brave music. It is in this poem that there is a line, 'Ther's but a Sigh from Table to the Tombe', which anticipates the most famous of Orinda's verses:

> Yet carelessly we run our race,
> As if we could Death's summons waive;
> And think not on the narrow space
> Between the Table and the Grave.

These are a few of the two hundred stanzas of the Memorials:

> Who feares this Death, is more then deadly sick;
> In midst of Life he seems even dead for dreed;
> Death in his brest he beares, as buried Quick:
> For, feare of Death is worse then Death indeed.
>
> . . . .
>
> The World's a Sea, the Galley is this Life,
> The Master, Time; the Pole, Hope promiseth;
> Fortune the Winde; the stormie Tempest, Strife;
> And Man the Rowe-Slave, to the Port of Death.
>
> . . . .
>
> The World is much of a faire Mistress mood,
> Which, wilie, makes more Fooles then Favorites;
> Hugs These, hates Those; yet will of all be woo'd:
> But never keeps the Promise that she plights.
>
> . . . .
>
> Where are Those Monarchs, mighty Conquerors,
> Whose brows ere-while the whol Worlds Laurel drest,
> When Sea and Land could show no Land but Theirs?
> Now, of it All, only Seaven Hils do rest.
>
> . . . .
>
> All These huge Buildings, These proud Piles (alas!)
> Which seem'd to threaten, Heav'n it selfe to scale;
> Have now given place to Forrests, Groves, and Grass;
> And Time hath chang'd their Names and Place withall.

Thy Term expir'd, Thou put'st-off Payment yet.
And weenst to win much by some Months delay.
Sith pay thou must, wer't not as good be quit?
For, Death will be no gentler any Day.

. . . .

Life, to the life, The Chesse-board lineats;
Where Pawnes and Kings have equall Portion:
This leaps, that limps, this cheks, that neks, that mates
Their Names are diverse; but, their Wood is one.

. . . .

Tis better fall, then still to feare a Fall:
Tis better die, then to be still a-dying:
The End of Pain ends the Complaint withall:
And nothing grieves that comes but once, and flying.

. . . .

This Life's a-Web, woven fine for som, som grosse;
Some Hemp, some Flax, some longer, shorter some;
Good and Ill Haps are but the Threeds acrosse:
And first or last, Death cuts it from the Loom.

THE STUDY OF EARLY MUNICIPAL HISTORY IN ENGLAND

By JAMES TAIT

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read May 10, 1922

The twentieth century opened with the brightest prospects for the study of early municipal history in this country, prospects which have since become lamentably overclouded. A group of distinguished scholars had made a remarkable and unprecedented advance in the solution of the most obscure problems presented by the initial growth of urban life in England. In the past the subject had been chiefly in the hands of lawyers and local antiquaries, and neither class was well equipped to grapple with its real difficulties. One outstanding work there was, the *Firma Burgi* (1726) of that admirable eighteenth-century scholar, Thomas Madox, but, great and permanent as is its value, it deals with an aspect of municipal growth which was comparatively simple to one of his immense knowledge of the national archives. Much more complicated problems were attacked, and to a large extent solved, in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first lustrum of this. Charles Gross dispersed the cloud of error which had exaggerated the part played by the merchant gild in the evolution of our municipal constitutions. Mary Bateson found a French key to some of the most striking peculiarities of the post-Conquest borough, revealed the great mass of archaic law which the boroughs preserved throughout the Middle Ages, and edited the most complete collection of the records of a single borough which has yet appeared. Maitland showed that the oldest English boroughs were rooted in the soil, that the mediaeval burgher was still interested in agriculture, had one foot on mother earth outside his walls. His gifts of subtle insight and bold suggestion were never more evident respectively than in the analysis of the transition from 'commonness' to 'corporateness' in the English borough which rounds off a famous chapter of the *History of English Law* and in the more debatable

treatment of the Domesday boroughs in *Domesday Book and Beyond.* We may think that the boldness has gone too far in the latter case, without withholding from him and his zealous disciple, Adolphus Ballard,[1] the credit of having made what is really the first of our documentary materials for the history of English boroughs more intelligible and more significant.

A later stream of French influence than that detected by Miss Bateson was explored by Dr. Horace Round in articles on the Cinque Ports[2] and the Commune of London[3]

All these workers were in the prime of life, and in the ordinary course many years of fruitful investigation might have been expected from them. But a sort of fatality seems to have attended on the group. Dr. Round is still happily with us, though he has not pursued the municipal studies of earlier years, but all the others had died before the end of 1915, Maitland, the longest-lived of them, at the early age of fifty-six. The loss to this particular branch of historical research was irreparable. The barrenness of the last decade in this field, with the notable exception of an excellent study of *Burgage Tenure in England*,[4] by a young American scholar, Dr. Hemmeon, a pupil of Gross, cannot be attributed wholly to the war and its sequel.

Maitland's chief contributions to the story of the evolution of our oldest towns emphasized two somewhat opposite features of their origin—continuity with the nucleus of an agricultural township and the stimulation produced by a period of foreign invasion, the latter perhaps over-emphasized.

In impressing upon us that 'those who would study the early history of our towns have fields and pastures on their hands', Maitland did not claim originality. The very word 'town' is an unmistakable finger-post. Beginning as an Old English word for a village, or even a single homestead, it has been narrowed down in this country, though not in New England, to mean an urban as distinguished from a rural community. The transition thus indicated had been noted by Stubbs, but the vivid picture of the agricultural aspects of mediaeval Cambridge in *Township and Borough* placed it in a new and stronger light.

More novel was Maitland's attempt to account for the possession by our chief towns, when they first come well into view after the

[1] *The Domesday Boroughs*, 1904.
[2] *Feudal England* (1895), 552 ff.
[3] *The Commune of London and other Studies* (1899), 229 ff.
[4] Harvard Historical Studies, xx (1914).

Norman Conquest, of a court which was not that of a rural township, if indeed the township had a court, which he did not believe,[1] but parallel with the court of the hundred which was an aggregation of townships. He traced this borough court with some other features of later town life to the age of the Danish invasions. The necessity of defence brought about the fortification of many old and new centres, and he suggested that courts were established in them to settle the quarrels of the ruffling warriors placed in them by the landowners of the county, upon whom the burden of their upkeep was thrown. The general application of the term 'borough', which means a place of defence, to such towns was regarded by him as supporting this 'garrison theory' of the origin of our oldest towns. Though whole-heartedly adopted by Ballard, it has not secured universal acceptance. Maitland himself explained, in answer to criticism, that he did not mean to offer it as a solution of the problem in all towns, or even as completely covering the ground in those where it is most plausible. It does not profess, therefore, to account for the urban organization of towns which, like London, Lincoln, or Canterbury, had existed, if not from Roman times, at any rate from a date not much later, or even of a distinctly later town like Norwich. There were other influences making for urban aggregation and organization, especially the growth of trade. It is significant that the general spread of the term 'borough' was accompanied by the use of a word which expressed the trading aspect of the same community. This was 'port', the derivation of which from *portus*, 'harbour', seems, like the parallel word 'poort' in the Netherlands, to point to the first seats of trade having been on the coast or navigable rivers.

The existence of a military element, fleeting or more durable, in many boroughs need not be denied, but it was not the only element, and its identification with the burgesses who in *Domesday Book* are recorded in most of the greater boroughs as belonging to some rural manor and paying rent to it, or occupying houses which paid such rents, is very dubious. Domesday itself shows that the lordship of burgesses and houses was being transferred pretty freely before the Conquest, and the burgesses' right of sale and bequest may account for a good many of these manorial ownerships. The tendency of the rural landowner to acquire property in the local town, and even to reside there occasionally, is early evidenced and continued down to modern times. 'Tenurial heterogeneity', the awkward phrase which Maitland coined to express the fact that such boroughs were on no

[1] Professor Vinogradoff is less sceptical (*Growth of the Manor*, 191, 274).

single lord's land, whether king's or subject's, may have grown up quite independently of military arrangements.

The borough which was the property of one lord was not, however, unknown in Anglo-Saxon times, witness the little borough of Seasalter in Kent, which belonged to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the revenue from which went to support the kitchen of the monastery[1] Not the least striking of the effects of the Norman Conquest in the field of municipal history was the wide extension of this class of dependent or seignorial boroughs, of which more will be said later.

Another result of the Conquest is the real beginning of our evidence for municipal history. We have no genuine pre-Norman town charter, much less any civic record, judicial or administrative, of that date. For these latter, indeed, we have to wait until the later years of the twelfth century, but there is a growing stream of charters from the first establishment of the new dynasty. More than three hundred had been issued by the Crown and private lords before the end of John's reign, and these have been brought together in a form convenient for students of borough formation and organization by Ballard in the first volume of *British Borough Charters*.[2] Materials for a further volume, extending to the death of Edward I, had been largely collected by him before his death, in 1915, and will shortly be published.

It is noteworthy that the most liberal grantor of charters to royal boroughs was John, whose appreciation of the sums they were ready to pay for privileges was probably not checked by much consideration whether the permanent interests of the Crown would be served by the greater independence he allowed to the towns. However, the leases of Crown revenue which he gave were such hard bargains that there is no reason to suppose that those interests suffered materially. His son was less lavish, except when in dire financial straits, as in the year or two before the Barons' War, and his grandson even less so, save where the foundation and enhancement of towns served his general policy.

The policy of enlightened self-interest on the whole pursued by our Norman sovereigns can be well studied in their treatment of those older towns which may now be called royal cities and boroughs, not because they stood on the ancient lands of the Crown, but because it chose to claim these lordless areas as part of the royal demesne. The application to them of the Crown right to levy tallage at will from its ancient demesne—that is, what had been Crown property in 1066—was fruitful in results. It yielded a revenue which, even when ultimately

[1] *D. B.* i. 5. [2] Cambridge, 1913.

made dependent on parliamentary consent, retained traces of its origin in the higher rate at which the towns and the ancient demesne were charged, and it disposed the king to grant to them such privileges as would enable them better to meet this and their other financial obligations to the Crown. Indeed, we need not limit royal graciousness quite so narrowly, for, where nothing was lost by so doing, the claim of the Crown dependents to special favour was fully recognized. From this point of view the curious parallelism of some of the privileges of royal boroughs and those of ancient demesne is instructive. Both were quit of suit to shire and hundred courts and in general exempt from taking their cases to outside courts, other than the highest. They both ultimately almost excluded the sheriff. The privilege of freedom from toll throughout England, or even the whole of the king's dominions, was generally enjoyed by both. Both gave freedom to the serf unclaimed by his lord for a year and a day. Moreover, some communities on ancient demesne are found in enjoyment of such special features of borough tenure as the right of sale and bequest of their tenements, and larger urban communities thereon; e. g. Basingstoke and Kingston-on-Thames, though not formally called boroughs, attained a status which was practically indistinguishable from that of recognized boroughs. This burghal aspect of ancient demesne[1] becomes troublesome when we attempt to define a borough, just as it created difficulties when the demesne was taxed at the borough rate by parliament. There was some uncertainty at first as to who should give the consent of the men on ancient demesne, and, in default of a more logical solution, it was finally settled in favour of the knights of the shire,[2] whose normal constituents paid at a lower rate and to whose expenses the demesne men successfully refused to contribute.[3]

A familiar feature of royal charter giving to towns is the grant of the liberties of highly privileged communities, like London, Winchester, or Hereford, to other boroughs, new or old. Although these liberties were usually set out in full, the standardization of formula must have greatly lightened the labour of the clerks of the royal chancery. So mechanically, in fact, were the models followed that many towns which received the liberties of London had in their charters references to that peculiarly London institution the Portsoken, as if it were a local area.

[1] See Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, i. 384, and Hemmeon, *Burgage Tenure in England*, *passim*.

[2] *Rot. Parl.* i. 457 (16 Edw. II, 1322).

[3] Ibid. iii 44, 64; Benham, *Red Book of Colchester*, 58.

Privileges of such imposing lineage were highly valuable to a growing community, but could not arrest the decline of a weak one. Not all the liberties of Winchester availed to save Henry III's new borough of Warenmouth (1247), in Northumberland, from early extinction, and the exact locality of the *Nova Villa*, founded by Edward I in Dorset, with the liberties of London, seems to have been forgotten until a lucky accident enabled me to identify it with a spot near the port of Ower Passage in the Isle of Purbeck.[1]

As the word 'liberties' implies, these chartered privileges were usually, and especially at first, of a negative rather than a positive kind. The simpler sort exempted the recipients from some onerous service or payment. The most valuable privilege of the latter kind was a general exemption from local tolls, which was sometimes extended to the foreign dominions of the Crown. An exception was often made for the tolls of London. A good example of release from burdensome services was the exemption from finding lodging for the king's retinue, whether demanded by force or by the billet of the marshal, which spread from London through Bristol to the larger Irish boroughs. Canterbury and Rochester had to be content with the requirement of an order from the marshal.

Even such a liberty as that of electing a justice to try Crown pleas, homicide, and other serious offences arising in the borough, which looks positive enough, was really negative, for it was chiefly prized as excluding the sheriff or other royal officer from entering the town to try such cases. This rare privilege, so far as I know, was only granted twice, to London by Henry I and to Colchester by Richard I. The Colchester case was belated, for Henry II's institution of regular circuits of the royal justices, who superseded the sheriffs for this purpose, proved fatal to the extension of the privilege. From this time, however, many towns were empowered to elect a coroner or coroners to take the preliminary steps for the trial of Crown pleas, which had been one of the duties of the town justice, and the sheriff was thus excluded even from this humbler interference in the town. A few boroughs which were not shire-towns were favoured by special visits of the royal justices to try Crown pleas, but only in one exceptional case was there any reversion to the old expedient of municipal

[1] In looking up a reference to the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1281–92, my eye was caught on p. 217 by the appointment on 7 January, 1286, of commissioners to lay out a new town at Gotowre super Mare in the parish of Studland. Merchants and others taking plots and beginning to build were to enjoy the liberties of Lyme and Melcombe (which were those of London), and a charter to that effect was promised. The well-known charter to *Nova Villa*, granted on 10 May following (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, ii. 337), fulfilled this promise.

justices. It is significant of the abnormal position of Chester that in it alone of all the towns within the four seas Edward I allowed Crown pleas to be tried by the mayor and bailiffs.[1]

It was the position of the sheriff as the local financial agent of the Crown which made the towns eager to take perpetual leases of the royal revenue derived from them, even at rents so oppressive that their chief citizens were frequently mulcted for arrears or, as a last resort, the liberties of the town were temporarily taken into the hands of the Crown and the elective officers superseded by royal nominees. For the right of dealing directly with the exchequer they were willing to pay large sums down and to incur burdens which many of them found almost too heavy to be borne. It is striking evidence of their dislike of the sheriff. The nearer tyrant was the most to be feared.

The rapacious John was the great distributor of such leases, fee-farm grants they were called, and so, more than any other king, made himself responsible for the development of the greater boroughs as areas locally within but administratively outside the counties. The process was not even approximately complete, however, so long as the sheriff had the right of entry to serve writs of the exchequer for non-payment of the farm, or general judicial writs in cases arising in the town courts or those of the justices on circuit. It was not until Henry III had involved himself in a morass of debt and exhausted the patience of his barons that this further step was conceded, in order to raise the wind. In 1255–7 nearly a score of towns bought the privilege of return of writs, the right, that is, of receiving writs of the Crown and reporting their execution. The Crown still sent the writs to the sheriff, and so far the administrative unity of the shire was preserved, a point of some importance when parliamentary writs came later into question, but his officers were not allowed to do more than deliver the writs into the hands of the town bailiffs. The Crown, of course, retained the right of authorizing the sheriff to enter the town by special mandate, if its wishes could not be otherwise enforced. This expedient was resorted to when the citizens of Oxford and Cambridge showed themselves impotent to deal with the many doubtful characters who resorted to the Universities, we are told, 'for mischief and not for study'.[2]

Emancipation from the sheriff, though it had gone far, was not absolutely complete until a borough was constituted a county of itself with its own sheriffs receiving all writs direct from the Crown and its

[1] Charter of 1300 (Morris, *Chester in Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns*, 492).

[2] *Rot. Parl.* v. 425.

mayor acting as royal escheator. The only towns in this position before 1373, when Bristol got it, were Chester (in part) and London.

The virtual emancipation of the greater royal boroughs from the shires in which they lay was accompanied by the growth of a special town spirit and organization which seems to have been greatly stimulated by the communal movement on the Continent. Here again King John is in the front of the stage. It was he who in his factious days during Richard's absence authorized the setting up of a sworn commune in London, and as king he issued the first charter, also to London, which arranged for the election of a civic head with the new French title of mayor, whose first appearance had probably been coincident with the swearing of the commune. Scholars have differed as to the length of life of the London commune. Dr. Round, in 1899, held that the oath of the twenty-four in 1206–7 to do justice and take no bribe, which he found in a manuscript collection of London documents of this period,[1] implied a body derived from the 'vingt-quatre' of Rouen, and probably the parent of the later Common Council, as well as the practical existence of the commune so late as the middle of John's reign.

These conclusions were vigorously disputed by Miss Bateson[2] and M. Petit-Dutaillis,[3] who convinced themselves that the twenty-four in question were no others than the aldermen. So far as disproof of this identification goes to prove Dr. Round's view, it may be said to be established, for my friend Professor Unwin has called attention to the existence, in the printed Close Roll of the year in question, of a royal order, unknown to all the disputants, which is clearly a mandate to the barons of London to elect this very body of twenty-four.[4]

Some doubt may perhaps be felt whether this body, which was to be elected to remedy the misgovernment of the existing civic administration, was intended to be permanent, and it is not easy to meet Miss Bateson's point that their oath says nothing of consultative functions, while the oath of the later common councillor says nothing of anything else, for he had no judicial function. On the other hand, the order for the election of the twenty-four does mention financial as well as judicial duties. Moreover, this was just the period at which similar bodies were coming into existence in less prominent English boroughs.

When Ipswich, in 1200, received a charter granting to the burgesses the fee farm of the borough with the right to elect bailiffs and coroners,

[1] *Commune of London*, 237. [2] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xvii 507–8.

[3] *Studies Supplementary to Stubbs*, i. 99.

[4] *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, 13 Professor Unwin was mistaken in supposing that they were merely to report on the maladministration of the city.

they decided to elect twelve sworn chief portmen 'to govern and maintain the said borough and its liberties, to render its judgements and to ordain and do what should be done for the state and honour of the town', and they took an oath to that effect. As soon as the portmen were elected and sworn, they exacted from the assembled burgesses an oath upon the book to be loyal and assistant to their bailiffs, coroners, and twelve portmen. The unique record from which this is taken [1] may perhaps be mistaken in asserting the existence in 1200 of such bodies in all the other free boroughs of England, but the Ipswich case was clearly not an isolated one, and it is a new institution which is in question. The whole proceedings at Ipswich, of which the election of the portmen was only part, are strongly reminiscent of communal organization abroad. In the case before us the councillors bore an English name, but similar bodies appear not long after with the significant title of *jurats* or *jurés*, not merely in the Cinque Ports where, as Dr. Round has shown, there is abundant evidence of direct French influence, but in inland towns like Leicester. The oath of the twenty-four *jurés* of Leicester was almost identical with that of the twelve portmen of Ipswich. Add to this that before the end of John's reign certainly eight, and probably nine, of the most important English towns had instituted civic magistrates with the French name of mayor, a number largely increased under Henry III, and we come to the conclusion that the influence of foreign civic progress on England at the end of the twelfth century has probably not yet been fully appreciated.

We hear little of these sworn bodies of twelve or twenty-four during the thirteenth century, and there has consequently been a disposition to post-date the rise of town councils, but the character of the accessible records may very well conceal the facts. The Ipswich example shows that, except in such a special case as arose in London in 1207, the creation of such select bodies was left to the voluntary action of the burgesses, and so, save for an occasional appearance in preambles, their existence would hardly be suspected from royal charters.

In the personality of the mayor and bailiffs, who represented the communities in their relations with the central power, the Crown took a closer interest. Yet, if we may judge from the silence of many charters, express licences to appoint mayors and bailiffs were not always required. They had, however, commonly to be presented to the king or his representative for approval.

In days not yet remote the gild merchant was very generally held to have been the germ and vital principle of the constitution of the

[1] Gross, *Gild Merchant*, ii. 116 ff.

mediaeval borough. This error was dispelled once and for all by the late Charles Gross, whose epoch-making monograph appeared no longer ago than 1890. It was an error which illustrated the worst features of English historical amateurishness, unjustifiable generalizations from partial and misunderstood evidence, and incapacity to grasp a complicated problem as a whole. Those who held it managed to ignore the fact that towns of the first importance, London itself and Norwich, never had the institution which they regarded as the source of municipal structure. Cases like that of Leicester, where the personnel of the borough court and of the gild was apparently the same, and the town's business done in the latter was on the whole more important than that which came before the portmanmoot, seem to have hypnotized even so good a local antiquary as James Thompson. It is not strange that in a community predominantly commercial the newer and more flexible organization of the gild should sometimes have been preferred to a court which was primarily judicial and greatly tied by ancient precedent. In the words of Gross 'this fraternity was not the germ of the English municipality, but only a potent factor in its evolution'.

The thoroughness with which Gross executed his task is well illustrated by the fact that, though Ballard and others have ransacked all available sources for fresh charters during the last thirty years, only one town possessing a merchant gild has been added to his list. This is the borough of Brecon in the March of Wales. We may add that Gross was misled by Summers, the historian of Sunderland, into the attribution to that town of a gild to which it was not entitled. Henry III's 'new borough of Warnemouth' or Warenmouth in Northumberland disappeared so completely that by the end of the seventeenth century its unclaimed charter was calmly appropriated by the burgesses of Sunderland, an offshoot of Bishop Wearmouth in Durham. That their pretension should have been admitted by the royal courts, as it was, is evidence that the early history of the palatinate of Durham was as little understood by the judges of Charles II's time as the etymology of place-names. For, of course, a mediaeval charter to Sunderland would have been granted by the bishop and no eccentricity of sound-change could have converted Wearmouth into Warnemouth.

Leaving the royal towns, we pass to that great class of boroughs which stood on the lands of feudal lords, lay or ecclesiastical, and were mostly of their creation, for the Crown seldom granted a royal borough to a subject, however great. Outside the palatinates, the mediatized town was exceedingly rare.

Unlike the towns which had no lord but the king and in the great majority of cases boasted immemorial origin, the mesne or seignorial borough was, with rare exceptions, a post-Conquest creation which we owe to the Norman lord's recognition of the value of urban centres in the peaceful penetration of newly conquered districts, and as sources of larger income than could be raised from purely agricultural communities.

The second motive continued to operate long after the first had ceased to exist except in Wales and Ireland, where it was largely responsible for the creation of many boroughs, both by the Crown and by private lords. In Wales and Ireland the mediaeval boroughs were English outposts in an unfriendly country, as the first Norman boroughs in England had been.

As they were more artificial than the older boroughs, these new creations show a much greater uniformity in the size and rent of tenements or burgages, as the Normans called them, and of their appurtenances in the town fields and meadows. There was probably also more uniformity of legal custom. It is not surprising that their founders should have been apt to take as models for these new towns the little *bourgs* of their native Normandy. Yet until the beginning of this century their predominantly foreign origin had not been grasped. We owe its recognition and the discovery of the widespread influence of one small Norman *bourg* to the now famous articles of Miss Bateson on the 'Laws of Breteuil'.[1] An unfortunate confusion of *Britolium*, the Latinized form of Breteuil, with Bristol had misled even the very elect, and of the list of nearly fifty boroughs which Gross had entered in his table of affiliations as directly or indirectly drawing their institutions from Bristol, nearly half were at once struck out. This would have been a notable achievement, even if it had not been accompanied by a patient and elaborate attempt to recover the lost customs of Breteuil from the charters and custumals of her daughter towns on this side the Channel. This part of Miss Bateson's work has more recently been subjected to severe criticism by Dr. Hemmeon[2] with greater acumen than good taste, and more fully and courteously by Ballard.[3] It must be admitted that, as was natural enough in the first flush of so striking a reversal of preconceived ideas, Miss Bateson showed somewhat less than her usual caution in the work of reconstruction. She did not allow sufficiently for the intermixture of English with Norman customs in documents, few of which belong to the first age of Anglo-Norman borough-making.

[1] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv, xvi. [2] *Burgage Tenure in England*, 166 ff.
[3] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxx. 646 ff.

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The strength of this influence of the native English borough upon the new foundations is attested by the prevalence in some of them of that power of free or restricted bequest of land which was so striking a feature in the normal English borough, but did not exist in those of Normandy. The possibility of the inclusion of some custom which, though Norman was not Bretollian, does not seem to have been quite excluded by Miss Bateson, and there was a distinct element of danger in assuming the general identity of the customs of Verneuil, which have been preserved, with those of its neighbour Breteuil. The mere fact that King John granted the liberties of Verneuil to Breteuil in 1199 suggests that there must have been important differences. In drawing exactly the opposite conclusion from this grant, Miss Bateson seems unconsciously to have let the wish be father to the thought. It is not very safe to ascribe Verneuil customs to Breteuil unless there is strong support from other quarters. There is some reason to believe, therefore, that the reconstruction of the laws of Breteuil errs by excess, but Ballard himself inserted in his alternative draft exemption from the assize of *mort d'ancestor*, which was only devised in the reign of Henry II, on the strength of an obviously absurd legal argument of the thirteenth century. Nor did either of Miss Bateson's critics do adequate justice to the general merits of articles which revolutionized the study of mediaeval urban institutions in England.

In considering some features of this class of seignorial boroughs in which French influence played a very important, though not exclusive part, we may put aside the small number of cities and boroughs, Bath, Chester, Leicester, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and for a short time Exeter, which were mediatized by the Crown in favour of a member of the royal house or other great magnate. His interest was mainly financial and did not very seriously retard their growth. Leicester, it is true, had no fee-farm grant from her earls until long after most royal boroughs possessed it, but, as we have seen, the farm was a doubtful blessing except in so far as it prevented the financial intermeddling of the sheriff, and from that Leicester was already exempt. Chester had its own sheriffs before any other English city, and, as already stated, obtained from Edward I the unique privilege of having its Crown pleas tried by the mayor and bailiffs.

The boroughs which were founded by Anglo-Norman lords, with or without a written charter, were very numerous and varied greatly in size and importance. Local magnates anxious to increase the revenue from their estates were not always good judges of the economic possibilities of the sites at their disposal. Many such

foundations were still-born or failed to reach maturity. Of the twenty-three boroughs created in the poor and backward county of Lancaster between 1066 and 1372 with burgesses ranging in number from six up to one hundred and fifty or so, only four retained an established borough status at the end of the Middle Ages. Many had become extinct, though vestiges of burgage tenure in some cases kept their memory alive, the rest, such as Manchester and Warrington, had lost any germs of independence they had once possessed and lapsed into a sort of urban manors. As early as 1300, a lord of Warrington, alarmed at the growing aspirations of its borough court, had forced the townsmen to renounce it and take their cases to his manorial court.[1] Some of these extinct and dormant boroughs were revived by the industrial revolution, but at the present day seven have no higher rank than that of urban districts (or part thereof) and five are governed by parish councils.

Lancashire laboured under some special disadvantages, but economic difficulties and the dead hand of manorialism were operative everywhere, and arrested the progress of many a promising borough. The extent to which they were at the mercy of their lords is well illustrated by the story of Burford in Oxfordshire, to which Mr. R. H. Gretton has recently devoted an admirable monograph.[2] Under the lordship of great absentee earls, and afterwards of the Crown by escheat, the little borough attained a status which superficially seemed as well established as that of many a small royal borough, but the sale of the Crown rights early in the seventeenth century and the settlement of the purchaser in the town proved fatal to its liberties, already undermined by the absence of substantial trade.

A point which has been much discussed is the exact basis of the application of the term borough on the one hand to such large and ancient towns as Leicester or Northampton, not to speak of those which enjoyed the higher title of city, and on the other to petty manorial communities with a mere handful of burgesses. In other words, what was the lowest common denominator of a borough, or, as Maitland put it, 'the inferior limit of burgality'?

Some common features all boroughs had, which were essential but not distinctive. Every borough, large or small, possessed by prescription or by royal licence a market and a fair or fairs, but in England licences were freely granted to feudal lords for manors which they had no intention of converting into boroughs. I say in England because

[1] *V. C. H., Lancs.*, iii 319 where 'burgesses' is a slip for 'community' (*communitas*).

[2] *The Burford Records*, Oxford, 1920.

in Scotland such licences seem to have been confined to boroughs. In an article published posthumously on 'The Theory of the Scottish Borough', Ballard showed that the Scottish kings went on the principle of giving each borough, royal or baronial, the latter comparatively few, a complete monopoly of trade in a definite area, which was in some cases a whole shire.[1]

The court of the borough has been confidently claimed as a distinctive feature, and if all boroughs had possessed the full hundredal court which the greater towns enjoyed perhaps the claim might be allowed. But the usual court of a seignorial borough, even when called a portmoot, was the ordinary feudal court baron of the normal rural manor, and like it might or might not possess some small criminal jurisdiction. At Manchester this criminal jurisdiction (in cases of theft) was deliberately withheld and reserved for the lord's higher court. Any growth of independence was repressed by the presidency of the lord's steward or bailiff, and in the significant case of Warrington, where a long minority had enabled the burgesses to assert some freedom, the court was suppressed altogether. This seems to have been a court of burgesses only, but the courts in all boroughs were not so limited. At Bakewell, for instance, the freeholders of the manor were joined with the burgesses both in the court and in the privileges granted by the charter.

We are not justified, therefore, in regarding a court of burgesses as a universal criterion of a borough, and, even if it were, it would be rather a reflection of the essence of the institution than the essence itself. For it seems obvious that where there were burgages and burgesses there was in some sense a borough. It is the great merit of Dr. Hemmeon's book on *Burgage Tenure in England* that it emphasizes this tenure as the vital principle of the borough everywhere. It is true that he has to admit the presence of burgage tenure on ancient demesne in places where apparently there was no borough, at least in name, but there are exceptions to all rules, and the Middle Ages were full of them. Complication, cross-divisions, and blurred outlines, rather than logical categories and clear-cut definitions, were the characteristic features of their slow and painful process of evolution.

In the widest sense of the word, then, the mediaeval borough may be defined as an area in which the tenements were held by low quit-rents in lieu of all service, and were more or less freely transferable by sale, gift, and bequest, subject in many cases in varying degrees to the rights of the family and of the lord, where there was one. The latter sometimes exacted a transfer fee, more rarely reserved a right of pre-

[1] *Scott. Hist. Rev.* xiii 16 ff.

emption, and very generally prohibited alienation of burgages to certain categories of persons, chiefly religious houses and Jews.

Charters tended to stereotype custom in boroughs just at the time when the royal judges were developing the common law outside them. Among the peculiarities of borough law which resulted, the most striking was the not uncommon, though often restricted, right of bequest of land by will, which had been suppressed in the common law. Hence in some borough records we find a double system of probate, legacies of chattels being proved before the ecclesiastical authority, bequests of land and tenements before the mayor or bailiffs.[1] This right of devise of land was less usual in the Anglo-Norman boroughs than in the old English ones because their Norman models did not know it.

The wide use of the term 'borough', which has just been explained, could not efface the practical distinction between the old royal towns and the host of petty boroughs which had been called into existence since 1066. With the expansion of the national administration and the growth of Government demands upon the purses and services of the nation, this distinction was emphasized and a new and narrower use of 'borough' began to appear in official documents. It was only the larger boroughs as a rule which already in the late twelfth century sent a full delegation of twelve to meet the justices on circuit, and when, in 1252, boroughs were ordered to set a night watch of twelve men from Ascension Day to Michaelmas for the arrest of suspicious characters, and other vills one of four or six according to their size,[2] it is quite evident that the mass of small boroughs fell into the latter class. They would have found a watch of twelve an intolerable and an unnecessary burden. The twelve burgesses of Rochdale, who at one time formed the whole privileged community, would have got no sleep at night for four months in the year!

Our interpretation of the order of 1252 is borne out by the regulation of the same date that the musters of the local force afterwards known as the militia should be held in boroughs by the mayor or the bailiffs, if there was no mayor, and in other vills by new officers called constables.[3] Constables are henceforth a feature common to the rural township and the manorial borough.[4]

Thus, for practical reasons, official nomenclature drew a line between boroughs and non-boroughs on a basis of population and administrative equipment. This narrower sense of 'borough' was evidently in

[1] See, for instance, Ingleby, *The Red Book of King's Lynn*, i, *passim*.

[2] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, ed. Davis, 363.

[3] Ibid.

[4] In the larger towns they appear only as ward officers.

the mind of Edward I when in his early experiments in parliamentary representation he twice ordered the sheriffs to send up representatives of boroughs and *villae mercatoriae*.[1] The accepted translation of *villa mercatoria* by 'market town', which might mean the ordinary manor with a market but without burgage tenure, has concealed the fact that, though some of these were apparently included under this head, undoubted boroughs in the wider sense were also comprised. Indeed the sheriffs in 1275 drew the borough line so high as to exclude even Shaftesbury, which had appeared in Domesday Book as a borough. This is only comprehensible when it is realized that *villa mercatoria* really meant 'merchant town',[2] as *lex mercatoria* meant 'merchant law' and *gilda mercatoria* 'merchant gild'. It implied a town with the larger trade transacted in fairs of general resort rather than in the weekly market frequented chiefly by local buyers and sellers. 'Fair law' was almost a synonym for the 'law merchant'.[3]

Unfortunately for clearness, Edward dropped this distinction between borough and merchant-town after 1283. From that date the parliamentary writs to the sheriffs mentioned boroughs only. This did not, however, bring about a reduction in the number of representatives. On the contrary, there was a large increase in the parliament of 1295 which continued on the whole for some time. In view of the new principle of taxing boroughs at a higher rate than the counties, it was not the interest of the Crown to limit their numbers, and this at least was well understood by the sheriffs, upon whom it fell to decide which towns in their counties were boroughs. But they were sadly confused by the king's wide use of 'borough' in the writs, and the Pipe Rolls show that they described certain parliamentary boroughs as *villae mercatorum*. Indeed, the sheriff of Cornwall, in 1295, had so lost his bearings as to enter four undoubted boroughs as merchant-towns.[4] There was some excuse, therefore, for those contradictory accounts in their returns of the number of boroughs in their shires which have rather shocked modern historians. In the evident hope of clearing up the confusion, the Government in 1316 called on the sheriffs to make a special return of all boroughs and vills in their bailliwicks, but the result can have given little satisfaction, for uniformity is certainly not the strong point of the reports which are known to us as the *Nomina Villarum*.[5] There was

[1] In 1275 and 1283. [2] It was sometimes written *villa mercatorum*.

[3] Fleta explained *lex mercatoria* as *ius nundinarum*.

[4] *Parl. Writs*, i. 35.

[5] Printed, so far as they survive, in *Feudal Aids* (P. R. O.).

a tendency, it is true, in a number of counties, to revert to the stricter interpretation of borough which was official under Henry III, but there were conspicuous exceptions, the most glaring being that of Devonshire, where the sheriff returned twenty boroughs, most of which were seignorial. In the long run, the canon of parliamentary boroughs was settled from below by the inability or unwillingness of the weaker towns to bear the burden of sending representatives, and not by any neat scheme imposed from above.

In what has been said, I have attempted, very imperfectly, I fear, to indicate in the first place the main results of the remarkable outburst of investigation of our early municipal history which began with Gross's work on the gild merchant and was unhappily so soon cut short, and secondly to sketch some of the conclusions to which I have been led in the course of the pious task of completing and editing Ballard's collections for a volume of thirteenth-century charters. The whole of the charters of the formative period will soon be accessible to students. The silence of charters, however, on many important aspects of urban development is profound. Much spade-work remains to be done in the unpublished records of some of our oldest towns before the ground is clear for the future historian of municipal growth in England. To trace that growth from the advent of the town-hating Angles and Saxons down to these latter days, when five-sixths of the population of Great Britain are massed upon pavements, is a task worthy of the best powers of an historian of institutions.

ANNUAL ITALIAN LECTURE

SOME ASPECTS OF THE GENIUS OF BOCCACCIO

By EDWARD HUTTON

Read May 24, 1922

It is my privilege to consider with you this afternoon some aspects of the genius of Giovanni Boccaccio, of his genuis as shown and expressed quite as much in the man himself as in his work. Such a subject, I hope, will not come amiss; for the Annual Italian Lecture last year was concerned, as you will remember, with 'Dante the Poet' and it is surely not unfitting, therefore, that this year we should consider Boccaccio, who was not only the first biographer of Dante and the first public commentator upon the *Divine Comedy*, but the first great Italian prose writer, even as Dante was the first great Italian poet. Moreover, his most famous book, the *Decameron* has had at least as great an influence upon European Literature—and not least upon English Literature—as the *Divine Comedy*, and its author therefore has a great claim upon our respect and, as I hope to show, upon our affection.

Now in any consideration of Boccaccio, here in England especially, I think we ought first to seize this fact in regard to him: namely, that he wrote a great many books beside the *Decameron*: that his really immense services to Literature and to Humanism are by no means summed up in that ever-living book.

For Boccaccio was not only the great creative artist who finally produced that vast Human Comedy the Decameron, he was also a great and heroic soldier in the cause of Humanism, of the Revival of Learning. Having spent half his life in the writing not of the *Decameron* alone, but of eight or nine original works in the Tuscan—the *Filocolo*, the *Filostrato*, the *Teseide*, the *Ameto*, the *Amorosa Visione*, the *Fiammetta*, the *Ninfale Fiesolano* and the *Corbaccio*, to say nothing of his Sonnets and his *Vita di Dante*, the earliest biography of the poet; he turned, still with an immense enthusiasm and energy, to the spade-work of learning, and not only produced in his Latin works books of reference and information and criticism upon which learning at that time came largely to depend, but took into his house a vagabond and a rogue, and by his side day after day, month after month, with long endeavour, self sacrifice and love, often in tears, often weary, but never losing heart, procured for us the first translation of Homer, and once more put us in possession of the greatest of all epic poems.

It is only prejudice and perhaps ignorance that can dismiss such a man as a mere purveyor of doubtful stories: nor indeed can Boccaccio, though he had done nothing but write the *Decameron* be reasonably regarded in such a light. The work in which Chaucer, Sidney, Shakespeare, Dryden, Keats, and Tennyson—to name only a few among our poets—read with delight, finding there what they wanted, is necessarily something living and splendid, and is still able to entrance and to influence the noblest minds of our race.

Now in the life of this great and heroic man there were two decisive experiences which influenced and even directed the whole of his work. The two events were his meeting with, and love for Fiammetta—Maria d'Aquino that is, the bastard daughter of King Robert of Naples—and his meeting with and friendship for Petrarch.

He met Fiammetta at the age of twenty-three in 1336, and for twelve years at least, till she died in the Black Death of 1348, under the influence of his love for her, he is a great imaginative artist. It was for her he wrote all his works, among them the first psychological novel in the Italian language.

A period of bitterness and disillusion follows which had long been preparing and which gives us that amazingly bitter and malicious work *Il Corbaccio.* To escape this he turns to religion and to the study of Dante; and then to save himself, perhaps from a sort of melancholy, under the influence of his friend Petrarch, he throws himself with renewed energy into scholarship, into the re-discovery and revival of the learning of antiquity.

His legend, as the French say, has been built up by piecing together the various accounts he himself gives of his love story, chiefly in the *Filocolo*, the *Ameto* and the *Fiammetta.* Thus, we learn that he first met Fiammetta in Naples in the Church of San Lorenzo of the Franciscans on a certain Holy Saturday—as scholarship has now practically decided in the year 1336. He had gone to Mass it seems about ten o'clock in the morning, the fashionable hour of the day, rather to see the people than to attend the service, and there amid that great throng of all sorts and conditions of men, he first caught sight of the woman who was so profoundly to influence his life and shape his work.

The love story thus begun, if we interpret his own accounts aright, may be divided into four periods. The first of these ends twelve days after the first meeting and is the period of uncertainty. The second is that in which he is accepted as a courtier, as it were on trial. The third begins when his lady, moved by long service and repeated proofs of devotion, returns his love; it is the period of 'dolce signoria' and

lasts 135 days, at the end of which she gives herself to him and they are happy through a whole summer. The fourth begins with jealousy and ends with open rupture, the cause of which he always declares he never knew; his betrayal and desertion by Fiammetta. His love affair was at an end and was never renewed; but it fills his whole life and inspires every book he wrote before the *Ninfale Fiesolano* and the *Decameron.*

He came back into the delicate and strong Florentine country really to lose himself in work. But during his love affair with Fiammetta in Naples he had already begun three works and probably finished two of them: the *Filocolo*, the *Filostrato* and the *Teseide.*

His state of mind is visible in his work which is so extraordinarily personal. A single thought seems to fill his mind: he had loved a princess and had been loved in return; she had forsaken him; but she remained in spite of everything the lode-star of his life. He writes really of nothing else but this. Full of her he sets himself to enchant her with stories, to glorify her, to tell over and over again his own story.

It was the story of Florio and Biancofiore which had charmed Fiammetta at first hearing, when Giovanni told it to her in the convent parlour at Sant' Arcangelo a Baiano, and it is round this tale that the *Filocolo* is written. As he tells us himself in the first page this was the first book he made to please her. As we have it it is the longest of his works after the *Decameron,* and the weakest of all. Boccaccio seems to have felt this for he abandoned the work upon it in Naples at the end of the third book—the work consists of seven—either for this cause or because his love affair had changed in character and he felt the need of expressing what he was suffering. What this was is very obvious to us in his next work the *Filostrato* in which he tells, using ottava rima for the first time in Italian literature, the story of Troilus and Cressida.

'You are gone suddenly to Samnium' he writes in the dedication to Fiammetta 'and . . . I have sought in the old histories what personage I might choose as messenger of my secret and unhappy love, and I have found Troilus son of Priam who loved Criseyde. His miseries are my history. I have sung them in light rhymes and in my own Tuscan, and so when you read the lamentations of Troilus and his sorrow at the departure of his love, you shall know my tears, my sighs, my agonies, and if I vaunt the beauties and the charms of Criseyde you will know that I dream of yours.' Well, the intention of the poem is just that. It is an expression of his love. He is tremendously interested in what he has suffered; he wishes her to know of it, he is eager to tell of his experiences, his pains and joys. The story is the

merest excuse, a means of self-expression. And yet in its exquisite beauty of sentiment and verse it is one of the loveliest and most spontaneous of his works. One too which has a special interest for us, for Chaucer drew upon it very largely for his Troilus; no less than 2700 lines, nearly half the Italian poem being literally translated by Chaucer into English. This is about a third of Chaucer's poem.

If we had any doubt as to Boccaccio's state of mind, his next work the *Teseide* would make it clear to us. It is full of the agonies of his jealousy. It is prefaced by a letter to Fiammetta in which he tells her he has written this poem to please her 'thinking of past joy in present misery.' As for the content it will be enough here to say that it provided Chaucer with his 'Knight's Tale' in the *Canterbury Tales.* It is the second of Boccaccio's epic poems. It was begun in the shadow of Virgil's tomb, and to some extent was modelled upon the Aeneid, though Boccaccio borrowed too from Statius and from the *Roman de Thêbes.* It is written like the Aeneid in twelve books and has precisely the same number of lines as Virgil's great poem, (9896). It is, therefore, about twice as long as the *Filostrato.*

Had he some idea of winning back her love by this stupendous manuscript? How charming and how naive, how like Giovanni too; but how absurd to dream of thus influencing a woman. Did she ever read these nine thousand odd verses? Chaucer read it, however, and translated it or rather paraphrased it for the Knight's Tale—first of the *Canterbury Tales.*

In Naples, in the shadow of Virgil's tomb, in a classic country still full of that old renown, Boccaccio had followed classic models, had begun two epics and a romance in the manner of Apuleius; but in Tuscany the country of Dante and Petrarch he came under the influence of different work, and we find him writing a sort of Dantesque allegory of prose scattered with verses. The action of the *Ameto* takes place in the country about Florence, under the hills of Fiesole in the woods there above Corbignano where his father had a villa and podere. The book looks backward and forward like the *Filocolo.* It is as autobiographical and more self-revealing than that romance, and we seem to gather that he has still some hope of winning back Fiammetta. She indeed appears as Hope and he as Despair in the most significant part of the work, where we see a reunion of seven nymphs and shepherds disguised as the cardinal and theological virtues and their affinities, to discuss questions of love and to tell stories. Here again, as in a scene, the *Questioni d'Amore* of the second part of the *Filocolo*, is the scheme of the *Decameron* in the making.

There follows the *Amorosa Visione* which was almost certainly begun immediately after the *Ameto*. It recalls the happier time of his love, and Fiammetta is the very soul of the poem which is dedicated to her in an acrostic to be solved by reading the initial letters of the first verse of each terzina, the result being two sonnets and a ballata. The name Madonna Maria is formed by the initials of the twelfth to the twenty-second terzina of Capitolo X, and the name 'Fiamma' by those of the twenty-fifth to the thirty-first of Capitolo XIII. The last three lines of the first sonnet thus obtained read: 'Dear Fiamma for whom my heart burns he who sends you this Vision is Giovanni di Boccaccio da Certaldo.'

This poem, as the title proclaims, is a vision—a vision which Love discovers to the poet-lover. Therein he sees four Triumphs—of Wisdom, of Fame, of Love and of Fortune. These Trionfi, the first of the kind in Italian literature, are said to have been written before the more famous Trionfi of Petrarch; they owe nothing to Petrarch, but the whole poem shows us that Boccaccio was already studying the *Divine Comedy* very closely. Written in the same form of verse as Dante's great work, the *Amorosa Visione* derives from it too, in all probability, the precision of its construction. It consists of fifty capitoli, each composed of twenty-nine terzine and a verse of chiusa, that is of eighty-eight verses in each.

Let us now turn to the *Fiammetta* for a moment: the last work directly concerned with his passion for Maria d'Aquino. The action is very simple, but it is remarkable in this. Here we have the love story of Boccaccio told by Fiammetta as though it were her autobiography. It is, in fact, the first psychological novel of Europe. And in some sort it is his revenge upon her: for here it is she who is deserted not he. It is she who weeps and Giovanni who laughs or is indifferent.

As a work of art the *Fiammetta* is the best thing Boccaccio has done up to this time. The psychology is subtle and full of insight, but not so dramatic nor indeed so profound as in the *Filostrato*. We see Fiammetta's continual doubts of herself for he gives her his gift of introspection. We see her soul tormented as his had been, the fury of jealousy that had been his. The work is absolutely original—the crowning work of his youth. And in a sense it freed him. He writes no more of his love story. He turns away from all that misery and writes a delicious idyll the *Ninfale Fiesolano*, the most mature of his poems. He shows himself there to be a poet indeed, and though the theme is still love—the loves of Affrico and Mensola, two small streams that flowed by his father's house at

Corbignano, all the bitterness of that theme for him is lost in music. He describes with the greatest affection and enthusiasm this country he loved best between the village of Settignano and Fiesole, north and east of Florence, as though he can never forget the lines of just those hills, the shadows on the woods there, the darkness of the cypresses over the olives. This is the third poem he wrote in ottave, a form of which he is certainly the first real exponent.

All that bright world about Florence among the woods of Vincigliata under Fiesole and the olive gardens and podere of Corbignano, on the banks of Affrico and Mensola, so full of voices for Boccaccio, where his earliest years had been spent, as we may think, and which he celebrates and expresses so exquisitely in the *Ninfale*, was presently silenced by the most appalling calamity that has perhaps ever befallen Europe—the Black Death of 1348. Three out of every five persons died in Florence. The grass grew in the streets. 'So completely were all obligations of blood and of affection forgotten,' Filippo Villani tells us, 'that men left their nearest and dearest to die alone rather than incur the dangers of infection.' People said the end of the world had come. In a sense they were right. It was the end of the Middle Age.

In Florence there perished among the rest Giovanni Villani the great chronicler, and Bice the second wife of Boccaccio. In Naples it seems certain that Fiammetta died.

We do not know where Boccaccio was at this time. He was not in Florence. Did he perhaps close Fiammetta's eyes and bear her to the grave? If he did he was soon recalled to Florence by his father's death. And there, after that vengeance whether of God or of outraged nature in which all those he loved or cared for had been lost to him, he set himself to put in order that great Human Comedy which has given him immortality.

In the very opening page of the *Decameron*, we see that even after writing six works in prose and verse about her, even now she is dead he cannot forget Fiammetta. The great Proem opens with her unspoken name and closes too in the same fashion. Moreover, of those seven ladies and four youths who are the protagonists of the *Decameron*, it is only she named Fiammetta who lives. The others are without any personality at all, mere lay figures. As for Boccaccio himself you will scarcely find him in all the hundred tales of the *Decameron*.

It is strange that the work which best represents his genius, his humour and wide tolerance and love of mankind, should in this be so opposite to all his other works in the vulgar tongue, which are

inextricably involved with his own personal affairs, his view of things, his love, his contempt, his hatred.

He speaks to us there once or twice, but always outside the stories, and his whole treatment of the various and infinite plots, incidents, and characters of his great work is as impersonal as life itself.

The *Decameron* is an absolute work of art, as 'detached' as a play by Shakespeare or a portrait by Velasquez. The scheme is formal and immutable, a miracle of design in which almost everything can be expressed. To compare it with the plan of the *Arabian Nights* is to demonstrate its superiority. There you have a sleepless king, to whom a woman tells a thousand and one stories in order to save her life which this same king would have taken. You have, then, but two protagonists and an anxiety which touches but one of them, the fear of death on the part of the woman, soon forgotten in the excitement of the stories. In the *Decameron*, on the other hand, you have ten protagonists, three youths and seven ladies, and the horror which is designed to set off the stories is an universal pestilence which has already half depopulated the city of Florence, and from which they are fled away to the exquisite seclusion and delight of a great villa-garden on the slopes under Fiesole, where they spend their time in telling the stories that have made this work immortal.

Such is the incomparable design which the *Decameron* fills, beside which the mere haphazard telling of *The Hundred Merry Tales* seems barbarous, the setting of *The Thousand and One Nights* inadequate. That Boccaccio's design has indeed ever been bettered might well be denied, but in *The Canterbury Tales* Chaucer certainly equalled it. If the occasion there is not so dramatic, nor the surroundings at once so poignant and so beautiful, the pilgrimage progresses with the tales and allows of such a dramatic entry as that of the Canon and the Canon's yeoman at Boughton-under-Blee. That entry was most fitting and opportune, right in every way, and though there is no inherent reason why the *Decameron* itself should not have been similarly broken in upon, the very stillness of that garden in the sunshine would have made any such interruption less acceptable.[1] The true weakness of the plan of the *Decameron* in comparison with that of *The Canterbury Tales* is not a weakness of design but of character. Each of Chaucer's pilgrims is a complete human being; they all live for us more vividly than any other folk, real or imagined, of the fourteenth century in England, and each is different from the others

[1] The only interruption of the *Decameron*, if so it can be called is the introduction of Tindaro and Licisca at the beginning of the sixth day. The diversion, however, has very little consequence.

a perfect human character and personality. But in the protagonists of the *Decameron* it is not so. There is nothing, or almost nothing, to choose between them. Lauretta is not different from Filomena, and may even be confused with Dioneo or Filostrato. We know nothing of them; they are without any character or personality, and indeed the only one of them all who stands out in any way is she called Fiammetta, and that because she never appears but Boccaccio intervenes to tell us something of her or to describe her beauty.

In Chaucer the tales often weary us, but the tellers never do; in Boccaccio the tales never weary us, but the tellers always do. The tales never weary us. The *Decameron* is a world in itself, and its effect upon us who read it is the effect of life which includes, for its own good, things moral and immoral. The book has the variety of the world, and is full of an infinity of people, who represent for us the fourteenth century in Italy, in all its fullness, almost. It deals with man as life does, never taking him very seriously, or without a certain indifference, a certain irony and laughter. Yet it is full too of a love of courtesy, of luck, of all sorts of adventures, both gallant and sad. In details, at any rate, it is true and realistic, crammed with observations of those customs and types which made up the life of the time. It is dramatic, ironic, comic, tragic, philosophic, and even lyrical; full of indulgence for human error, an absolutely human book beyond any work of Dante's or Petrarch's or Froissart's. Even Chaucer is not so complete in his humanism, his love of all sorts and conditions of men. Perfect in construction and in freedom, each of these tales is in some sort a living part of life, and a criticism of it. And almost any one could be treated by a modern writer in his own way, and remain fundamentally the same and fundamentally true. What immorality there is, is rather owing to the French sources of some of the tales, than to any invention on the part of Boccaccio, who softened much of their original grossness, and later came to deplore what remained.

But it is in its extraordinary variety of contents and character that the *Decameron* is chiefly remarkable. We are involved in a multitude of adventures, are introduced to innumerable people of every class, and each class shows us its most characteristic qualities. Yet such is Boccaccio's art, the stories were not originally, or even as they are, ostensibly studies of character at all but rather anecdotes, tales of adventure, stories of illicit love, good stories about the Friars and the clergy, and women, told for amusement because they are full of laughter or are witty, or contain a brief and ready reply with which one has rebuked another or saved himself from danger.

Whatever they may be, and they are often of the best, of the most universal, they are not, for the real lover of the *Decameron*, the true reason why he goes to it always with the certainty of a new joy. The book is full of people, of living people—that is the secret of its immortality. Fra Cipolla, whom I especially love, Celandrino whom I seem always to have known, poor Monna Tezza his wife whom at last he so outrageously gives away, Griselda, Cisti the Florentine baker, the joyous Madonna Filippa or Monna Belcolore should be as dear to us as any character in any book not by Shakespeare himself. They live for ever. And yet it must be confessed that while the book is a mirror of the world, and doubtless as true to the life of its time as any book that was ever written, it lacks a certain idealism, a certain moral sense, which even from a purely aesthetic point of view would have given a balance, a sense of proportion to the book which it has sometimes seemed to me it lacks.

But after all when we compare it even with the *Divine Comedy*, it holds its own because of its humanity, and we may claim for it that it is the greatest as it is the first prose work in the Tuscan tongue.

With the *Decameron*, Boccaccio's work as a creative artist comes to an end. It is true that we have that mysterious and savage satire the *Corbaccio*, begun immediately after the *Decameron* was finished, that is to say, about 1353; but the passion which had given him expression, inspired everything he had done and made him a great creative artist has there turned sour—sneers, as it were, at itself, and we get that wild invective, laughable in its wildness and unmeasured malice, against Woman which characterizes it. It was written he said to open the eyes of the young to the horror of woman. From this time—he was more than forty years old—he ceases to be a creative artist. Fiammetta is dead, and what henceforth fills his life is friendship—friendship for Petrarch, which with all its comfort left him still with that vain shadow, that emptiness in his heart—

'The grief which I have borne since she is dead.'

But before he gave himself wholly to his friend he turned for consolation to the study of his great predecessor Dante. As soon as the *Corbaccio* is finished we find him at work on the *Vita di Dante*, the earliest life of the poet, and it is coloured with his misery.

About the same time he seems to have begun to copy the *Divine Comedy* with his own hand in order to send it to Petrarch, and we may understand perhaps how great a pioneer he was in the appreciation of Dante when we learn, from this fact, that Petrarch had no copy in his library. Petrarch had indeed ceased to be interested in

Italian literature; and it is significant that in the very year in which Boccaccio presents him with this copy he had himself made for him of Dante's poem, he obtained for Boccaccio a manuscript of Homer.

Even in his youth Boccaccio had regarded Petrarch with an enthusiasm and an unenvying modesty, that, lasting as it did his whole life long, ripening as it did into one of the greatest friendships in the history of Letters, was perhaps the most beautiful trait in his character. It always seemed to him an unmerited grace that one who was sought out by Popes and Princes, whose fame filled the universe, should care to be his friend; and this wonder, this admiration remained with him till death. He never writes Petrarch's name without, in his enthusiasm, adding to it some flattering epithet. He calls him his 'illustrious and sublime master', his 'father and lord', 'a poet who is rather of the company of the ancients than of this modern world', 'a man descended from heaven to restore to Poetry her Throne', the 'marvel and glory' of his time. He had known and loved his work as he says for many years, but it seems he had never dared to approach him though opportunities had not been lacking, till Petrarch came to Florence in the autumn of 1350 on his way to win the Indulgence of the Jubilee in Rome. This is the beginning of that friendship which is almost without precedent or imitation in the history of Literature.

In the following spring, the spring of 1351, Boccaccio in the name of Florence went to Padua to recall Petrarch from exile, to offer him a chair in the new university of his native city and to restore him the goods confiscated from his father. In Padua he was Petrarch's guest for some days; he was a witness of Petrarch's enthusiasm for 'sacred studies', and it might seem that ever since this visit he had come under Petrarch's influence, and in intellectual matters at any rate, had been very largely swayed by him. More and more, in accordance with the unfortunate doctrine of his master, we see him, after 1355, giving up all work in the vernacular and setting all his energy on work in the Latin tongue, in the study of antiquity and the acquirement of learning. From a creative writer of splendid genius he became a scholar, a scholar of vast reading but of mediocre achievement. He seems to have read without ceasing the works of antiquity, assimilating as he read. His learning, such as it was, became prodigious, immense, and in a sense universal; and little by little, he seems to have gathered his notes into the volumes we know as: *De Montibus, Sylvis, Fontibus*, &c., a sort of Dictionary of Geography; the *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, in nine books, which deals with the vanity of Human affairs from Adam to his own time; the *De*

Claris Mulieribus which begins with Eve and comes down to Giovanna Queen of Naples, and the *De Genealogiis Deorum* in fifteen books, a cyclopaedia of learning concerning mythology, and a defence of poetry and poets. In all these works it must be admitted that we see Boccaccio as Petrarch's disciple, a disciple who lagged very far behind his master.

As a creative artist, as the author, to name only the best, of the *Fiammetta*, the *Ninfale Fiesolano* and the *Decameron*, Boccaccio was the master of a world Petrarch could not enter; he takes his place with Dante and Chaucer and Shakespeare, and indeed save Dante no other writer in the Italian tongue can be compared with him.

It is seldom, however, that a great creative artist is also a great scholar, for the very energy and virility and restless impatience which have in some sort enabled him to create living men and women prevent him in his work as a student, as an historian pure and simple, in short as a scholar. So it is with Boccaccio. The author of the Latin works is not only inferior to the author of the *Fiammetta* and the *Decameron*, he is the follower and somewhat disappointing pupil of Petrarch, who contrives to show at every step his inferiority to his master:—as a student, as a man of culture in a sense of the reality of history, in a due sense of the proportion of things. For Petrarch antiquity was a practical school of life. Convinced of the superiority of his spirit, he possessed himself of what he read and assimilated what he wanted. Boccaccio, on the other hand, remains entirely outside, and can claim little merit as a scholar but that of industry. As a student he is a mere compiler. His continual ambition is to extend his knowledge; but Petrarch dreams only of making his more profound. He too, in reading the ancients, has collected an incalculable number of extracts, but after putting them in order from various points of view he has only begun; he proceeds to draw from them his own works.

In all these things and in many others Boccaccio is little more than Petrarch's disciple, following him without discrimination, more violent in his abuse, more extreme in his advocacy of those things, or professions, or ideas or people whom his master had come to consider as good, reasonable, or unreasonable. And so it is not in his Latin works, all of which are vast dictionaries of learning and legend, that we shall find the man of genius that dazzles us in the *Decameron*. Yet these works must not be too much depreciated. They rendered great service, their very great usefulness is witnessed by their enormous popularity and the large number of editions through which they have passed. They were the text-books of the early Renaissance, and we

owe Boccaccio, as one of the great leaders of that movement, all the gratitude we can give him; all the more that the work he began has been so fruitful that we can scarcely tolerate the works that guided its first steps.

But the most moving event in this story of the Revival of Learning in its relation to Boccaccio and to Petrarch offers us what is I think an unmatched example of the pathos of friendship and the beauty of Letters.

In 1353 Petrarch had met in Avignon an ambassador of the Emperor at Constantinople, and in the following year this man Nicolas Sigeros had sent him as a gift the Greek text of the Iliad and the Odyssey. The poet received them with an enthusiastic letter of thanks, at the same time confessing his insufficiency as a Hellenist.

Some years later in the winter of 1358–9, during a sojourn at Padua, there was introduced to Petrarch a certain Leon Pilatus who gave himself out for a Greek, and the poet seized the opportunity to get a translation of a part of his MS. of Homer. In the spring, however, he went to Milan where Boccaccio 'troubled in spirit' and immersed in the study of Dante visited him, and it is probable that Leon Pilatus was of the company. It is certain that Petrarch spoke of him, and that Boccaccio invited him to visit him. That invitation was accepted, and before the end of the year we see Pilatus established in Florence.

This man who makes such a bizarre figure in Boccaccio's life seems to have belonged to that numerous race of adventurers half Greek, half Calabrian, needy, unscrupulous, casual and avaricious, who ceaselessly wandered about Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seeking Fortune. It might seem strange that such an one should have played the part of a teacher and professor; but he certainly was not particular, and Petrarch and Boccaccio were compelled to put up with what they could get. Pilatus, however, seems to have wearied and disgusted Petrarch; it was Boccaccio, more gentle and more heroic, who devoted himself to him for the sake of learning. Having persuaded Pilatus to follow him to Florence he caused a Chair of Greek to be given him in the university, and for almost four years imposed on himself the society of this disagreeable barbarian. For as it seems he was nothing else, his one claim on the attention of Petrarch and Boccaccio being that he could, or said he could, speak Greek. We know very little about him. He boasted that he was born in Greece, but later owned that he was a Calabrian. His appearance according to Boccaccio and Petrarch had something repellant about it. His crabbed countenance was covered with

bristles of black hair, an untended beard completing the effect, and his ragged mantle only half covered his dirty person. Nor were his manners more refined than his physique; while his character seems to have been particularly disagreeable, sombre, capricious, and surly. Petrarch confesses that he had given up trying to civilize this rustic, this 'magna bellua.'

Such was Leon Pilatus; but for the love of Greek Boccaccio pardoned everything, and he and two or three friends, the only persons in Florence indeed able to do so, followed the lectures of this improvised professor. But it was above all in admitting this creature to his house that Boccaccio appears most heroic. There he submitted him to long interviews and interminable seances in order that he might accomplish the long task of a complete translation of Homer.

Afar off Petrarch associated himself with this work, and tried to direct it with wise counsels, that Leon Pilatus was doubtless too little of a scholar to understand, and too ignorant to follow blindly. In fact, but for Petrarch they would have lacked the text itself.

From a letter of Petrarch's we may gather how eagerly Boccaccio had turned to this new labour. Was it in order to escape from himself? It may be that in this new enthusiasm he found, for a time at any rate, a certain consolation; but the crisis long threatened was not long delayed. In those long months while the wretched Pilatus was with him, however, he was able for a time to ward off the danger; and realizing this the comedy of that friendship is almost pathetic.

We seem to see him eagerly drinking in the words that fell from the surly Pilatus, pressing him with questions, taking note of all and trying to understand everything—even what his master himself could not understand. As for that master, flattered and puffed up by the confidence that Boccaccio seems to have felt in him, he no doubt replied to all his questionings in the tone of a man who knew perfectly what he was talking about and had nothing to fear or to hide. Sometimes no doubt the adventurer showed itself. Weary and bored by the incessant work, his sullen humour exasperated by the sedentary life, Pilatus would demand his liberty. Then Boccaccio would have to arm himself with all his patience, and by sweetness and gentleness and good humour would at last persuade the wretched man to remain a little longer with him.

It was in the midst of this difficult work with Pilatus that his trouble descended upon him with a supernatural force as he thought. He received a message from a dying saint—a message that warned him of his approaching end and certain damnation unless he should

repent. When exactly this message reached him we do not know. It may well have been in the end of 1361, but it was more probably in the first months of 1362. He was in any case in no fit state to meet the blow.

In those days when political crises followed hard on one another and the very aspect of a city might change in the course of a few years Boccaccio's youth must then have seemed infinitely far away. While in very many ways he is the pioneer of the Renaissance, in his heart there lingered yet something, if only a shadow, of the fear of joy. All his joys had been adventures on which he scarcely dared to enter, and he was so perfectly of his own time as to 'repent him of his past life'. For a nature like that of Boccaccio was capable only of enthusiasm. He had loved Fiammetta to distraction; when Fiammetta died, the very centre of his world was shaken; he could not follow her through Hell and Purgatory into the meadows of Paradise as Dante had followed Beatrice; he was of the modern world.

Having the religious sense he accused himself of sin as St. Paul had done, as St. John of the Cross was to do, with an astonishing eccentricity, an exaggeration which lost sight of the truth, in a profound self-humiliation. He too had found it difficult 'to keep in the right way amid the Temptations of the world'. And then suddenly, it seems on the threshold of old age, poor and alone he thought to love God with the same enthusiasm with which he had loved life. He was not capable of it; his whole past rose up to deny him this impassioned consolation, and his 'spirit was troubled' as the wise and steadfast eyes of Petrarch had seen.

It was in the midst of this disease, to escape from which as we may think he had so eagerly thrown himself into the translation of Homer with Pilatus that a certain Gioacchino Ciani sought him out to warn him, as he intended to warn Petrarch, of the nearness of death. In doing this the monk, for he was a Carthusian, was but obeying the dying commands of the Beato Pietro Petrini, a Sienese who had seen on his death-bed the present, the past, and the future. Already driven towards a new life—a life which under the direction of the Church he was told would be without the consolations of literature—at the sudden intervention as it seemed of heaven, Boccaccio did the wisest thing of his whole life, he asked for the advice of Petrarch.

The letter which Petrarch wrote him takes its rank among the noblest of his writings and is indeed one of the most beautiful letters ever written.

'Your letter', he says—'Your letter, my brother, has filled me with an extraordinary trouble. In reading it I became the prey of a great

astonishment and also of a great chagrin: after reading it both the one and the other have disappeared. How could I read without weeping the story of your tears and of your approaching death, being totally ignorant of the facts and only paying attention to the words? But at last, when I had turned and fixed my thoughts on the thing itself, the state of my soul changed altogether, and both astonishment and chagrin fled away. . . You tell me that this holy man had a vision of our Lord, and so was able to discern all truth—a great sight for mortal eyes to see. Great indeed I agree with you, if genuine; but how often have we not known this tale of a vision made a cloak for an imposture? And having visited you, this messenger proposed I understand to go to Naples, thence to Gaul and Britain, and so to me. Well, when he comes I will examine him closely;—his looks, his demeanour, his behaviour under questioning, and so forth shall help me to judge of his truthfulness. And the holy man on his death-bed saw us two and a few others to whom he had a secret message, which he charged this visitor of yours to give us; so, if I understand you rightly, runs the story. Well, the message to you is twofold; you have not long to live, and you must give up poetry. Hence your trouble, which I made my own while reading your letter, but which I put away from me on thinking it over, as you will do also; for if you will only give heed to me, or rather to your own natural good sense, you will see that you have been distressing yourself about a thing that should have pleased you. Now if this message is really from our Lord it must be pure truth. But is it from our Lord? Or has its real author used our Lord's name to give weight to his own saying? I grant you the frequency of death-bed prophecies; the histories of Greece and Rome are full of instances; but even though we allow that these old stories and your monitor's present tale are all true, still what is there to distress you? What is new in all this? You knew without his telling you that you could not have a very long space of life before you. And is not our life here labour and sorrow, and is not its chief merit that it is the road to a better? . . . Ah! but you have come to old age, says your monitor. Death cannot be far off. Look to your soul. Well, I grant you that scholarship may be an unreasonable and bitter pursuit for the old, if they take it up then for the first time; but if you and your scholarship have grown old together, 'tis the pleasantest of comforts. Forsake the Muses, says he: many things that grace a lad are a disgrace to an old man; wit and the senses fail you. Nay, I answer, when he bids you pluck sin from your heart, he speaks well and prudently; but why forsake learning, in which you are no novice but

an expert? . . . All history is full of examples of good men who have loved learning, and though many unlettered men have attained to holiness, no man was ever debarred from holiness by letters. . . But if in spite of all this you persist in your intention, and if you must needs throw away not only your learning, but the poor instruments of it, then I thank you for giving me the refusal of your books. I will buy your library if it must be sold, for I would not that the books of so great a man should be dispersed abroad and hawked about by unworthy hands. I will buy it and unite it with my own; then some day this mood of yours will pass, some day you will come back to your old devotion. Then you shall make your home with me, you will find your books side by side with mine, which are equally yours. Thenceforth we shall share a common life and a common library, and when the survivor of us is dead, the books shall go to some place where they will be kept together and dutifully tended, in perpetual memory of us who owned them.'

That noble letter, so sane in its piety, in some sort cured Boccaccio. We hear no more of the fanatic monk, and the books were never bought by Petrarch for they were never sold.

When he had read Petrarch's letter and come to himself Boccaccio returned to Pilatus and finished the translation of Homer. Later he sends the Iliad and part of the Odyssey to Petrarch who had it copied, and it is this manuscript which is now in Paris.

Boccaccio with a charming and naive sincerity owns that he did not understand much, but adds that the little he did understand seemed beautiful. He was very proud of his victory, and rightly; for by its means the Renaissance was able to give Homer his right place in its culture.

That wise and witty letter had in some sort cured Boccaccio, yet not finally. More and more he turns to his master, and in 1366 troubled again in spirit and, as it seems, very poor, he suddenly decided to set out for Venice to see him. He left Certaldo on March 24, but coming to Florence 'The continual rains, the dissuasions of friends, and the fear of the dangers by the way', added to the tales of those who had made the journey from Bologna, caused him to hesitate. So that when he arrived in Venice, at last, he found Petrarch gone. He writes him at once to tell him of his reception, and it is in this letter that we see another and unsuspected side of his genius—his love of children. He is speaking of Petrarch's daughter Tullia.

'After reposing myself a little (he writes to Petrarch) I went to salute Tullia who had already heard of my arrival . . . She met me joyfully, blushing a little and looking on the ground, with modesty and filial affection, and she saluted and embraced me. . . . Presently we were talking in your charming little garden with some friends, and she offered me with matronly gravity your house, your books and all your things there. Suddenly, little footsteps, and there came towards us thy Eletta, my delight who, without knowing who I was, looked at me smiling. I was not only delighted; I greedily took her in my arms imagining that I held my little one that is lost to me. What shall I say? If you do not believe me, you will believe Guglielmo da Ravenna the physician and our Donato who knew her. Your little one has the same aspect that she had who was my Eletta, the same expression, the same light in the eyes, the same laughter there, the same gestures, the same way of walking, the same way of carrying all her little person; only my Eletta was, it is true, a little taller when at the age of five and a half I saw her for the last time. Besides she talks in the same way, uses the same words and has the same simplicity. Indeed, indeed there is no difference save that thy little one is golden haired, while mine had chestnut tresses. Ah me! How many times, when I have held thine in my arms listening to her prattle, the memory of my baby stolen away from me has brought tears to my eyes—which I let no one see.'

Boccaccio's XIVth Eclogue which tells us so much that otherwise we should never know as to his children, for it seems he had several children, is entitled Olympia. Olympia was Violante, and it is of Violante he is speaking in that letter. This Eclogue has been translated into English verse and edited and published with the Latin original and extracts from Boccaccio's letter, which I have translated above, by Professor Sir Israel Gollancz. I think he must have been the only man in England who remembered the sixth centenary of Boccaccio's birth in 1913, and it was just like him to celebrate it in so exquisite a way.

That love of children, so characteristic in an Italian, and yet so surprising in Boccaccio to those who, without understanding the real simplicity of his nature, have been content to think of him as a mere teller of doubtful stories, is one of the most natural and beautiful traits in his character. Nor is this by any means the only glimpse he gives us of his interest in children. Apart from the neglected portraits of the *Decameron* we find him referring to them, their health and upbringing in the *Commentary on the Divine Comedy*, when he speaks of the danger they are in from careless and neglectful nurses, who put

them to rest or sleep in the light, and thus hurt their eyes and induce them to squint: and yet he can believe, though probably with less than the common conviction, that a squint is the sign of an evil nature, dangerous alike to the afflicted person and to those whom he may encounter.

That vision of Violante, 'my delight', appears like a ray of sunshine in a lonely and even gloomy old age which, had she lived, we may think might have been less bitter, less hard to bear than it proved to be.

Hard and bitter it was, and passed in poverty. It is possible that his friends in Florence, hearing of his miseries, founded the first Cathedra Dantesca to relieve him He had always been an eager defender of the *Divine Comedy* and of Italian literature, and his own *Decameron* was to prove to be not only the greatest prose work in the language, but the most fruitful and of the most far-reaching influence.

He delivered his first lecture in the Church of Santo Stefano on Sunday, October 23, 1373, at the age of 60. Already an old man, infirm in health, he can scarcely have hoped to finish his work and, as it proved, he was not able to complete a sixth part of it, for attacked by illness in the winter of 1373 he broke off abruptly at the seventeenth verse of the seventeenth canto of the *Inferno* and returned to Certaldo really to die. The disease which thus declared itself was no new thing. In his versatile and athletic spirit there had always been a strain of melancholy that had shown itself in his earliest childhood when he imagined he was persecuted; on his arrival in Naples as a boy when only a kiss could restore his confidence; in the long years of his troubled and unstable love and in the loneliness of his manhood; with old age at his elbow it needed but little for his spirit, so easily joyful, to be lost in a strange darkness. In the hands of an ignorant doctor he suffered incredible tortures, and then a new ill befell him. In the summer of 1374 Petrarch died. He writes a wonderful letter to Franceschino full of adoration for Petrarch and anxiety about his works, and signs 'Your Giovanni Boccaccio if he still exists'. That letter was his swan song. Infirm and ill as he was he lay there, really alone, and dying. As the days went by he must often have looked from his room over the world that lies there spread out beneath his windows as fair as any in Tuscany; a land of hills about a quiet valley, where the olives are tossed to silver in the wind and the grapes are kissed by the sun into gold and purple, where the corn whispers between the vines—till for him too at last the grasshopper became a burden. On December 21, 1375, he breathed his last.

ANNUAL PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE
HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

IMMANUEL KANT (1724-1804)

By JAMES WARD
FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read November 29, 1922

Assuredly Kant has found a place among the world's master-minds. He showed his originality as a thinker before he was twenty-five years of age, and before he was fifty he inaugurated (or at least, adumbrated) what has proved to be a revolution in philosophy. He was one of those great minds who, as Goethe said, 'will not let the world go till it understands them'.

But the best of men are but men, at the best. And in view of the numberless defects and inconsistencies of his philosophy that for more than a century and a half foes and friends alike have been exposing, one cannot but wonder, in the first place, how it was that Kant so speedily attained, and, in the second, how it is that he is still accorded, the unique place he unquestionably holds among the great philosophers. For as an admiring commentator not long ago said: '*The Critique of Pure Reason* is the work which is at once the fullest of genius and of contradictions in the whole range of philosophical literature.'[1]

As to Kant's early eminence—though there are, I think, several philosophers who would be ranked as superior to him in native genius, there is probably not one who towered so much above a dead level of unrelieved mediocrity such as prevailed in his time. Leibniz, more than Kant's compeer for pure genius, was near enough in time to challenge comparison, had he not been levelled down too drastically by his so-called systematizer, Chr. Wolff. But, as it was, this conceited pedant alone dominated the philosophy of Germany in Kant's early days. And even his influence was already on the wane, leaving little beyond a shallow and incoherent eclecticism in its place. In the general philosophical chaos which then prevailed it was natural that some abler minds, not content with disposing of Wolff, should also be casting about to bring in unity and order, some by treatises on method, others by essays on psychology on English lines. Here then in all were three distinct but compatible movements in progress at once; and Kant took part in them all. In his first philosophical work he may perhaps be said to have driven a nail

[1] H. Vaihinger, *Strasburger Abhandlungen zur Philosophie*, 1884, p. 126.

into the coffin of the Leibniz-Wolffian rationalism. We find him later reading Locke's *Essay* (translated into French, 1700; into German, 1757), *Hume's Enquiry* (translated in 1755) and Rousseau's *Émile* (1762). We also find him competing for a prize on method (one of the many offered about this time) in his so-called *Prize Essay* (1764); and finally, in an announcement of his lectures for 1765, stating his intention of inverting the customary order in which Metaphysics had been treated, by beginning with Empirical Psychology.[1] I mention these facts simply to show that so far Kant was just the child of his time—the time of the so-called Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*).

Two other of his contemporaries were then similarly occupied: Lambert, who brought out a *Neues Organon* in 1764 and an *Architectonik* in 1771, and Tetens, who in 1760 wrote an essay entitled: *Why there are so few established truths in Metaphysics*, and who in 1777 published *Philosophical Essays on Human Nature and its Development*. With Lambert Kant corresponded for years, and it was his intention to dedicate to him the *Tractate on Method* which gradually expanded into the *Critique*; but Lambert had died in the meantime. As to Tetens—it is reported that his *Essays on Human Nature* lay always open on Kant's desk, as he toiled at the problems of the said *Critique*. If at this time the question of 'placing' had been raised, it is more than likely that not Kant but Lambert would have headed the list.

In 1781, however, the *Critique* appeared. At first—that is as soon as it was noticed at all—it was either denounced as untrue or depreciated as not new; but as time went on, slowly at first, but presently by almost universal acclamation, it was hailed as both new and true. Yet probably what was chiefly appreciated was its novelty. We might infer this from the *furore* for Kant which for a while took possession of all sorts and conditions of men, and even women too.[2] It reminds one of the similar, though milder, outburst in our day of public interest in Bergson and Einstein, when not one in a hundred of the people who loved to talk and even to write about them understood what they really meant.

On a superficial glance what is striking in the *Critique of Pure Reason* is its so-called 'architectonic': on this Kant specially prided himself, although—as is now generally acknowledged—it is as artificial as it is ingenious. Still it was likely to amaze a casual reader

[1] *Werke*, Hartenstein's ed. (1867), II, p. 316.

[2] Ample details as to this, almost incredible were they not well authenticated, will be found in Stuckenberg's *Life of Immanuel Kant* (1882), pp. 365 ff.

as a revelation of the unsuspected *a priori* antinomy on which the very possibility of experience and its limits were said to depend. We find there:—

(1) Two forms of sensory intuition, in which the 'Manifold' of the external and internal senses respectively is arranged;

(2) Twelve categories of the Understanding, involved in the logical table of judgements, which are systematically distributed into four classes of three members each—seemingly contrary to the fundamental law of dichotomy; but then the third proves to be always the synthesis of the other two;

(3) A Schematism of sensory form and of categories rendering the *application* of the latter to experience possible.

(4) Four classes of Synthetic Principles determining this application, the first two being intuitive, constitutive, and mathematical, the last two discursive, regulative, and dynamical;

(5) Four pairs of concepts of Reflection; dealing with the relation of being and knowing,

and finally

(6) Three Ideas of Reason, involved in the logical forms of syllogism, which point beyond experience to the Unconditioned which it implies.

Novel detail of this sort could be read, marked, and learned without much reflection, and would tend rather to repress than to arouse any further question as to what it was about. In confirmation of this surmise I may cite the *Elucidations* (*Erläuterungen*) *of the Critique* published by Kant's friend and colleague, Johann Schulze, in 1784. The book is clearly written—comparing favourably in this respect with the *Critique* itself—and Kant stood sponsor for it in words of warm approval quoted by the author in his preface. On these and other grounds the book at once 'caught on', as we say, and did much to popularize the new philosophy. But it begins by referring to this as a *Lehrgebaude* that is thought out down to its minutest fragments (*Bruchstucke*).[1] And the greater part of the book is occupied with these, which, as I have said, any commonplace intellect could apprehend. As to Kant's main purpose—this, it is stated, was to refute Hume and establish the truth of the Christian

[1] How impressive the *Lehrgebaude* of Kant's at first proved to be is still more strikingly shown in a rare book on *Kant's Works* by one Thomas Wirgman, consisting in a collection of articles contributed by him to the *Encyclopaedia Londinensis* (24 vols, 4to, 1810–29). Here there are some fifteen steel plates (to say nothing of others in the letterpress) in which Kant's architectonic is plotted out for the better exhibition of its *Bruchstucke*.

religion—these being the further grounds of the book's popularity to which I referred just now. Of the cardinal problem of Kant's *Analytik*, the writer had hardly an inkling. it is handled very briefly, and yet is misrepresented.[1]

In short, what I am venturing to maintain is that the transcendental philosophy rose to fame without being understood: for that, as Kant himself said later on, a hundred years would be required. His philosophy, in fact, first became famous through its vigorous iconoclasm—Mendelssohn, it will be remembered, called Kant *der Alles Zermalmende*—and through its rigorous 'Systematic'—artificial though it was[2]—which replaced the loose eclecticism then in vogue. How little its central theme was understood is shown by the disputes which soon arose as to what was and what was not '*echt Kantisch*', as the phrase went. As to this, opponents and partisans alike differed not only from each other but among themselves. For all sorts of reasons Kant's philosophy was attacked on the one hand and accepted on the other; but what it essentially was nobody seemed to know.[3] All the same, as the eighteenth century wore on, ideas about Kant were more and more widely diffused and at the same time more or less profoundly modified. On the one side it was realized that the new views propounded by him were not entirely false, and on the other that he himself was certainly not infallible.[4] So it was that before the century closed the entire philosophical atmosphere of Germany was pervaded with Kantianism, and lectures on the new philosophy—mostly expository but occasionally polemical—were delivered in every university in the land.[5]

[1] Thus not apperception but imagination seems to be regarded as the highest principle. For this, however, it is only fair to say Schulze was not alone to blame. He had only Kant's first edition to go upon; and how inadequate that was is evident from the changes Kant found it needful to make in the second.

[2] As to this Adickes, *Kant's Systematik als systembildender Factor* (1887), is well worth consulting.

[3] And in fact this was still the case a whole century later, despite Kant's forecast. Cf. B. Erdmann, *Kant's Kriticismus u.s.w.* (1878), pp. 245–7, where six different formulations of Kant's philosophy extant since 1865 are given; and the review of the book, *Philosophische Monatshefte*, XV (1879), pp. 170 f.

[4] As he himself plainly showed, for he never formulated an important doctrine twice in the same way, as Edward Caird once pointed out to me.

[5] It is perhaps worth remarking by the way that in 1786 a rescript was issued by the Landgraf of Hesse forbidding such lectures, which, however, was rescinded a year later at the instance of Tiedemann, one of Kant's opponents. As a pendant to this piece of intolerance I cannot forbear mentioning another on the other side, *viz.* the persecution of Feder, the Göttingen professor who was the first to make an onslaught on Kant, a persecution which led him to resign his professorship, though still vigorous, and to leave Göttingen.

Still in all this ferment the question grew more and more pressing whether anybody had yet succeeded in distilling out the pure spirit of it all. So in 1797 a plot was laid to draw forth an answer from Kant himself. He was publicly called upon to name the man 'who in the main understood him as he wished to be understood'. Kant named Schulze, but with the caution that he was to be taken literally (*nach Buchstaben*), not according 'to some imagined underlying spirit (*Geist*)'.[1] Why did Kant answer thus: why stress the *letter* when what was asked for was surely the *spirit?* Because, as I think, he had no better answer to give. Shocked, as he had been, by the interpretation Fichte had recently put upon his work, he was anxious to repudiate in advance any future attempts to *explain* what he had said. All the same, though the true inwardness of his work may, as he foretold, appear at length, it was certainly not then clearly apparent even to him. It possessed him, no doubt, but more or less unconsciously. He did not himself fully realize the goal of the inspiration—the *Zeitgeist*, as Hegel called it—by which he was led. He was, I must repeat, the child of his time: philosophical orientation was what the *Aufklarung* wanted and he succeeded at least in pointing the way. It was this which, in spite of his many defects and inconsistencies, made him the master-mind that he is still held to be. And this is, I think, the answer to our second question.

But it is time to attempt a brief account of Kant's philosophical development, and this, I trust, will incidentally exemplify what I have said and justify my characterization of Kant's position as a philosopher. But first a word as to his starting-point. As a student Kant was at first chiefly interested in astronomy and physics; and he had produced a number of ambitious works and articles on these subjects before he attempted—not till his thirty-first year—to handle any philosophical problem. It was this double interest that gave to his philosophy its peculiar character and value, and also helps to explain its seemingly erratic course. The philosophy which he had been taught and had assimilated only too thoroughly, the Leibniz-Wolffian rationalism, concerned itself not with what is but with what could be, not with the actually real but with the absolutely possible. The former, experience could apprehend, but to the latter only pure thought could attain. Had Kant known nothing but this he might never have been heard of: as it was, his early study of Newton gave him an external standpoint from which what he would have called the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of the old rationalism became apparent, and from which it could be effectively assailed.

[1] Cf. *Werke*, Hartenstein's ed., VIII. 599.

The *vera causa* of Newton will not rhyme with the *vernünftige Gedanken* of Wolff. Existence is not a predicate and cannot be reached by mere thought. *Causa* is not to be identified with *ratio*, and to conjure *ratio* into *actio* no reasoning will 'suffice'. Here were two truths Kant had reached once for all. Following upon this—in the *Prize Essay* already referred to—Kant disposed of the ancient prejudice that mathematics furnished the true paradigm for the philosopher—a prejudice which in modern times was still shared by Descartes and Spinoza. He then went on to contend, like a confirmed empiricist, that the true method for metaphysics was the method of Newton—in a word, that philosophy must be 'zetetic', must feel its way. In philosophy definitions must needs come, not first as in mathematics, but last; if happily the analysis of what is given can at length be adequately performed. Here then was a third *Buchstabe* or *Bruchstuck* to be wrought into Kant's *Lehrgebaude*. Like Newton he had been picking shells on the shores of the Unknown, and with the finding of these what has been called his empirical phase came to an end, that was, in 1766.[1]

Then, after bidding a sad farewell to his beloved *Metaphysica*, and lapsing for four years into a profound silence, interrupted only by a short paper of some seven pages, Kant—having been appointed a full professor (1770)—was forced to speak. He then delivered his famous *Inaugural Dissertation*; and lo! he seems to be a dogmatic rationalist once more! How was this? 'The year 1769', he noted later, 'brought me great light.' His *Aufklarung* had well begun. This nearing dawn appears in the short paper just mentioned. It was written in 1768 and dealt with what he called 'the difference of regions in space'—the fact that we orientate our position in space first of all from our own body as 'origin'. This led him finally to abandon the Newtonian doctrine of the objective existence of absolute space, and by parity of reasoning, that of absolute time. Both space and time he now concluded, in agreement with Leibniz, were merely phenomenal. This conclusion was established beyond question by a further insight which 'the great light' of 1769 revealed, *viz.* the antinomy between the position of the pure understanding that the world is a *whole* of *simple* substances *in mutuo commercio*, and the inability of sense either to advance to the totality or to regress to the simple. So there emerged a radical difference in kind between the sensible and the intelligible where Leibniz had recognized only a difference in degree of clearness and distinctness.[2]

[1] Cf. my *Study of Kant*, just published, § 4.
[2] Cf. *Study*, § 5, pp. 20 f.; § 6, pp. 36 ff.

On this fundamental difference of faculties—a fourth *Bruchstück* of Kant's *Lehrgebaude*—the argument of the *Inaugural Dissertation* is based. Here Kant had found an answer to Tetens's question why metaphysics had hitherto explained so little: it was because from lack of method these two domains of knowledge had not been kept distinct. So soon as the truth of this distinctness is realized, a striking parallel is apparent between the sensible and the intelligible world. Each has its form and its principles and each can yield an *a priori* science, mathematics in the sensible or phenomenal world, and metaphysics in the world of the intelligible or noumenal. Well, but we have been long in possession of the one science, why is the other still to seek? For want of method, Kant repeats. The all-important *desideratum* then is to make clear what this method is. In dealing with this problem Kant falls back on his old distinction between mathematics and metaphysics. The former starts from intuition; and though, no doubt, there is and must be an intellectual intuition, yet it is not the sort of intuition which is vouchsafed to us. Here then was an *impasse* that might lead Kant to pause, as indeed it eventually did. Meanwhile, however, he continues as if he knew at any rate the matter and form of the intelligible as well as he did those of the sensible world. Accordingly he gives an account of the intelligible world which is essentially that of Leibniz's *Monadology*, save that he rejects *pre-established* harmony and recognizes *occasionalism*. It is then only the principles of that world which he is not prepared to state.[1] Before this could be done it was needful first of all to clear away the errors by which those principles had till then been hidden. To this preliminary task, a *Propaedeutic to Metaphysics*, it was fitting to call attention at his first public recognition as professor; and it was with this task that what he afterwards declared to be the only *important* parts of his *Dissertation* were concerned. It was his intention to revise and extend these, and to publish the whole immediately under some such title as *The Boundaries* (*Grenzen*) *of Sense and Reason*.

It is, I think, greatly to be regretted that Kant never carried this intention through; and in so thinking I am by no means singular. He imagined such a *Tractate on Method* (as he also called it) would not occupy him long, would be only a matter of a few sheets. Here he was, then, under the influence of an inspiration—the great light of '69—with one part at any rate of his new philosophy secure.[2] If he

[1] But obviously his monadology involves more than mere form; and in fact he incidentally enumerates, by way simply of example, all the real principles afterwards given, *as applicable to phenomena*, in the *Critique*.

[2] In sending a copy of the *Dissertation* to Lambert, within a fortnight of its

had now set about rounding off this part and making it in itself complete while it was in full possession of his mind, he could hardly have failed to raise one question essential to such completeness, *viz.* the question as to the ground or source of this difference between sense-knowledge and thought-knowledge. This question, so close to him then, he lost sight of later. Otherwise he might have saved himself much of the useless labour of the next ten years, as perhaps in the end we may come to see. However, this is anticipating. But in place of expounding his new idea as it was, Kant decided at once to enlarge it. This proved to be a more arduous task than that which he had at first proposed, and in consequence the projected tractate never appeared. But after a yet longer interval of complete silence as regards philosophical topics—this time lasting more than ten years—the *Critique of Pure Reason* appeared instead.

Here we come upon another of Kant's characteristic oscillations—*Umkippungen* as he called them, and it is the last. It ensued as soon as he paused to reflect on the fact that while we have intuitions of the objects of sense, *phenomena*, we have no intuitions of the objects of understanding or reason, *noumena*. There, objects of sense imply things; for sensations, as to which we are passive, cannot arise from nothing: on the other hand, here we have only thoughts, and thoughts in our case do not create things. How then and with what reservation can we say that our thoughts correspond to things and even prescribe universal and necessary laws to which they are subject?[1] As a first step in pursuance of this inquiry Kant supposed it to be indispensable to investigate the fundamental forms of thought, the categories, not, however, after the empirical fashion with which Aristotle was content. It was essential, Kant supposed, 'to ascertain the precise number of these categories and how they arrange themselves in classes according to some few principles of the understanding'. Here Kant's evil genius, the craving for '*Systematik*' which he inherited from Wolff, began to mislead him. I make bold to say that this entire enterprise, over which he seems to have wasted years, was worse than useless, and that its futility has hardly yet been sufficiently exposed.[2] One odd thing about it is worth mention. Kant rejected Aristotle's list of categories, which, if incomplete, has yet found general acceptance so far as it goes. But he was content to

delivery, Kant wrote:—'Since about a year [ago] I have reached that idea [*Begriff*] which I flatter myself I shall never need to alter, but only to enlarge'. *Werke*, VIII, p. 662.

[1] Cf. *Study*, § 7, pp. 42 f.

[2] On this point the excellent remarks of Lotze (*Metaphysik* (1879), *Einleitung*, § xii) are to be commended, little heeded though they have been.

take the table of judgements—supposed to be based on Aristotle—as the certain clue to the discovery of the categories, though no such table has ever found any general recognition at all, and Kant himself found 'a few defects' in it which he must first correct!

In what he called the 'objective deduction' Kant raised the really fundamental question, which he could quite as well, and indeed far better, have raised independently—the question as to the meaning and the source of this term 'category'. It means, he tells us, 'the function of synthesizing into a definite unity the manifold items of a given intuition'—*given*, and therefore sensory. Such function, since it involves not only form but content, is beyond the range of formal logic; for that ignores content altogether. So he came to distinguish what he called 'transcendental logic' from 'general logic' —a distinction which unfortunately he often forgot. Now comes the question as to the source of this function. It is due to the subject of experience as self-conscious, is his answer: in his own terminology to 'the original synthetic unity of apperception' involved in all judgements when we say 'I think'. At the self-conscious level, to the Self or Subject that *thinks* there is a correlative Not-Self which is the Object of its *thought*. Hence the term '*objective* deduction'. In this 'critical analysis' it is still assumed, as in the *Dissertation*, that the sensible and the intelligible are fundamentally distinct. But whereas this distinction seemed then to reopen the way to the dogmatic realism of the Leibniz-Wolffians, that way was closed for Kant by further reflection as soon as he began the revision of the *Dissertation*. He now calls his philosophy *Transcendental Idealism*, since he was at length convinced that we have no knowledge of things in themselves at all, but only of the presentations[1] to which they give rise.

It is on the basis of this 'transcendental idealism' that Kant framed his main critical inquiry, and he did so in a thoroughly Wolffian fashion. How, he asks, is Experience *possible*? Volumes have been written on Kant's different formulations of this question and their implications. Yet on the whole its meaning is fairly plain, provided we remember that the kind of experience Kant had in view is Experience involving universal and necessary laws, and further, that he made the quite unwarrantable assumption that we have in fact any experience of this sort. The question, *as a question*, then becomes simple enough:—*How is this fact intelligible?* And from the standpoint of Kant's transcendental idealism—supposing *that to be granted*—the answer is also simple. Things *per se* have provided us with nothing

[1] *Study*, § 8, pp. 49 ff.

but the stuff, yet here we are with an *a priori* science of nature. This, *ex hypothesi*, things *per se* have not given us. But if those *a priori* laws were not given to us, we must then conclude that they were imposed by us. It was in putting forward this new answer to the problem which those, he contended, who failed to distinguish between phenomena and noumena could not solve, that Kant compared himself to Copernicus. As Copernicus had simplified the description of celestial motions by relating them to the sun instead of to the earth, so Kant claimed to have simplified the epistemological problem by substituting the understanding as the lawgiver to nature as we know it, in place of things *per se* which we do not know at all.

But after all Copernicus was mistaken if he supposed that the whole problem of the celestial motions was to decide between the two alternatives, *viz.* that either the sun or the earth was at rest. It was soon discovered that both were in motion. And so too Kant was certainly mistaken, when he assumed, as he did assume, that the epistemological problem was an antithetic one. Fairly obvious considerations suffice to show that this standpoint could not be maintained; and in fact Kant did not sustain it.[1] None the less this position is founded on the great truth which he was himself the first effectively to enounce as the supreme principle in the development of all knowledge, the activity of the experient subject itself. This we may mark down as the fifth and central *Lehrstuck* in his philosophy.

Such activity, however, is present not only at the self-conscious level; it is present even at the lower level of mere perception. But Kant ignored this fact in the first part of the *Critique*, the so-called *Aesthetik*, on which his transcendental idealism is based. He did so, he said, to simplify his exposition: anyhow he admitted it fully later on, and that is enough. But one important point Kant altogether overlooked, in consequence of his piecemeal fashion of regarding experience. Experience is not merely cognitive: it is always conative as well. As I have said elsewhere, 'in our intercourse with the external world we have limbs which the Ego controls as well as senses which the Non-Ego affects'.[2] The fundamental fact of experience, in a word, is the interest taken in, and not merely the bare presence of, this Non-Ego. An adequate statement of Kant's central truth must then include both these facts, if the full meaning of experience and its development is ever to be understood. But the Non-Ego has no interest in us: it faces all alike with a sublime indifference. The relation of the two is then not symmetrical in any

[1] Cf. *Study*, §§ 9–11. [2] *Study*, p. 83.

respect.[1] Further, no experient is interested in all that confronts him, and no two experients therefore react in precisely the same way. What I have called 'subjective selection' seems, then, to be also implied in Kant's central truth. This, I may observe, was clearly recognized by Leibniz in assigning to every monad a unique standpoint from which 'it mirrored the universe'. All these points were as yet ignored by Kant, though all seem to be involved in his central truth, and moreover all came gradually to light in a more or less fragmentary fashion, in *Bruchstucke*, as his critical enterprise moved on. And we shall have to deal with them very soon.

Meanwhile let us look back to see where Kant—more or less unbeknown to himself—has already brought us: very much nearer, I think it is, to the dogmatic position of his *Inaugural Dissertation* than he himself supposed. The most concrete of his real categories is the third, interaction (*Wechselwirkung*); for according to his own teaching it is the synthesis of the other two, substance and cause. Now the most fundamental interaction is that of subject and object, which we have just considered. Recalling Kant's distinction between formal and transcendental logic, we can now see that in talking of categories as denoting *functions* that pertain to the experient subject, he is thinking of what they really *mean*. To realize this is to realize that they cannot have their source in formal logic. We may abstract the form from the meaning, but we cannot derive the meaning from the form. This is again clear from Kant's admission—referred to just now—that at the perceptual level there is subjective synthesis, though all *knowledge* of categories is then lacking.

Therein is involved another fundamental distinction of Kant's, which it will repay us to consider for a moment. In the *Critique* it appears as the distinction between empirical and transcendental apperception. The former implies only subjective or individual experience, which varies from one experient to another; whereas the latter implies the objective or universal Experience *par excellence*, which is the same for all. In the *Prolegomena* this distinction appears as that between what are called 'judgements of perception' and 'judgements of Experience'. But there is experience in some sense in both: in the first it is subjective, individual, and perceptual; in the second it is objective, universal, and categorical. Plainly however, though there may be this so-called subjective experience without the objective, the converse is impossible. Kant's central truth, then, is alike funda-

[1] Though Kant assumed that in one important respect it was; but the consequences for his philosophy were disastrous, as we may presently see. Cf. below, p. 253.

mental in both. We have only to interpret Kant's *Ich denke* as Descartes did his *Cogito* (= *Co-agito*) and we then see at once that this is the case.[1]

This distinction interests us in yet another way. It leads us to inquire how this higher level of experience was attained—a question which Kant, with the want of historical sense characteristic of his time, never raised at all.[2] He was content with the hard and fast line that Plato had already drawn between sensibility and intelligence; and this plainly was an effectual bar to such an inquiry. Had Kant but sought for the source of the distinction between sensible and individual, intelligible and universal, another 'great light' might have dawned upon him, as in fact it was actually dawning on his former pupil, Herder, about this time. He might have seen that transcendental apperception is bound up with trans-subjective intercourse, and again that in this discourse of mind with mind, 'winged words' were the medium, so that at length λόγος came metonomically to mean *that* pure reason which Kant was essaying to criticize as the basis of experience.[3]

This leads us finally to inquire what exactly the relation is between Kant's central truth and this pure reason, which constitutes the *a priori* factor indispensable if universal and necessary laws are to be found in Experience. His answer is on the whole, I think, clear. A single sentence from the preface to the second edition of the *Critique* may now suffice to show this. 'We assume', he there says,[4] 'that we know *a priori* of things only what we ourselves put into them (*in sie legen*)'. Keeping to this we attain to what he called 'immanent metaphysics'. The counterpart of this, 'transcendent metaphysics', in which the attempt is made to treat of things *per se*, is what he is intent on refuting. It will be thought, I fear, somewhat rash to say so, but I must confess that to me an immanent metaphysics limited to the projection on to the Object of attributes pertaining to the Subject—more exactly, the interpretation of the World in terms of the Self—is just anthropomorphism. Yet what

[1] The example that Kant used in the *Prolegomena* is instructive. Here the very same objective situation, the sunlight and warmth which prompt a lizard to come out of his hole, leads a physicist *after experimenting* to infer that the sun is the cause of the warmth. But he, when he began life, started with the lizard. Cf. *Study*, pp. 72 f.

[2] It is true that he did attempt in what he called 'the subjective deduction' of the categories to analyse it from the standpoint of the current individualistic psychology; and he was aware that his attempt was unsatisfactory, but he did not see why. Cf. *Study*, p. 59.

[3] Cf. *Study*, pp. 187 f.

[4] *Critique*, 1787, p. xviii.

other construction can we put on Kant's Copernican hypothesis? Moreover—as I have just tried to show—Kant himself more or less unconsciously furnishes ample justification for deriving the real categories from what the Subject knows of itself at the social or self-conscious level.

In passing from the categories of the understanding to what he called the Ideas of the reason, we find Kant is avowedly anthropomorphic.[1] These Ideas correspond to the three divisions of the Wolffian ontology, known as rational psychology, rational cosmology, and rational theology. An anthropomorphic interpretation of the Self would be meaningless tautology. In the case of the World which confronts us as an interacting plurality, the only anthropomorphism possible is to interpret that plurality as consisting of experients, *i. e.* of objects which are also 'ejects'—to employ a useful term that has at last found its way into our language. And this is just what the primitive mind does. To this primitive ejectification or personification Leibniz's monadology is clearly akin; and this doctrine Kant shared, as a 'private opinion' at all events, throughout his many *Umkippungen*, and in the end he openly espoused it. As to his Idea of God—this was as anthropomorphic as it is possible to be in view of our finitude and the Supreme Being's infinite perfection. In other words God for him was what Lotze called a perfect person; this perfection being for us a pure Ideal, altogether surpassing all the limitations of finite beings.

In the *Critique* of *Reason as practical*, we come upon new categories, categories of value or axiological categories as they are now technically termed. Here moral obligation with its categorical imperative or absolute 'ought', not only puts the reality of freedom beyond question, but also—in Kant's opinion—justifies us in postulating the existence of God, the Supreme Reality that, for theoretical reason, was only 'a flawless Ideal'. But, as I have said elsewhere, 'a postulate essential to the realization of what we ought to be, yet based not on what we know but on what we are, is surely nothing if it is not anthropomorphic'.[2] There are other points in this *Critique* to which we must return presently. Meanwhile the last *Critique* is the more important in respect of the anthropomorphic tenor of Kant's philosophy: so I propose now to pass on to that.

This *Critique* treats of the function of what Kant calls the faculty of judgement as distinct from the understanding. Logically regarded, the function of the judgement is to provide appropriate minor

[1] Cf. *Study*, § 13, pp. 88 ff.

[2] *Study*, § 13, p. 93.

premisses for a given major; and in the transcendental philosophy all the major premisses are those of the fundamental principles of the understanding. Now an appalling problem arises when we reflect that those principles as universal and ultimate afford no guidance when the judgement comes to deal with the bewildering multiplicity of contingent particulars that actually confront us. How are these to be subsumed continuously and systematically in accordance with those principles? They themselves afford no help: subsumption is not their business The problem is one for the judgement alone to solve, and random ventures will be no better than playing blindman's-buff. The judgement then must have some clue or it could never venture on what is else obviously a hopeless task. An assumption is therefore made, and it is this—that just as *our* understanding has prescribed universal *a priori* laws to Nature, so an understanding *not* ours has prescribed that Nature shall specify its general laws in accordance with the forms of a logical system [or classification] for the benefit of the judgement,—tempering Nature to it as the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb, as we might say. Criticism of this arbitrary and inconsistent attempt to bring induction within the range of the *a priori* is not my concern now. I refer to it only as an instance of what seems to me to be anthropomorphism. Kant calls this assumption which the judgement is driven to make a principle of purposiveness (*Zweckmassigkeit*), but urges that after all, though *a priori*, it is only regulative for the reflecting judgement, and does not pretend to be constitutive of things. But surely that is only to emphasize its anthropomorphic character.

But it is with judgement about judgements (*Beurtheilung*) in a more restricted sense that the two loosely connected parts of this *Critique* are occupied. Some reference to its origin will then be here in place. In 1788, having his two earlier *Critiques* lying before him, Kant realized that a link was wanting to connect them. In the one he had ascertained the *a priori* principles of cognition, in the other those of conduct: in the one the concept of Nature was supreme, in the other the concept of Freedom. But as such they had nothing in common; and though so far he had not sought for a principle to connect them, yet he was sure that such a principle there must be. Now Tetens, in his *Philosophical Essays*, had recently formulated the trichotomy of the mental powers, placing feeling as independent, yet intermediate, between cognition and conation. This new doctrine Kant had accepted as true in fact. He recognized that to feeling our interest in what we know is due, and that it is this interest which moves us to act. The empirical fact, however, was not enough for

Kant; but if he could find an *a priori* feeling, a feeling, that is to say, which is necessary and universal, therein might lie the principle which he had missed. Such a feeling he believed the 'sense of the beautiful' to be.

He proceeded accordingly to analyse the state of mind when an object is appreciated as beautiful. He found the essential feature consisted always in a certain 'form': beauty, in short, was just 'unity in variety', as Francis Hutcheson, for instance, had already said. This form gives rise to a free play of the imagination which the understanding can control, and the *effect* of this facile interplay of both faculties as quickened by their mutual accord is aesthetic pleasure. Being formal, it is the same for all; and in this respect it is *a priori*, though what calls it forth is objectively contingent. It is solely because of this adaptation to us that we talk of the beauties of natural objects—crystals, flowers, and the like. Here again a kindred spirit greeting our own suggests itself; and this again I take to be anthropomorphic.[1] The connexion with the reflective judgement was an afterthought of Kant's which filled him with delight, and it led to what is perhaps the most wonderful, and not the least fanciful, of his many systematic diagrams.[2]

In the second part of this *Critique*, however, the reflective judgement as teleological is fundamental, and it is in this part that Kant completes his philosophical *Lehrgebaude*. But I can deal with it here only very summarily. Final causes are now the problem. They force Kant to take into account a wider view of Nature than the rigidly mechanical view which dominated his first *Critique*: they lead him to distinguish from the 'external causes' to which that was confined, other 'internal causes', which—so far as we can see—mechanism will not explain. We require '*at least one principle more*' to make these intelligible. Hitherto, in dealing with external causes, Newton had been a sufficient guide, but now Kant sets out by declaring that the Newton of a blade of grass will never appear. If at the outset Kant had been as familiar with biology as he was with physics, if he had known Aristotle as well as he knew Newton, he would have included teleology as well as aetiology among his fundamental principles. As it was, that very resourceful faculty, the judgement, had somehow to obtain the new principle required. Purposiveness (*Zweckmassigkeit*) is still its stand-by. But this now means more than the 'subjective purposiveness', as Kant termed it, which was all that the sense of the beautiful implied: it now means 'causes working in

[1] Cf. *Study*, § 15, pp. 105 f.

[2] Cf. his Introduction, § ix *fin.*, and *Study*, pp. 106 ff.

a purposelike way', i. e. objective ends (*Zwecke*) But how did the reflective judgement come by this very different concept? The judgement, it seems, works conformably to two maxims. The understanding determines it so long as external causes are concerned; but the understanding fails it when internal causes have to be dealt with; reason then comes to the rescue and prescribes a new maxim. This maxim, as is appropriate where reason is concerned, involves not concepts or categories, but an Idea. Now what exactly is this Idea?

The start, it must be remembered, is from the empirical plane, to which the judgement, as dealing with particulars, is confined. We observe, say, a caterpillar, to take Kant's earliest instance of such particulars, mentioned and then forgotten for thirty years.[1] Its behaviour leads us anthropomorphically to regard it as not merely an object but as also an eject. Then—to quote the substance of Kant's own words—'prompted by the infinity of such instances we are led on to assume that design in the combination of natural causes is *the universal principle* of the world'. It is the Idea underlying this inductive assumption which converts it into an *a priori*, though only regulative, principle. Precisely in this way the teleological argument for the existence of God has arisen. That argument, however, *taken alone*, Kant rightly argues is really circular. The evidence of design in Nature points, it may be, towards, but it does not justify, the Idea of a Supreme Intelligence. But apart from all teleology reason, as we have seen, finds in human freedom a practical justification for postulating a realm of ends in which such a Supreme Being is sovereign. Consequently, by means of this 'remarkable fact of human freedom', as Kant calls it, 'reason can extend beyond the bounds within which every theoretical concept of nature must remain hopelessly confined'. Hence reason alone can provide the judgement with the new maxim required. With those words, without indicating more precisely the Idea we have been seeking, Kant concluded this, his last *Critique*, last in the order of time but second in logical order, as he himself had said.[2] In returning presently to what was actually his second *Critique* we may there see more fully what this fact of human freedom means. But already in this, which now I must needs leave, the anthropomorphic vein running through Kant's philosophy is to me again apparent. It is in general to interpret the world in terms of ourselves, and here more especially to orientate the natural from the standpoint of the spiritual. But it all turns on the one cardinal truth contained in the transcendental unity of self-consciousness and what

[1] Cf. *Study*, p 8.
[2] Cf. his Introduction, § iii *fin.*

that involves. This was the inner core that gave his philosophy what coherence it had and made it the germ of the brilliant outburst of German culture in science and literature, as well as in philosophy, which followed upon it. I will cite only two witnesses out of many, and I will not weaken their words by translation. Goethe, talking with Eckermann in 1827, said: 'Kant ist der vorzüglichste, ohne allen Zweifel. Er ist auch derjenige, dessen Lehre sich fortwirkend erwiesen hat, und die in unsere deutsche Kultur am tiefsten eingedrungen ist'.[1] And Jean Paul Richter: 'Kant ist kein Licht der Welt, sondern ein ganzes strahlendes Sonnensystem auf einmal.'

But alas! there was in Kant's system one *great* rift, a fatal one indeed, had he not himself been inconsistent enough incidentally and half unconsciously to heal it. I refer, of course, to his transcendental idealism, coupled as that was with the dualism which he strove to maintain between phenomena and things *per se*. That he had transcended it is evident from his doctrine of freedom (to which we may now return), and he transcended it in dropping by implication the sensationalism from which he started in his first *Critique*. On this ground I leave aside any discussion of this topic here, though I have tried to treat of it at some length elsewhere.[2]

Returning then to the problem of Freedom, we find Kant treating of this in all three *Critiques*. In a general survey, the salient feature of the whole is the three different dualisms we meet with. I call them dualisms, because they are neither satisfactorily unified in themselves nor clearly connected with each other. They are the distinction (1) of *homo phaenomenon* and *homo noumenon*, (2) of sensible and intelligible character, and (3) of theoretical and practical reason. The first emerges in the solution of the third antinomy of rational cosmology—the antinomy supposed to arise between the causality of nature and the causality of freedom. The range of the understanding is limited to occasional causes, causes which are in turn effects: hence the naturalistic view of the world which finds no place for freedom. And if the phenomenal world were all, there could be, Kant allows, no place for freedom. But reason, not content with an indefinite regress of conditions, but insisting on the necessity for an Unconditioned, recognizes the Idea of primary or efficient causes; and as these imply freedom, freedom is a legitimate Idea. This antinomy, it should be

[1] Cf. also E. Zeller, *Geschichte der deutschen Philosophie seit Leibniz* (1873), pp. 515 ff.; F. Harms, *Die Philosophie seit Kant* (1876), p. 282; Caird, *The Critical Philosophy of Immanuel Kant* (1889), ii, pp. 645 f.; W. Windelband, *Die Blütezeit der deutschen Philosophie* (1907), p. 181.

[2] Cf. *Study*, §§ 21-4, pp. 139 ff.

noted, is cosmological, and the solution directly concerns the world as a whole. Kant, however, did not hesitate—as he ought to have done—to regard human freedom as the main problem here. So we come upon this distinction of Man as phenomenal and as noumenal.

Whether Man is noumenal or not, he is certainly phenomenal. Assuming that he is both we come upon the second distinction, that of his sensible from his intelligible character. The latter clearly will then belong to him as an efficient cause outside the temporal series of the phenomenal—as *homo noumenon*, that is to say. What of the former? Sometimes it seems to be the effect which he produces in the phenomenal series—the *operari* which discloses his *esse*, as Schopenhauer said. But for us in dealing with the world as a whole there is theoretically according to Kant an impassable boundary separating phenomena from things *per se*. But that boundary is crossed in the case of the *homo noumenon*, if he is aware of his acts and intended their overt effects. Obviously if he were not aware, there would be an end of ethics. There is then here no dualism, but there is a question as to how the two are related. Sometimes, however, this distinction of characters seems to refer to man's nature as both sentient and intelligent. But in that sense it cannot be said that a man's sentient nature is the effect of his intelligent nature. And yet Kant does seem to assume this; for, starting from the intelligent character, he maintains it to be impossible in any particular case to explain why the intelligible character should give the empirical character which it does. But, as already said, in a particular case they cannot be sharply resolved into two, and when we consider individuals historically, as Kant never does, it is past question that the sensible precedes the intelligible character, which is in fact only possible at the transsubjective level, and then not till the man comes to realize his human personality.

As to the dualism of theoretical and practical reason—whereas the theoretical reason shows that *transcendental* freedom is legitimate as an Idea, practical reason is content to abide by *practical* freedom as actual fact. In that case, according to Kant's use of 'pure' as equivalent to 'independent of everything empirical', there should be no talk of pure *practical* reason, and no call for a *Critique of reason* in this sense. This is the dualism we have now very briefly to consider. The disparity between the two is obscured by Kant's puerile attempt to force the exposition of his ethical principles into the Procrustean bed of his '*architectonic*': thereby the semblance of criticizing pure reason in both cases is kept up. The source of this dualism is just the bad psychology responsible for so many of Kant's mistakes. According to

that Understanding (which as a generic term includes reason) is one faculty, and Will is another with which it has nothing in common.[1] If the 'domains' of the two, to use his own terms, were 'co-ordinate' and in no way connected, each would be simply foreign to the other. However, Kant maintains that they are not co-ordinate; that practical reason has the primacy. What Kant, in asserting this primacy, has in mind—though more or less obscurely, at the back of his mind, as we say—is a great truth of the very first importance, a truth which, by the way, Fichte realized as Kant never did. What exactly is this truth? It is just his own central truth, the unity of the complete self at the level of social intercourse, when conscience emerges and the experient subject becomes a person and autonomous.

And now I must attempt in a few words to make a final summary. Kant belonged to the *Aufklärung*, and, moreover, put an end to it for others; but he failed even to the last to get altogether beyond it himself. In his efforts to get more light from any quarter, his early interest in science brought him into contact with empiricism, although he began to study philosophy in the school of the rationalist, Christian Wolff. Having thus a foothold in each of these one-sided extremes, the outcome of his philosophy, and a great one too, was a successful synthesis embracing what was true in both. 'All our knowledge begins with experience: about that there can be no doubt.' In this, the first sentence of his *Critique*, the truth there is in empiricism is recognized. But he continues: 'It does not therefore follow that all our knowledge springs entirely from experience: it may be a complex to which the mind has contributed something from itself.' Something; but not as much as rationalism assumed in basing all philosophy on the so-called logical laws of thought. Unhappily, however, Kant never completely emancipated himself from the bias which this rationalism had imparted, though at one time he got very near it; but devotion to his '*architectonic*' foreclosed this possibility for ever. Again, for some reason or other—possibly in consequence of his familiarity with physical science—Kant had a very mean opinion of psychology. Instead of trying to make it better, he was content to take what he found ready to his hand, the old faculty psychology. Here again he only made bad worse by inventing new faculties as often as he thought one necessary. What was worst of all, he accepted without examination the doctrine of an 'inner sense', current in the psychology of his time.

[1] Hence in fact the gap that he discovered later on and found Feeling to bridge over. Cf. above, p. 250.

In spite of these drawbacks, he made it clear once for all, I think, that the method of mathematics, its formal exactness notwithstanding, cannot be the method of philosophy. Further, he made it clear that mathematics derives this exactness primarily from intuition and not from thought. Finally, he also made it clear, as a consequence of his central truth, that valid metaphysics must be immanent, not transcendent. But he erred in sundering the real from the phenomenal—this as a consequence of his transcendental idealism and that Achilles' heel of his philosophy, the thing *per se.* Another defect in Kant's entire *Weltanschauung* was his want of what we call 'historical sense'. In spite of occasional speculations on evolutionary lines, he tended to regard the whole world as ready-made, and Man as created in full possession of the powers which it took ages to attain. Like Milton's Adam, Kant's *homo noumenon* started capable of discussing with an archangel the problem of 'fixed fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute'.

But the great motive of Kant's endeavour was to establish 'immutable morality'. 'The origin of the Critical Philosophy is in Morality—responsibility for actions' was found written on one of his 'loose leaves'. Even his theology is an '*ethico*-theology'. Of that side of theology which Schleiermacher, for instance, developed, Kant had little or nothing to say. He was not an emotionally religious man. He apostrophizes Duty in sublime words as the mainspring of action even for God. Over his tomb in the cathedral of Königsberg are appropriately inscribed the two things which filled his mind with awe—'the starry heavens above me, the moral law within me'.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY

XIV

SHELLEY AND THE OPPRESSORS OF MANKIND

By GEORGE GORDON

Read December 6, 1922

When I was honoured with an invitation to give the Warton Lecture of the year, it was suggested to me by the Committee of the Academy that the most appropriate subject for such a lecture, in the year 1922, was the poet Shelley. I agreed, though not without misgiving. It is one thing to thumb one's Bible, and join in that chorus to the Unseen which goes up from the pews; but to conduct the praise, or, what is harder, to expound one's faith from the pulpit,— a man may be excused some hesitation to whom this proposal is addressed. The works of Shelley, and especially the more visionary portions of his work, have been raised by his students to the status of Apocalypse. I hesitate to try my faith in the evidence of things which even by them are confessedly half seen and heard, and by me are sometimes neither heard nor seen. I am blinded in that world of dazzling light which is his element, and which they say is theirs, and am whirled into an immobility of mind by a form of motion which is never-ceasing, and is neither up nor down. I am lost in the interstellar spaces of this poet, and long, against my will, for the sweet security of streets and English lanes. Shelley, by the nature of his vision, demands augurers; above his ordinary readers and disciples he needs a priesthood; and Time, which denied him while he lived both priesthood and congregation, has long provided him with both. I do not know what presumption is expected of me. I belong to a profession hardened in audacity, whose business it is to invade the deserted studios of dead writers, and to be officially familiar with the minds of great men. But in this airy and boundless temple of the spirit of which Shelley is the harmonious builder and the raptured inhabitant I take leave not only to throw away my gown but to decline the surplice. If for one hour I must presume, I would have you imagine me a poor deacon of the order, and my station in the antechapel of this Wisdom.

It is a hundred years and some months since Shelley died,—not fighting much, we may suppose, against the waves which drowned him, but accepting his certainty of rest and his chance of revelation. All his life he had played with death, and often longed for it; and at twenty-nine, a grey-headed stripling, having lived, he would say, to be older than his father, he found it easily enough. He died in what he regarded as exile, his death scarcely noted except by the little circle of his friends, and was outlived by all the objects of his detestation: by the father who had, as he believed, persecuted and plotted against him, by the lawyer who had declared him unfit to bring up his children, by the churchmen and reviewers who had reviled him as an enemy of Society, and, I need hardly add, since they are still here, by all those institutions, public and domestic, which he had made it his business from boyhood to denounce and defy.

There is some point, then, in a Shelley centenary, beyond the flattery of an immortal. No man of his age had higher poetical ambitions than Shelley, or preserved them under more discouragement. It is hard to write without the confidence of finding readers. But that debt has been paid. I am more impressed by another column of the account which gives a less certain answer. Here is a man of the greatest genius and sincerity, whose whole life, in every act and expression of it, challenged the beliefs and usages of the society into which he was born. We do not now dispute about the poetical genius of Shelley; but so far as I can see, after a hundred years, his challenge to Society still holds, and controls this ceremony. We are involved, it appears, in something more athletic than an affair of almanacs and panegyrics, a reassurance to the world of letters that there are still garlands, that genius is still noted though deceased. Some answer should be found to this challenge, or at any rate, since an answer may be beyond our powers, the challenge should be stated.

I propose to celebrate the centenary of Shelley in this sense, neither in the language of flowers nor in the language of the altar, but, so far as I am master of it, in the language of men. My subject is not simply 'Shelley', as I have allowed it for convenience to be announced. Public lectures on 'Shelley' are independent of centenaries, and as appropriate last year as this. My subject is that which the date and the occasion have irresistibly imposed upon me: 'Shelley and the Oppressors of Mankind.'

I suppose that every centenary, when the object of it is a man who fought and suffered for the truth, as Shelley did, carries with it, if not a challenge, at any rate a question to the new age. The important

thing at this moment is not what we sophisticated people think of Shelley, but what Shelley in his admirable simplicity thought of us. It was Jerome of Prague who first, I believe, of our modern martyrs hit on this test of the centenary, announcing to his enemies before his martyrdom, *post centum annos vos cito*, 'when a hundred years have passed I summon you for judgement'. I propose to issue this summons, and to call up some of the defendants in the famous and still pending suit of Shelley against the World. They make a formidable list. First, the institution of the Family, as represented by the rights of a parent over his child; next, the School and the tyranny of Schoolmasters, with the lower empire of the lesser Ajaxes of the form, the University, and the loathed autocracy of Dons; all Government or Power not delegated and republican—Kings, Emperors, Nobles, Judges, with old father Antic the Law; all Priests and Churches of whatever organized faith; the religion of Christ, with all its hierarchy (omitting only from condemnation, because one had been kind to him, the honourable class of country clergymen); the institution of Marriage, and the fanatical convention of Chastity; all Nationalists and Patriots forgetful of their citizenship of the world; all War and Soldiers (though Sailors, oddly enough, even fighting Sailors, are permitted. such was his love of this island, and of our Provost-Marshal the sea); all Hunters and Slaughterers of our fellow animals, and that perversion of Nature by which man, departing from the temperance of his beginning, has fallen to the grossness of flesh and wine; all Comedy (for what is Comedy but a mocking of our poor deformities?)· with a long line of diminishing and lesser evils, flanked by that general pest, the Casual Acquaintance, whom he thanked heaven he had never been wretch enough to tolerate. The degrees of his denunciation vary, but one and all of the delinquents are evil: the enemies, avowed or not, of the freedom and perfection of man.

The strength and vitality of the human soul is tested by its contact with institutions. One after another they present themselves to the growing man, claiming to subdue him and to use him. It is fortunate that the earliest of these claims is put forward by so mild and wholesome a corporation as the Family, for after the family has taken its toll most women and some men are never heard of again. Shelley from the first resisted capture: as a child, by something wild and lonely in him, not easily tangible by parents; as a boy, by the otherworldliness of all his hobbies; as a young man, on the bitter ground of principle, at the point of the sword. It is natural to the young to hate tyranny and love truth. But where, in that tangle of loyalty and laziness which we call Custom, this tyranny lies, and what manner and degree of

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truth is to be expected in the laborious expedients by which the human race contrives its comfort and survival,—these are matters on which age and youth will never see the same. Shelley was a reformer at his first school, and from that time to the end never came, says Peacock, directly or indirectly, under any authority, public or private, which he regarded with respect. All successively presented themselves in the light of tyrannies or oppressions. It was no small part, we may imagine, of his early delight in Chemistry that the study was forbidden; or of his pleasure in Astronomy that this instruction also was outside the school routine, and introduced him to the notion of other worlds at a time when he was becoming aware of the imperfections of this. Night, with its vast plurality of stars, became, says a schoolfellow, 'his jubilee'. He was odd, affectionate, and rebellious, fighting then, as in his later battles of opinion, with the girlishness of open hands; and at the age of twelve had dedicated himself, in tears and solitude, with the din of petty tyrants in his ear, to a war of justice, freedom, and gentleness among mankind. The minds of children are profound. We must not call this dedication absurd. A stone had been thrown, and we are witnesses of the first eddy of the pool.

The happiness which he missed as a schoolboy he might have been expected to recover at Oxford, and for a time, in the unaccustomed and tranquil freedom of the place, Shelley was happy. But he was the precocious child of reason and reform. There is a stage in the life of every young man of speculative habits when truth seems ascertainable by argument, and ascertainable about ultimate things. Not the least of the characteristic glories of Oxford are founded on this delusion, which we call generous because, as a rule, it is a delusion of youth. It was an article of existence to young Shelley. He had the good or bad fortune to be born into an age not unlike our own, an ambitious and disappointed generation, when all power and all experience were suspect; and to enter Oxford before the establishment of that ethical, political, and metaphysical tournament in which, under kindly tuition, the sword of undergraduate controversy, licensed and scarcely blunted, now fights all day long and often far into the night. With what gusto and what effects of health would Shelley have rushed into this battle! He found himself, on the contrary,—ablaze with argument, burning to convince and to be convinced, aching for the duel,—without an arena or an adversary. The game of ultimates was not played, it appears, by the undergraduates of University College, and he was driven to conduct it, like a lonely chess-player, by correspondence and in the press. He wrote long letters to men whom he had never seen, and who, never having seen

him, addressed him for safety as 'the Reverend'; and coming at last to the point, having convinced himself that belief is not to be commanded, he printed and circulated among the persons officially, as he supposed, best qualified to help him (such as Bishops and Heads of Houses), a short pamphlet, which was on sale in Oxford for twenty minutes, giving the grounds on which he found it difficult and indeed impossible to believe in the existence of a God.

> As a love of truth is the only motive which actuates the Author of this little tract, he earnestly entreats that those of his readers who may discover any deficiency in his reasoning, or may be in possession of proofs which his mind could never obtain, would offer them, together with their objections, to the Public, as briefly, as methodically, as plainly as he has taken the liberty of doing.
>
> Thro' deficiency of proof,
>
> AN ATHEIST.

This air of the inquirer who asks for help seemed, no doubt, to his judges an aggravation of insolence; but when all deductions have been made for boyish bravado, the probability is that it was merely sincere. One of the charms of intercourse with Shelley, his friends affirm, was the openness with which he responded to opinions opposed to his own. He had asked a question, and it was always a grievance with him that he had not been answered; that he was met, not with argument, but with expulsion. He was an inquirer all his life, and the most startling, most lovable and alarming thing about him was his sincerity.

His expulsion from the University was the first of many sentences of exile,—from his home, from the respect of Society, and at last, as he believed, from England. The chief battle was fought out with his father, and I shall dwell on it a moment because it seems to contain all the rest. Age, authority, experience, custom, compromise, and, let me add, kindness of heart confront, in the muddled person of Timothy Shelley, the logic of the stripling, the inhumanity of the enthusiast, the terrible rectitude of youth. Shelley at nineteen demands lucidity; everything must be *proved*; the only password is *Q. E. D.* The word 'God' is faulty: it is a 'vague' word. As for 'obedience', it was a word, he told his father, which should never have existed. One should not order, but convince.

> You can *command* obedience. The institutions of society have made you, though liable to be misled by passion and prejudice like others, the Head of a Family; and I confess it is almost natural for minds not of the highest order to value even the errors whence they derive their importance.

Youth, as his father remarked, is 'not the season for admissions'. It was a situation unfavourable to both parties. Shelley saw himself in high lights, 'surrounded, environed by dangers', 'an outcast', yet defiant, a solitary figure against a background of tempest, standing 'as it were, on a pharos', and smiling exultingly at the billows below.

> Am I not the wildest, the most delirious of enthusiasm's offspring? . . . Down with Bigotry! Down with Intolerance!

Timothy the father did his best, in his kindly incoherent way, for the old order, and he failed. Henceforth his lawyer must see to it. It is a pathetic spectacle, this clash of two sincerities in one house, the young brain of the new generation pitted against the groggy heart of the old: groggy, but as we say, in the right place. I have never seen a hearty word said for old Sir Timothy, though Hogg the parodist had an inkling:

> I have sometimes thought that if he had been taken the right way things might have gone better; but this his son Bysshe could never do.

A martyr cannot afford to make concessions; he may be benevolent, but scarcely kind. As Timothy expressed it in his own idiom:

> This misguided young man courts persecution, and which to him would be a favor.

Shelley did not live long enough to experience as a father the problems which he had set as a son; but the old Family, though it came sadly to grief over Shelley, having no equipment or set of standing orders for such an emergency, got out of it fairly well in the end. Sir Timothy had no idea of forgetting Shelley's orphans. they are those 'poor little innocents', and the boy goes to Shelley's old school, and eats his mutton-chop, on the way, in the front-room of Shelley's old enemy the family solicitor. On the whole (and if you will read the letters of this time not long ago recovered from the solicitor's office, I believe you will agree with me), the Family wins.

When a man rejects his family, or is rejected by it, he inclines, if he be an enthusiast, to found a family of his own, for enthusiasts need sympathy. I do not propose to disinter the mangled question of Harriet and Mary Shelley. I am only concerned to point out the need which Shelley always felt, and which he variously satisfied, for some woman who would try to understand him, and his belief that

when she ceased to try, or to be able to do so, the contract between them was at an end. There is nothing very remarkable in such a belief, as held by either party. It is common enough to-day. What is remarkable is that Shelley acted on it, and could not conceive that he could possibly do otherwise. Much more than by his boldness as a theorist we are impressed by his courage as an executant. It is the rarer quality. His theories, on Marriage as on Government, he took from Godwin; but Godwin was the officer who dictates ruthlessness from a cellar. He had never, like Shelley, the bright subaltern courage of the top. He was startled, as others were startled, by the promptitude with which Shelley, believing a thing to be right, immediately did it. Marriage, Shelley agreed with Godwin, was an imposition of the priests, and Chastity a condition as selfish as it was dull. Constancy he believed to have in itself no virtue. To promise to love the same woman for ever seemed to him not less absurd than to promise to believe for ever the same creed. Literally, he appears to have been of opinion, a man could not honestly promise a woman more than this: 'I love you until further information.' It was, and is still, an arguable position; but it was an inhuman belief so long as Society and the woman believed otherwise. Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, as became her mother's daughter, was as much of an executant as Shelley, and that partnership was quickly made. He left Harriet as a sculptor casts aside his failures. We reflect on the uncertain fate of visionaries' wives: Shelley meditating flight while Harriet chose bonnets.

It is a pity that the friends of Shelley have written so inhumanly and so dishonestly about Harriet. It really is not necessary to defame Harriet in order to clear anybody. Beliefs, in Shelley, had the force of passions, and he acted on his beliefs. The scandal and misery of Harriet's death drove Peacock to wish that Shelley could have remained, to his survivors and to posterity, a wandering voice; that he had been left unseen in his congenial region

> Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
> Which men call Earth;

that he had been heard only in the splendour of his song. It was too much to expect. Shelley had entered the lists of Society, and both in theory and in fact had broken, with every circumstance of publicity, a remarkable number of its most cherished rules. An unfilial son, a professed atheist, unhonoured by his school, rejected by his University, an adulterer, and the deserter, if not the murderer of his wife,—the avowed enemy of all constituted power, in State, Church,

and Family,—advocate, it was reported, of a polygamous and godless Arcadia,—and what was more, of remarkable good looks and distinguished birth—heir to a baronetcy—a poet—and not yet twenty-three: the alarmed and delighted gossip who sits within us all could never have permitted so rare a prize to escape the mortuary of authors! There have been many coroners and many verdicts, but no judgement is much worth reading except his own. It is to be found in his works.

I pass from Shelley the troubler of homes to Shelley the politician. He had expected at one time to enter Parliament, but a closer acquaintance with Westminster Hall determined him against a profession for which it is impossible to suppose that he was intended by nature. His father was a Member, and eagerly encouraged the idea; but he showed his son too much.

> Good God! what men did we meet about the House—in the lobbies and passages! and my father was so civil to them all!

He became, instead, a free lance. The Irish were agitating, and he was in the Lakes. He crossed, and spoke and wrote among them as if every man should be doing the same, and with a confidence which touched the veteran Irish that Justice had only to be seen to be acclaimed by both parties. He wrote and spoke well. His *Address to the Irish People* should be read by the much more numerous readers of *Queen Mab* who imagine this to be his only early method of political pronouncement. They forget that Shelley, though a republican poet, was also an Englishman, and sensitive by right of instinct to the simple needs of a political situation. The miraculous visions and monkish denunciations of his political poetry are absent from his tracts, which will usually be found to advocate a policy of moderation: Liberty certainly, and sometime, perhaps, a New World, but now, at this moment, whatever instalment of Liberty can reasonably, without violence or trickery, be obtained.

His political poetry is notoriously less restricted, and so far as it is political, has probably embarrassed more readers than it has enlightened. Truth and self-deception, blindness and vision, ignorance the most child-like and foreknowledge almost absolute were never so chaotically mingled in the melody of words. The forces of nature are not tidy; we must take the sand with the gold. It has been asserted, indeed, that the political interest which appears so prominently in the poetry of Shelley is misleading: that so far as *Queen Mab*, the *Revolt of Islam*, and the *Prometheus* are political, they are written against instinct. It may be so:

> Some thought he was a lover and did woo:
> Some thought far worse of him, and judged him wrong;
> But verse was what he had been wedded to;
> And his own mind did like a tempest strong
> Come to him thus, and drove the weary Wight along.

The story of the *Revolt*, says Mr. Clutton-Brock, is packed with political action, 'but Shelley digresses from it as often as he can and takes no pleasure in telling it. He writes about the great wicked world of tyrants and slaves, as a monk, telling the life of a saint, might write of all the pagan wickedness of the Roman Empire. The monk would represent the emperor as a demon on his throne. . . . He would have no notion that emperors were often overworked men who did evil by mistake or from cowardice or ill-temper. He would conceive of them as persecuting the saints because they hated the light.' This is indeed what Shelley does, and not once but always. The weakness is radical, and sufficient to have ruined poems less tumultuous with beauty and the cry of prayer. The gorged and drunken Kings, the baleful and malignant Priests who represent, in the fiction of *Queen Mab*, the political and ecclesiastical tradition of Europe, cannot be dismissed as the passing nightmares of adolescence. Shelley, though he disowned the poem, never wholly outlived it. Othman the Tyrant of Islam with his 'Iberian Priest', and Jupiter the Tyrant of the Universe still spread the black curtain for the drama of dawn; still in his latest visions palaces are labyrinths of crime, and temples and churches the larders and cookhouses of corruption. As with evil so with good. Colours of Queen Mab's Arcadia linger in the detail of maturer prophecies. Though the stage widens and is at last the Universe itself, the babe, in these recovered worlds, still plays with the basilisk, no berry poisons or storm blows, and man, living softly on roots and water, finds government and war, marriage, commerce, and religion miraculously displaced by the universal regimen of Love. The new world of the *Prometheus*, however, is far from the Arcadia of *Queen Mab*, and farther still from anything which men can hope for within a time worth measuring. The passion for reform is lost in the rapturous contemplation not merely of the world made better, but of a better world.

And yet, the prose interest did not cease. The recent publication of his last and most elaborate political essay, written in 1820, *A Philosophical View of Reform*, proves his continued occupation with the practical affairs of the world at a time when his poetry seemed to be more and more withdrawing from them. The situation considered was very like our own: a tiring war followed by poverty

and unrest, a stirring of the nations, and in England a double aristocracy, of old land and new money, with labour earning higher wages which somehow bought less food. As is usual in these prose tracts he has much to say that is both moderate and wise. He concedes a good deal: to birth, for example, and even to commerce.

> Though at the bottom it is all trick, there is something frank and magnificent in the chivalrous disdain of infamy connected with a gentleman.
>
> There is something to which . . . it is difficult for the imagination to refuse its respect in the faithful and direct dealings of the substantial merchant.

His wrath is reserved for the profiteer. He would have all men equal at once—in rights, but not in property. 'Equality in possessions must be the last result of the utmost refinements of civilization.' He would have universal suffrage, but slowly; woman suffrage, but not yet. 'Let us be contented with a limited beginning.' He saw and deplored the 'mine of unexploded misery' lying at the foundation of the new industries, and regretted the entry of a utilitarian philosophy into 'the enchanted forest of the demons of worldly power'. But on the whole his word is hope.

> We derive tranquillity and courage and grandeur of soul from contemplating an object which is, because we will it, and may be, because we hope and desire it, and must be if succeeding generations of the enlightened sincerely and earnestly seek it.

The last hundred years have realized some of his desires, and some, also, of his forebodings. In the twentieth century, with added troubles of our own, we contemplate ruefully the undiminished heap.

It has been a perpetual disadvantage to the reputation of Shelley that his interpreters have so seldom been willing to take him into the market-place and confront a worldly audience with him on its own ground. The young revolutionaries have found him out for themselves, and now sing his hymns; but at the first coarseness of scepticism his more professed admirers have been accustomed to fly off in a gale of lyric into the void. It is related of Shelley that from childhood he 'told tales', and also that no one had a greater horror of falsehood. The plain man is puzzled. 'He was altogether incapable', says Hogg, 'of rendering an account of any transaction whatsoever, according to the strict and precise truth.' He would narrate as real events which had never happened, and see things which competent witnesses declared were never there. He saw blood, for example, on the white hands of Church dignitaries, and demons issuing from the mouths

of Judges, and the Kings of the earth walking most pitiably naked among crowds who praised their clothes.

But he was subject, we are told, to hallucinations. Men came, and said things to him, when it could be proved that no man had ever appeared.

The hallucinations of Shelley are a part of the man, an extravagance of his art. His instrument was vision, and his delusions are vision working at the wrong time upon the wrong material. We all tend to overuse our favourite instrument; the orator who makes speeches and the actor who makes faces in private life are guilty of the same error as Shelley. Shelley the poet is not touched by any hallucination that may be attributed to him; but Shelley the citizen, no doubt, becomes more vulnerable. I will make a concession. I will confess that the bitterness of Shelley against what he called 'the withering and perverting spirit of Comedy' has sometimes seemed to me to be more than the altruist's protest against the mockery of the weak. In his character of enthusiast Shelley recoiled, and not wholly without reason, from the corrosion of laughter.

The opponents of Comedy are drawn, as a rule, from two classes. They are either Officials, representatives of Bumbledom (Policemen, Vice-Chancellors, or Lord Mayors), or they are Enthusiasts for a cause. They have, in other words, either something to conceal (and these are the Officials), or something, some movement, to promote (and these are the Enthusiasts). And both are uncomfortably aware that it is precisely from these two classes that Comedy draws her plumpest victims. Shelley in society was one of the least self-conscious of men; but he was aware of the danger, and if he saw it approaching shrank from it like a monk from the ribaldry of women. 'There was not much comedy in Shelley's life,' says Peacock. I am sorry that there was so little; that he descended so seldom from his aerial promontory to the levels of common life; that he turned his back on that by no means uninforming person, the Casual Acquaintance; that he laughed so little, and was so seldom laughed at by his friends. The only friends who seem to have attempted it (for even Byron was quiet when Shelley spoke) were Peacock and Harriet; and it was, I am afraid, by no means the least of the qualifications of Harriet's successor that she was constitutionally unable to see anything to laugh at. Many of Shelley's most voluble admirers have shared, and still share, Mary Shelley's disability. But I have yet to be convinced that they relish more on that account what was true and lasting in this great and ill-befriended man: his clear sincerity, his admirable unworldliness, and his radiant gift of song.

The last four years of Shelley's life were spent in Italy. It may be some consolation to members of my audience, weary of the visionary and cosmopolitan programmes of the day, to be assured that Shelley, though he made and shared such visions, and has been claimed as one of the founders of modern cosmopolitanism, regretted bitterly his Italian exile and was a good Englishman to the end. He had never, indeed, at the best of times, been quite able to live up to that mood of universal tolerance which he had set himself, and for which Englishmen in practice are so little remarkable. Even on his brief tour of 1816 his mind kept turning, he says, to one spot of earth and the thought of home. 'So long as the name of country and the selfish conceptions it includes shall subsist'—the Universalist says grace for the Patriot—England, he is persuaded, is of all countries the freest and the most refined. He cannot imagine that travel could ever teach a man to despise the country of his birth:

> Our poets, and our philosophers, our mountains and our lakes, the rural lanes and fields which are so especially our own, are ties which, until I become utterly senseless, can never be broken asunder.

Even in his *Philosophical View*, written two years before his death, in a scheme of things which *ex hypothesi* excludes or at any rate frowns on war, he speaks of a lost millennium in which

> our ships manned by sailors well-paid and well-clothed might have kept watch round this glorious island against the less enlightened nations.

We rub our eyes, but there is no doubt about the sentence. It is in the great tradition of Shakespeare and Milton and the author of the *British Grenadiers*.

His longing for the old places grew upon him.

> I often revisit Marlow in thought. The curse of this life is, that whatever is once known, can never be unknown. You inhabit a spot, which before you inhabit it, is as indifferent to you as any other spot upon earth, and when, persuaded by some necessity, you think to leave it, you leave it not; it clings to you—and with memories of things, which, in your experience of them, gave no such promise, revenges your desertion. Time flows on, places are changed; friends who were with us are no longer with us; yet what has been seems yet to be, but barren and stripped of life. See, I have sent you a study for Nightmare Abbey.

He kept his home-sickness for his friend Peacock. Mrs. Shelley, who was fond of Italy and disliked England, believed, and was permitted to believe, that he shared her taste. He never had a home, in the English sense, long enough to make it one, but he knew well enough what a home should be:

> The shrines of the Penates are good wood fires, or window frames intertwined with creeping plants; their hymns are the purring of kittens, the hissing of kettles; the long talks over the past and dead, the laugh of children; the warm wind of summer filling the quiet house, and the pelting storm of winter struggling in vain for entrance.

It would not readily be imagined by one who knew him only from repute that the writer of these words was Shelley. He suffered in a hundred ways from his old enemy Custom, which he now saw to be a more formidable opponent than either Force or Fraud, because the affections make their nest there.

The reproach is sometimes levelled at Shelley that he deserted his country; that whereas Milton, his fellow-republican, returned to England because of the troubles, Shelley left England for the same reason. But it does not appear to touch him.

> The number of English who pass through this town (he writes from Milan in 1818) is very great. They ought to be in their own country in the present crisis. Their conduct is wholly inexcusable.

This would be extraordinary, when we consider where Shelley was, if it did not mean that he regarded himself as invalided and out of the battle, that he was already withdrawing from that mixture of energy and error which we call life. Peacock fancied that if he had lived out his generation he might have passed his days like Volney, looking on the world from his windows, and perhaps, like that 'or some other' great apostle of liberty, desiring that nothing should be inscribed on his tomb but his name, the dates of his birth and death, and the single word *Désillusionné*. I cannot believe that this is true or likely. I had rather think of him as he pictures Minerva in the sculpture in the Florence Gallery:

> The face . . . is animated with a profound, sweet, and impassioned melancholy, with an earnest, and fervid, and disinterested pleading against some vast and inevitable wrong . . . Wisdom is pleading earnestly with Power,—and invested with the expression of that grief, because it must ever plead so vainly.

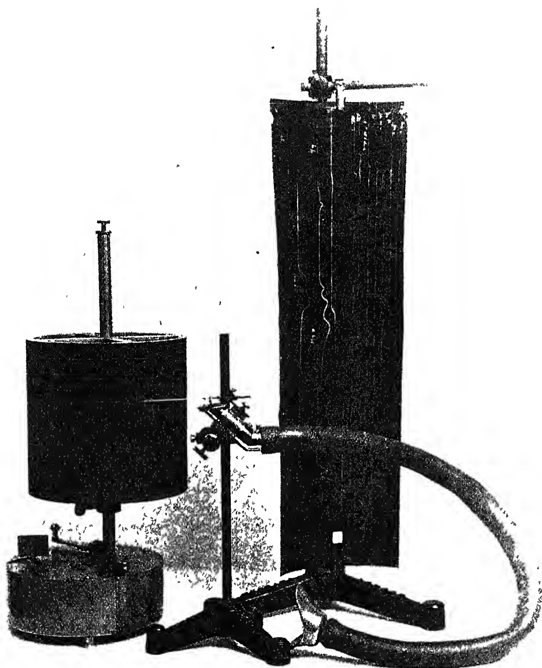

Fig. 1. Registering Apparatus.

THE STUDY OF ENGLISH SPEECH BY NEW METHODS OF PHONETIC INVESTIGATION

By E. W. SCRIPTURE, Ph.D.

Read January 31, 1923

I. Making Speech Inscriptions.

Instruments and apparatus have long been employed sporadically for the study of speech, but the systematic application of accurate experimental methods may be said to have begun with the Abbé Rousselot. On one occasion he observed that his speech differed from that of his parents. Being unable to specify these differences exactly by the ear he improved and employed methods of registration that had already been in use in the physiological laboratories. He found that the speech of three generations living in the same house showed progressive changes, too small for the ear to detect but yet visible in the records.

This method of recording speech in its present form comprises as its first essential an accurately revolving cylinder covered with paper coated with soot. A person speaks into a mouth-piece from which a tube leads to a membrane in a recording apparatus. A light lever connected with the membrane enlarges its movements and registers them on the smoked paper. The breaths and puffs of air from the mouth of the speaker are thus recorded and fixed so that they can be studied at leisure and measured under the microscope. Such an apparatus is shown in Figure 1.

Some characteristics of this method may be illustrated by inscriptions of a group of consonants called the occlusives (Figure 2). The top line in this figure is a registration of the word 'pope'. At the beginning the line sinks to the horizontal base level and remains horizontal. This is the time during which the breath was cut off—the occlusion. It is followed by a sharp rise as a strong impulse of breath occurs; this is the explosion. The line remains up for a brief

instant, showing that the explosion comprises quite an issue of breath. The following waves are those of the vowel. Then the line descends somewhat slowly, showing that the breath is being lessened. It remains lessened for a short time. At no point does the line reach

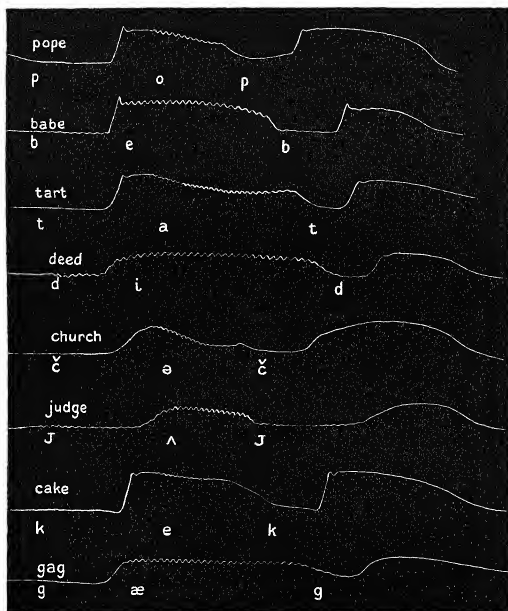

Fig. 2. Inscriptions of Typical Occlusives.

the base level; therefore at no moment was the breath cut off completely. Consequently there was no complete occlusion. Yet this was a clearly spoken *p*. Such cases occur constantly in the records. This *p* was a semi-occlusive or a narrow fricative and not a full occlusive. The explosion occurs suddenly. A large amount of breath is let out as usual at the end of a separate word.

The second line shows a record of 'babe'. Here both the *b*'s are complete occlusives. The presence of waves during the occlusions shows that the voice tone was present throughout. The record of 'tart' is similar to that of 'pope'. The second *t* is more fricative than occlusive. It will be noticed that this method registers the amount of breath issuing from the mouth. It tells nothing of how the changes were produced by the speech organs. In case of lessening or stoppage, as for *p* or *t*, it does not indicate whether the lips or the tongue were active. The waves in 'deed' show the voicing of the *d*. The second *d* is more truly an occlusive than the second *t*. The

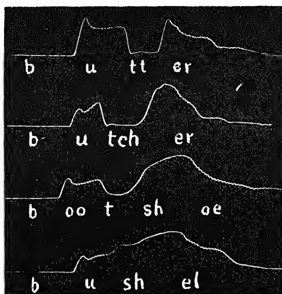

FIG. 3. Inscriptions to show the Nature of 'ch' and 'j'.

explosions for *d* are softer than those for *t*. The records for 'cake' and 'gag' show typical occlusives and semi-occlusives.

The consonant sounds in 'church' and 'judge' bring up a special problem. The consonant in 'church' is usually considered to be represented by the sounds of *tsh*, that is, to consist of a union of the two consonants *t* and *sh*. Some persons, however, consider it to be a single consonant of the same order as *t* and *k*. The question can only be settled by records. The first line of Figure 3 shows the quick fall of the line to the base level for *tt* (which is really only a single *t*) of 'butter'. After a horizontal stretch the line shoots up rapidly for the explosion of the *t*. For the middle consonant *tch* of 'butcher' the line falls suddenly and remains on the base level for a somewhat longer time than for *tt* of 'butter'. Then it rises not quite so rapidly for the explosion. The breath of the explosion is slightly longer than for *tt*. For 'bootshoe', spoken as one word, the *t* is not quite so

perfectly made. Instead of a sudden explosion the line rises somewhat rapidly at first and then continues in a gradual rise. The picture is quite different from that of *tch*. The last line helps to an explanation of this one. The *sh* in 'bushel' shows a high line for the rush of air. The *sh* in 'bootshoe' is similar to this *sh*. The curve would suggest that the *sh* in 'bootshoe' greatly modified the preceding sound so that it was not a typical *t*. The figure makes it very plain that the middle consonant in 'butcher' is not *t* plus *sh*, but is of the same class as *t*. It is quite proper to indicate it in ordinary type by *ch*, and phonetically by [č]. The corresponding voiced sound is *j* or [ɟ].

The explanation of the smoother explosion for *ch* is found in the fact that the contact of the tongue with the palate is farther back for *ch* than for *t*. Here the tongue fits the palate over a larger area. On

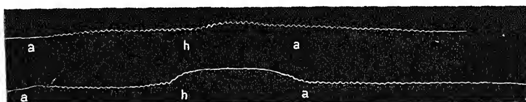

Fig. 4. Inscriptions of 'aha'.

releasing the contact the tongue lets the air through more gradually. The explanation of the curve for 'bootshoe' is found in the different parts of the tongue used for *t* and *sh*. Quite a movement has to be made in order to pass from the front contact for *t* to the top adjustment for *sh*.

The sound of *h* is usually described as a breathy sound produced by the friction of the air in the glottis. The vocal cords are supposed not to vibrate, and the *h* is said to be voiceless. The Hindu grammarians, however, prescribed a voiced *h* in reading the Vedas. For two thousand years this was declared to be an impossibility. How could the vocal cords vibrate as in a vowel and yet be separated enough to let the air through as a breath sound? By making inscriptions E. Meyer showed that the voiced *h* is a common sound in German. Some years ago Professor Paul of Munich visited my laboratory and happened to speak of this problem. He was convinced that a voiced *h* was an impossibility. He was induced to speak into the apparatus and was surprised to find that he made a voiced *h* more often than a voiceless one. The original curves have long since been lost, but Figure 4 reproduces records that can be made by any one. The upper line shows a record of 'aha' spoken easily and naturally.

It has vibrations throughout its whole length. The middle part, corresponding to the *h*, is strongly blown up. It will be noticed that the vibrations are stronger during the *h* than during the vowels. The second line shows the *h* purposely made without voice. This is a more difficult sound than the other *h* when it occurs between vowels.

When a problem of this kind is met, it is natural to seek some explanation. In looking over inscriptions of speech it is soon noticed that sounds ordinarily voiceless, such as *t* or *p*, frequently become voiced between vowels. In studying some records by the tenor Caruso I found that he frequently kept his vocal cords vibrating during sounds like *t* and *k*. This was done unconsciously; he was incredulous and indignant when the peculiarity was pointed out to him, yet the general effect of his singing was smoother on account of the peculiarity. I would suggest that it is often not only easier but also pleasanter to voice consonants between vowels. The expression 'aha' with a voiced *h* is the milder and more agreeable word; 'aha' with the unvoiced *h* is an expression with more vigour, aggressiveness, and unpleasantness.

II. Tracing Gramophone Records.

In a gramophone record the sound is registered as sidewise vibrations in a line running around the disk. By tracing off these vibrations it is possible to analyse them carefully. Many years ago

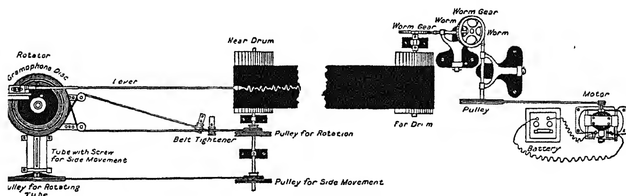

Fig. 5. Apparatus for Tracing Off Gramophone Records.

I built an apparatus at Yale University for this purpose. It was afterwards used for four years under a grant from the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

A top view of the apparatus is shown in Figure 5. A motor drives a series of countershafts that greatly reduce the speed. The last shaft turns a metal cylinder. A band of paper is stretched around this

drum and another one at any distance away. The paper band serves as a belt to drive the rest of the apparatus. The paper is coated with smoke. By means of a belt the gramophone disk is slowly turned. A long light lever carries a steel needle very near the fulcrum. This needle rests in the groove of the gramophone disk and follows all its movements. The waves in the groove move the needle sidewise. This movement is greatly enlarged by the lever and registered on the band of paper.

Figure 6 shows some pieces cut out of a gramophone tracing of

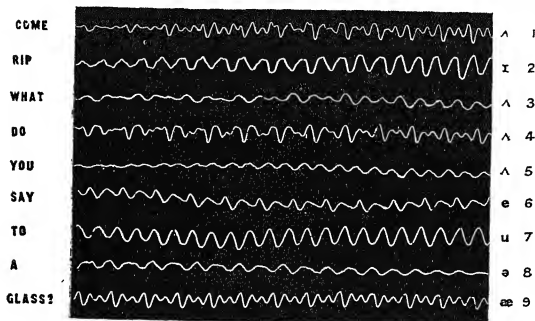

Fig. 6. Portions of Vowels from a Gramophone Record.

a speech by the actor Joseph Jefferson. Each line gives a few waves from the tracing of a vowel. The small waves occur in groups. Each group represents one vibration of the voice. The small waves result from the tones of the vowels.

The heights of the waves vary with the intensity. It is noticed at once that the intensity is always changing. The length of each group corresponds to the pitch of the voice tone. When a measure or a pair of dividers is applied to the groups they are found to change constantly in length. This means that the pitch of the voice tone is also constantly changing. When the smaller waves that make up the groups are inspected, they are seen to change steadily at every point everywhere in every vowel. Since these small waves register the character of the vowel, the conclusion is unavoidable that a vowel is not a constant sound but an ever-changing one. These three vowel laws—change of loudness, change of pitch, and change of character—

are strikingly illustrated in the first line. The waves steadily increase in height; the length of a wave group at the left is much greater than at the right; the forms of the smaller waves change in a remarkable manner.

According to these three laws vowels are sounds that are ever changing. It is just this variability and flexibility that make the vowels such adequate elements in the expression of shades of thought and emotion. Vowels are not mechanical combinations of sounds; they are living vocal gestures.

FIG. 7. Inscription of 'sober'.

III. STUDIES OF THE MELODY OF SPEECH.

In speech the voice is continually rising and falling. This movement of the voice tone is termed the melody of speech. The study of

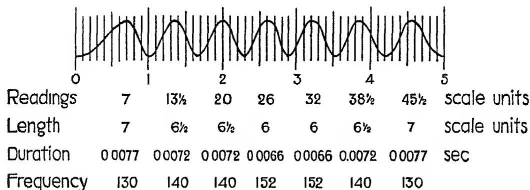

FIG. 8. Ocular Scale over Vowel Waves.

speech melody is becoming one of the most important domains of philology. The melody of speech is obtained by making inscriptions and measuring the waves.

An inscription of 'sober' is reproduced in Figure 7. This is placed under a microscope with an ocular scale. The eye sees the scale as if laid upon the waves (Figure 8). The horizontal lengths of the waves are read off. Since the speed of the recording surface is known, these lengths in tenths of a millimetre are changed into time by a simple multiplication. During the inscription in Figure 7 the drum was going at the rate of 0·1 mm. in 0·0011 sec. A reading

of 7 for the length of a wave means then that the actual time occupied by the vibration of the voice was 0·0011 × 7 = 0·0077 sec. If one vibration of the voice occupies 0·0077 sec., then the tone corresponding to this vibration would have as many vibrations per second as 0·0077 sec. is contained times in 1 sec., or 130. That is, at this instant the vocal cords were vibrating at the rate of 130 per second. This gives the pitch of the tone for that instant. In this way the entire inscription is worked through, and the pitch of the voice at every instant is found. These results are indicated by dots on millimetre paper. The resulting plot (Figure 9) shows how the voice rose and fell in the word 'sober' as recorded in Figure 7.

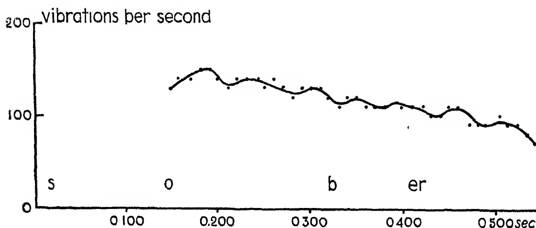

Fig. 9. Melody Plot of 'sober'.

In exactly the same way the waves of the curves obtained from gramophone records can be used to give the melody plots.

Very little work has been done on the melody of the English language. At Yale University I traced off gramophone records by the actor Joseph Jefferson in Rip Van Winkle's Toast, and by Senator Depew in a public address. The former was first published by Yale University, the latter by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The melody plots in somewhat clearer revisions are given in Figures 10 and 11.

The first words of the Rip Van Winkle record are a genial invitation to take a drink. The melody rises and falls in an easy normal way. Then come the words 'What do I say to a glass?' as a somewhat sarcastic question. There is a loss of the easy up-and-down flexibility and a peculiar rise, fall, rise at the end. 'Now what do I generally say to a glass?' is muttered in a sarcastic monotone. 'I say it is a fine thing' is specially marked by the double rise and fall in the last two words; this gives a rather whimsical expression to them. There is a similar expression in the last phrase 'when there's plenty

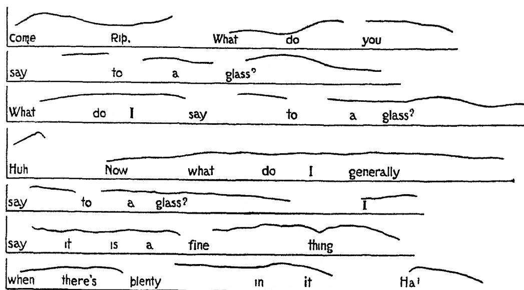

FIG. 10. Melody Plot of Rip Van Winkle's Toast.

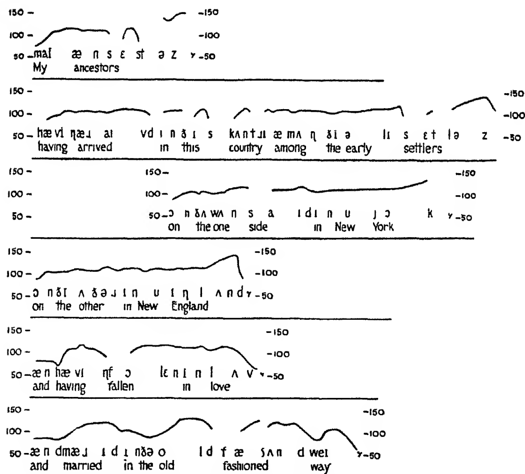

FIG. 11. Melody Plot of a Speech.

in it'. The final 'Ha' is an expression of satisfaction after Rip has tasted the schnapps. The gentle rise and long fall are in contrast with the rapidly rising high tone of the sarcastic 'Huh' above.

The speech of Depew was made at a public banquet. It begins solemnly and pompously. This is expressed in the four phrases with a melody that begins low and rises steadily to a high pitch at the end. In the last two phrases the melody changes completely. In each phrase it rises and falls in an unusually lively manner with a fall at the end. The effect is that of comicality and whimsicality.

In the course of researches for the Carnegie Institution some records of interjections by the physician and novelist S. Weir Mitchel were traced off. The melody plots of three of them are given in Figures

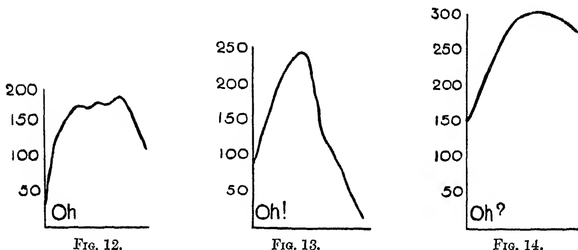

FIG. 12. FIG. 13. FIG. 14.
Melody Plots of 'oh' spoken in Sorrow (12), Admiration (13), and Doubt (14).

12, 13, and 14. The 'oh' in Figure 12 was spoken sorrowfully. It begins very low and rises about two octaves. Here it persists waveringly for a time; then it falls somewhat but leaves the voice hovering. The waver and the sudden end are peculiar characteristics of a sorrowful voice. The 'oh' in Figure 13 was spoken in admiration. The tone of the voice began low and rose about an octave and a fourth. Then it fell suddenly and rapidly to a very low tone about two octaves and a half lower than the highest tone. The 'oh' of Figure 14 expresses questioning doubt. It begins comparatively high for this speaker and rises to an unusually high point. There it remains. This high ending leaves the hearer in suspense; something more must follow. That nothing more follows is just what arouses the feeling of doubt.

It has been asserted that within a given language within a given time the speech habits of those using it make it customary for words in various combinations to be spoken with particular melodies.

According to this theory the words 'This is a very fine day' will be spoken by everybody in England with about the same melody. This is termed the specific melody of the phrase. The words 'The day is very fine' will have a different specific melody. If this view is correct, then we can feel that in reading a poem of Tennyson we are using about the same melody he used in writing it.

About thirty years ago Professor Sievers of Leipzig asserted that a person in speaking so chooses his words that they naturally fall into a melody peculiar to himself. For example, one person will say, 'This is a very fine day'; another, 'The day is very fine'; still another, 'It's very fine to-day', and so on. Each one chooses the words so that the specific melody given by the language of the community agrees with his personal melody. This is equivalent to saying that everybody possesses a peculiar personal speech melody just as he possesses a personal handwriting.

Professor Sievers goes even farther in his views of speech melody. He asserts that Goethe instinctively used different types of melody for each of his characters. I think we all feel this with Shakespeare. It is hard to imagine that any one can read the following lines without using different melodies for the different speakers:

Polonius. Well be with you, gentlemen.

Hamlet. Hark you, Guildenstern; and you too; at each ear a hearer; that great baby you see there is not yet out of his swaddling-clouts.

Rosencrantz. Happily he's the second time come to them; for they say an old man is twice a child.

In a rough way some facts of specific melody, personal melody, and dramatic melody can be detected by the ear. If they could be made the subjects of investigation by means of records and inscriptions, a wealth of new information would be found, which would be based not on personal opinion but on facts actually recorded. This is one of the melody investigations now going on.

IV. Applications to Text-Criticism.

At an interview some years ago Professor Sievers explained to me that the text of the *Nibelungenlied* is derived from two sources A and B. He asked me to read several stanzas of the Middle High German text and point out to him how I would sort the lines into two groups on the ground of similarity of melody. I knew only modern German and had only the slightest acquaintance with Middle High German, but I felt various differences and gave my opinion. Professor Sievers said I had made the text-criticism correctly.

Relying on his feeling for melody and on the principle of specific melody Professor Sievers has made numerous studies in text-criticism. He has attempted to indicate the portions of the Hebrew Genesis as derived from the six original sources. Similarly he has analysed the text of the old Swedish Upplandslagh. He has many followers in Germany. A series of publications on the 'Sound-analysis of the New Testament' has been begun. The first number specifies the six or more persons in the Epistle to the Galatians as we now have it whom the 'analyser' thinks he hears to use different personal melodies. He specifies minutely just the lines and words written by each of the six authors. All this is based on what he feels to be differences of melody when he reads the original text. To those of us who have been trained in the exact sciences this seems like science gone mad or demented. But there is certainly a germ of truth of great importance in it.

Professor Sievers finds that in his old age Goethe used a different melody in his writings. This is quite apparent when the *Urfaust* is compared with the final *Faust*. The *Urfaust* begins

> Hab nun ach die Philosophey
> Medizin und Juristerey
> Und leider auch die Theologie
> Durchaus studirt mit heisser Muh.

In the final form it is

> Habe nun, ach! Philosophie,
> Juristerei und Medizin,
> Und leider auch Theologie!
> Durchaus studiert, mit heissem Bemuhn.

The difference in the swing of the verse is striking. The same is true for the other places where the two versions differ.

All of this theorizing is based on judgements by the ear. Sounds, however, are fleeting things that die as fast as they are born. There is no time to study them carefully and measure them. The entire investigation should be conducted on the basis of inscriptions that can be preserved, analysed at leisure, and measured with the microscope. Nothing in this direction has hitherto been done, but I have lately taken up the problem on the German side. Inscriptions have been made by various persons of exactly those portions of Goethe's *Faust* that Professor Sievers uses to illustrate his theories. These have been worked out and the first section of results is ready for treatment. Similar work on the melody of Shakespeare would be as fascinating as it is important.

V. The Nature of Verse.

Some years ago a discussion arose between two professors at Harvard and Yale Universities concerning the nature of English verse. The one asserted that English verse is essentially a stress verse, consisting of loud and weak syllables. The other asserted that it was mainly a time-verse consisting of long and short syllables. At various philological meetings they appealed to their hearers to judge by the ear. The result was that the philologists were always divided. One party heard English verse as stress verse; the other heard the same verse as time-verse. Finally it was suggested that the matter should be investigated by some apparatus method.

This gave the impulse to developing the apparatus for tracing off gramophone disks described in Section II. A record of the nursery rime 'Cock Robin' was selected. It was approved by various persons as clear speech and natural verse. The entire record was traced off.

The length of each sound was measured; the results for the first three lines are given in the first line of the Table on p. 285. Although a vowel changes its pitch constantly, an average figure was taken for each. These figures are given in the second line. The heights of the waves at the maximum for each vowel are given in millimetres in the third line; higher waves mean louder vowels. Finally a judgement by the ear concerning each vowel as strong or weak is recorded in the last line.

A study of the table shows that the vowel of 'who' is quite long, that it is moderately high in pitch, and that it is moderately loud. These factors were evidently sufficient to produce the effect of 'strong' on the ear. It is evident that *i* and *ll* of 'killed' are to be taken together as one vowel region. The pitch is decidedly high. The entire stretch is quite long. In *i* the amplitude is great. The whole is a very strong sound. The vowel *o* of 'cock' is rather short and of rather low pitch. Although its amplitude is large, this does not seem to have been sufficient to produce more than a weak impression. It is difficult to say why the first syllable of 'Robin' produced a strong impression. Although the amplitude is large, the pitch is low. Possibly the *r* should be taken as a part of the vowel stretch; this would give a long length. The sounds in the last part are short and weak.

The *I* of the second line has very great duration and amplitude. It is a remarkably strong sound. The reasons for the strength or

weakness of the remaining sounds of the table can be readily found.

The table furnishes illustrations of the fact that increased length, increased loudness, and raised pitch help to make a sound stronger.

A study of the regions of strength and weakness shows that, as spoken by this disk, the first line has two strong regions with a weak one between them and a weak one at the end. The second line likewise has two strong regions; the second region seems to have extended itself to include the last part of the line also. The third line is similar. The curves of speech energy may be indicated somewhat as in Figure 15.

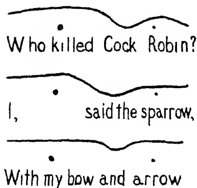

FIG. 15. Curve of Speech Energy in 'Cock Robin'.

The variations in strength give the effect of two beats to each line, the first beat being the stronger. This verse can appropriately be described as two-beat verse.

These results do not mean more than that on this particular occasion the verse was spoken in this way. There is nothing to hinder any one from speaking it with more difference between the strong and weak parts, or of distributing the energy differently.

Feeling that the problem of verse should be further investigated I later took up the subject by the method of making inscriptions as described in Section I

The first study was of the line 'Somebody said that it couldn't be done'. The results (published in the *British Journal of Psychology*, 1921, vol. xi, p. 225) showed that one or two or more of four elements were used to give strength to portions of speech, namely, increased length, increased loudness, raised pitch, or increased precision of enunciation.

In order to get more clearly the idea of rhythm a study was made of a sentence that might be spoken either as prose or as verse.

A card with the words 'Thus I pass by and die as one unknown and gone' was shown to a person; he then spoke the words into the apparatus described in Section I.

An inspection of the record (Figure 16) shows that the tracing for the first third of the sentence is higher above the base level. This indicates that the sentence is spoken more loudly. In fact, the sentence appears to have begun more loudly and then to have gradually weakened. For some reason the speaker puts more stress

	Wh	o	k	i	ll	ed	C	o	ck	R	o	b	i	n'	
	ʍ	u	k	ɪ	l	d	k	ɔ	k	r	ɔ	b	ɪ	n	˥
Duration in $\frac{1}{1000}$ sec.	10	189	119	154	74	0	53	126	101	74	140	49	56	74	770
Average pitch		333		555	555			238			186		179	179	
Amplitude		4		6	1			5			5		3	2	
Judgement		strong		strong				weak			strong		weak		

	I	,	s	ai	d	th	e	sp	a	ir	ow,
	aɪ	˥	s	ɛ	d	ð	ə	sp	æ	r	o
Duration in $\frac{1}{1000}$ sec.	452	210	0	105	81	32	84	291	170	11	294
Average pitch	55 to 250			189			189		189		192
Amplitude	7			5	1	1	2		5	2	6
Judgement	strong			medium			weak		strong		strong

	W	i	th	m	y	b	ow		an	d	a	rr	ow	
	w	ɪ	ð	m	aɪ	b	o	˥	æn	d	æ	r	o	˥
Duration in $\frac{1}{1000}$ sec.	108	60	56	74	291	140	490	11	382	120	189	39	331	420
Average pitch	189	476		179	179		113		189	189	194		143	
Amplitude	2	4	1	1	5		4		2		3		6	
Judgement		strong			strong		strong		medium		strong		strong	

on the part 'Thus I pass by' than he does on the rest of the sentence.

We next inquire concerning the lengths or durations of the sounds in this sentence. Putting aside the fact that the sounds melt into one another and cannot be sharply bounded, we nevertheless measure their lengths approximately and express the results in thousandths of

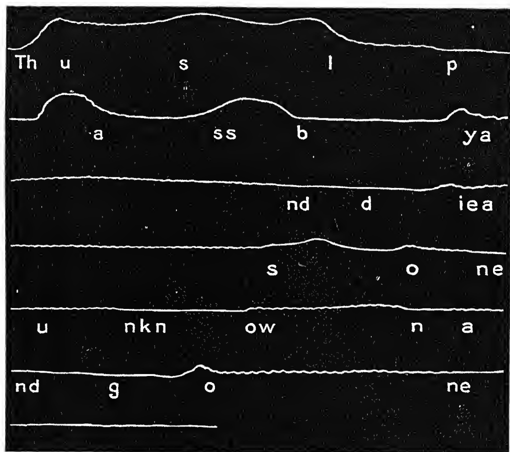

FIG. 16. Inscription of 'Thus I pass by and die as one unknown and gone'.

a second. We thus get the duration chart shown in Figure 17. At two points the results as indicated in the chart are quite arbitrary. The vowel *y* of 'by' passes gradually into the vowel *a* with no possibility of separation. The total length has quite arbitrarily been divided into approximate halves. The same is true of *ie* of 'die' with the following vowel of 'as'. Much of the time assigned to the second vowel may really belong to the first one.

We observe that in general the sounds in the first half are longer than those in the second. The last two sounds, however, are very long. I have obtained just such a result in inscriptions of the sentence 'I'm going away' spoken sadly, whereas these sounds were not lengthened when the sentence was spoken indifferently or gladly

(*Vox*, 1921, p. 179). This final lengthening is probably the expression of the emotion. The very long *s* of 'Thus' indicates that this word was particularly emphasized. The lengths seem to indicate that the most emphatic parts of the sentence are 'Thus', 'pass', 'by', 'die', '-known', 'gone'.

The next important factor is the melody. By this we mean how the voice rises and falls during the speaking of the sentence. As explained above (p. 279), each wave in the inscription registers one vibration in the tone of the voice. A high tone is registered by a horizontally short vibration, a low tone by a horizontally long one.

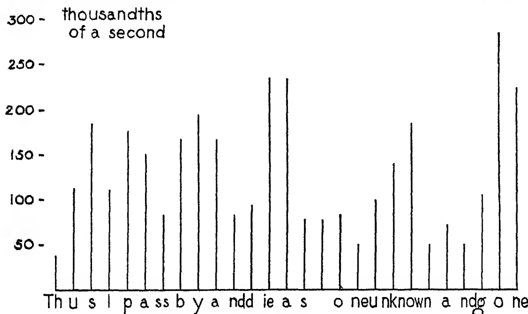

Fig. 17. Duration Chart for Fig. 16.

The melody plot for this sentence was obtained by the method described in Section III. It is shown in Figure 18. In the first word the voice starts at 110 vibrations and rises quickly to 150, or an interval of a fifth. The rather higher tone with sharp rise produces a slight emphasis on 'Thus'. For the following words the voice remains fairly even in a region slightly above 100. In the last third it slowly falls to the end.

At this point I will touch in the very briefest manner on one of the new fields that have been opened up by these methods, namely, the psychological foundations of emphasis and other modes of expression. In this particular record made by this person at this time and on this occasion four regions of greater emphasis are found, 'Thus', 'pass by', 'die', and 'gone'. Another person might have emphasized differently; the same might be true of this person on another occasion, or under some other influence. We certainly would not have been surprised to find that the emphasized parts were 'I', 'by', 'die', 'un-

known', or some similar selection. In the one study that has as yet been made I have ventured to say that emphasis is the expression of mental aggressiveness ('Die Betonung im englischen Satz', *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, 1921, p. 203). By aggressiveness I mean an intention to impress the hearer. Here there is an opportunity to go a step farther and give the reason why the emphasis

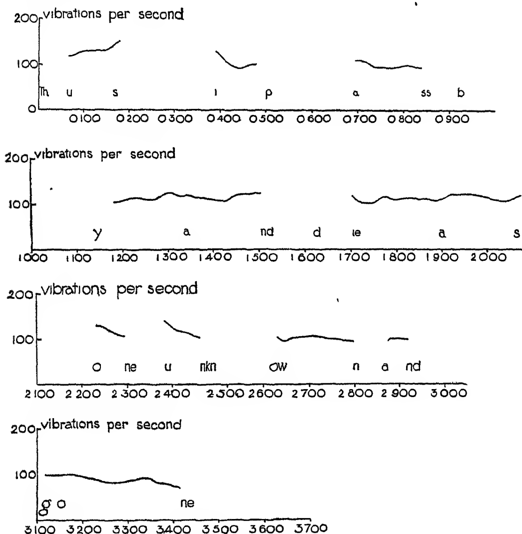

FIG. 18. Melody Plot for Fig. 16.

or aggressiveness fell upon certain words. It happened to be known that the speaker's mind had been—as far back as he could remember—dominated by two strong feelings. One was that of the fleetingness and shadowiness of life as expressed in one of his favourite quotations: 'All the world's a stage . . . They have their exits and their entrances.' He was interested in the Buddhistic conception of life as a brief phase in the progress towards Nirvana. This would explain why he chose just this phrase for recording. It would explain also why 'pass by', 'die', and 'gone' were emphasized.

The strongest element of this person's character was a sense of personal inferiority amounting to a degree almost pathological. Applied to himself, it might be said that he would insist on writing the first personal pronoun with a small letter. This could not be done on paper, but he actually did it in speech, as the record shows. Instead of being the most emphatic part, the word 'I' in the first line is placed quite in the background. The person's emphasis is laid on the condition and not on himself. The smallness of 'one unknown' is also expressed in the weakness of this word. There can be no question that a person of a different temperament would have distributed the emphasis differently. The problem of using the speech inscriptions for investigating temperament and emotion must, however, be left for future work.

After the record in Figure 16 was made, a card was shown to the speaker with the words:

Thus I
Pass by
And die
As one
Unknown
And gone.

The inscription is reproduced in Figure 19.

As we pick out the various sounds we notice that there are portions of straight line representing pauses, whereas such pauses are lacking in the other inscription. The pause thus enters as a new element of speech. In this record the first part of the sentence seems to be louder, just as in the prose record.

The duration chart of this inscription is given in Figure 20. We first observe two very long lines, that indicate long durations for the two speech elements, the sound 'I' and the pause '7'. Again. there are two long lines for 'y' and ':-'. Still longer lines are found for 'ie' and ':-'. The next long lines are found for the next two pauses; perhaps the preceding two sounds in each case, 'one' and '-own', should be grouped with the pauses. The final pair of long lines for '-one' are not followed by a pause line, because the final pause, with an effect of being the longest of the lot, cannot be measured. Between these long groups the sounds are shorter.

The record thus has six strong regions with weak regions between them. This gives the effect of six beats occurring with great regularity.

Judged by the length the pauses are the strongest elements of the verse Judged also by the sound they are perhaps also the strongest,

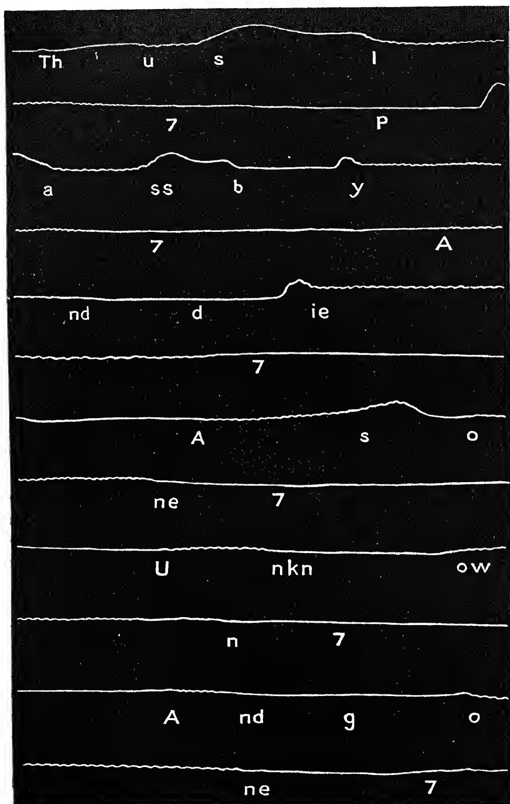

Fig. 19. Inscription of 'Thus I
Pass by
And die
As one
Unknown
And gone.'

for silence in the midst of sound is most effective. Again, the pauses are perhaps to be considered as the most effective elements of rime. In this case we have the rimes

> 'I 7'
> '-y 7'
> '-ie 7'
> 'one 7'
> 'own- 7'
> '-one. 7'

Possibly this view of the pause as an element of rime may help to

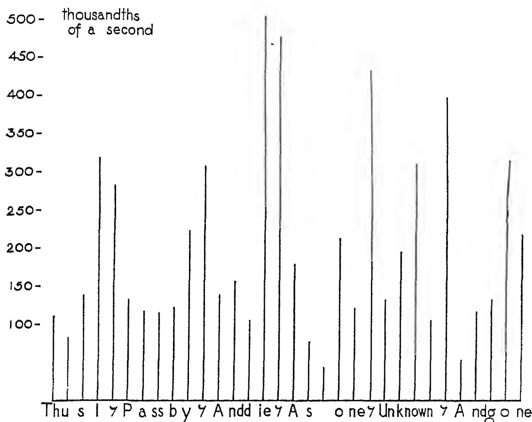

FIG. 20. Duration Chart for Fig 19.

explain those verses which consist simply of lines without rime, as in Southey's *Queen Mab*:

> How wonderful is Death,
> Death and his brother Sleep!
> One pale as yonder waning moon
> With lips of lurid blue:
> &c.

Here the pauses, indicated by the printing in lines and the punctuation, give the rhythmic effect just as the rimes of sound do. If the poem were printed in running lines, such as, 'How wonderful is

Death, 𝄾 Death and his brother Sleep! 𝄾,' &c., the line-rhythm would be marked by the rests. It is the pause that gives the line-rhythm in blank verse.

In the melody plot (Figure 21) we notice that the voice is lower for the first word and rises throughout the second till it reaches a tone at a musical interval of about a sixth higher. Then comes a pause. Thereafter the tone is again rather lower for the first word and rises much higher during the second word. Again follows a pause. Then the first word starts about like the last one, but the second word shows a steadily falling tone. Thereafter follows a longer pause. The following words show similar changes in pitch of less extent.

Have we not here an indication of a tone-rime, or a rime of pitch? For these lines we might characterize the pitch as:

rising
rising
falling
rising
rising
falling.

This is on a system different from that of the rime of sounds, which is:

— I
— by
— die
— one
— known
— gone.

It would be interesting to inquire if such pitch-rimes are common in English.

These are just the beginnings of a scientific study of verse. Records should be obtained from the poets themselves, from all classes of the people, and from children. The poetic feeling that finds vent in the verse of the poets and that makes the public able to appreciate verse must arise from developments during childhood. A study of nursery rimes and children's counting-out rhythms might indicate the origins of many rimes and rhythms. 'Mother Goose' is perhaps the source of English verse.

In passing we note the importance of melody as an element in verse. It seems strange that it has so long been overlooked. It is of interest to notice that verse contains all the elements found in song. Perhaps the essential difference between the two may be found in the

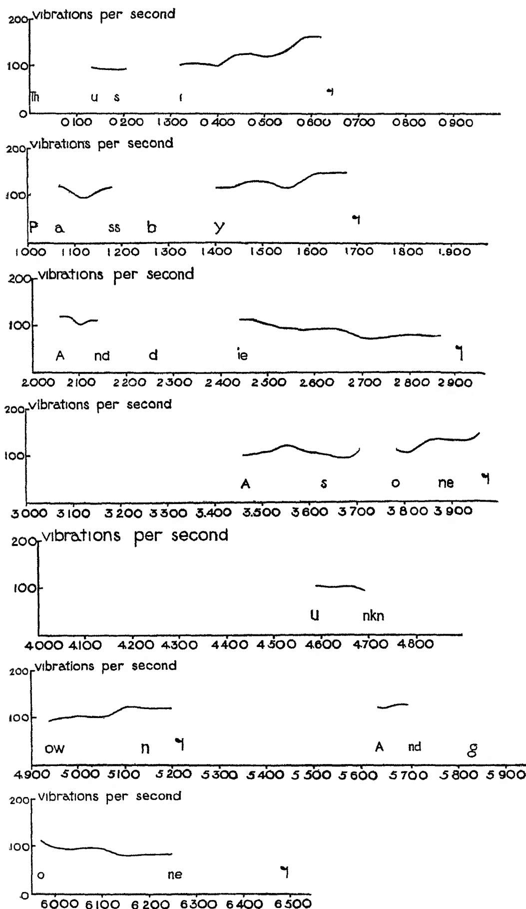

FIG. 21. Melody Plot for Fig. 19.

observation of Aristoxenos that in speech the voice slides up and down, while in song it proceeds by jumps. Possibly these observations have a bearing on Jespersen's theory of the origin of speech: 'Men sang out their feelings long before they were able to speak their thoughts. . . . When we say that speech originated in song, what we mean is merely that our comparatively monotonous spoken language and our highly developed vocal music are differentiations of primitive utterances, which had more in them of the latter than of the former' (*Language*, p. 436). Would this perhaps mean that our prose speech of to-day and our song are developments from a primitive form which is essentially that of verse? Is verse then the oldest form of speech?

VI. Dialects and Sound Changes.

In studying dialects by the ear the finer details are entirely lost, the result is only an outline sketch, highly valuable indeed, but no more approaching the actual speech than an ordinary phonetic text approaches the reality of spoken words. Rousselot proposed to record dialects by the method of inscriptions described above. The minute details of the speech can then be worked out at leisure with the aid of measurements. Such records can be filed away for comparison with records taken at later dates. Such a speech survey would do for the spoken language what the Dictionary has done for written language.

Some such studies of dialects have been begun in France and Germany, but nothing has been done in England. To illustrate how this method reveals quite unexpected dialectical peculiarities I will use some words of Welsh that I once happened to record.

The inscription in the upper line of Figure 22 is of the Welsh word 'coch'. It begins with a straight line corresponding to the stoppage of the breath during the first sound. The rise that follows indicates the puff of air as the stoppage is released. Such a straight line with a more or less sharp rise at the end is characteristic in inscriptions of the sound *k*; the rise is here less sharp than for the English *k*. The following small vibrations register the vowel waves. The last part of the inscription corresponds to the sound of *ch*. It shows large waves that cannot be from a laryngeal tone. It is the registration of the velar trill which is characteristic of the Welsh velar fricative.

An inscription of the German word 'Koch' by the same speaker is shown in the second line. The first sound *k* shows a slight irregu-

larity in the ending as if the speaker were not quite sure of himself. The last sound shows a plain raised line indicating a passing of breath without any vibration. This is the typical German sound.

An inscription of 'llundain' is shown in the third line. It begins with a sharp upward jerk that registers a sudden puff of air, or an explosion This is followed by a raised line showing that breath was emitted. The sound of *ll* as here registered consists of an explosion followed by a breath. The Welsh *ll* is said to be produced by placing the front of the tongue against the roof of the mouth while letting the air pass along the sides. This inscription shows that here the air was first completely stopped and then suddenly released in

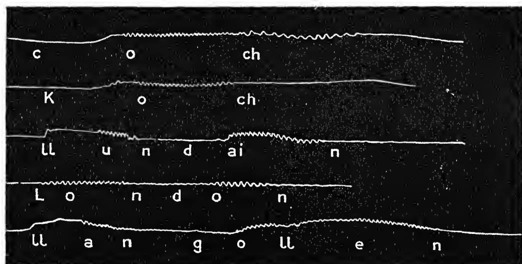

Fig. 22. Inscriptions of Welsh Sounds.

a continued current. This *ll* was a fricative preceded by an explosion. An entirely unsuspected element was thus found in the sound as produced by this speaker.

The inscription in the last line begins with a record for *ll* like that just described. The record of the second *ll* gives further information. After the *o* the waves become much smaller. In the first place, it is noticed that there are waves throughout the sound. The *ll* is thus completely voiced, not voiceless like the other examples. The waves after the *o* become quite small; this indicates that the mouth-passage was much narrowed, perhaps almost entirely closed. Somewhat later there is a sudden jerk almost like an explosion. Thereafter the raised line with the waves indicates the emission of breath with voice.

This person—who spoke English perfectly—made a record of 'London' as shown in the fourth line. The *l* in this case, as often in

English, is really a vowel; the *l* and the *o* are united into a diphthong.

A Welsh phonetician who was good enough to look over these curves states that he always gets a steady rising line for the Welsh *ll* without the initial explosion here observed. He states that he has seen cases of the voiced lateral fricative—as for the second *ll* in the last line—in Zulu, but never in Welsh. These are evidently dialectical peculiarities of the speaker whose words were registered.

For another possibility we again return to the original work of Rousselot, namely, the establishment of the facts of sound-change.

The vast library of works on historical sound-change has given the results of such changes as they are found in the written work of the past. Inquiries concerning the causes of these changes have brought nothing but speculations, of which not one has ever been found to give even a moderate satisfaction. No question concerning what causes the sounds to change can ever be answered till we can observe the changes as they are actually taking place and can trace them to their bodily and mental origins. This can be done by the method of inscriptions. For example, records can be made and studied of the speech of certain families or localities. From time to time new records can be made. It ought to be possible to trace the changes as they arise and progress.

The study of sound-changes forms one of the most important parts of linguistics. The details of the changes by which Old English has become Middle English, and this in turn New English, have been most carefully worked out. The changes can be traced step by step. But why did the sounds change? Why have the sounds of the ancient Aryan language changed at various times and in various ways to give us the different languages to-day? Many theories have been advanced; some scholars have thought that there must have been some one cause always at work; others have postulated several causes.

Sometimes it is asserted that sound-changes must have been caused by differences in the structure of the speech organs. Jespersen rather contemptuously remarks that this theory need not detain us long.

Again, some scholars have maintained that the sound-shiftings have been produced by differences in climate. Even lately Meyer-Benfey and Collitz maintain that consonant shifting is chiefly found in mountainous regions because the air is thinner and the lungs have to economize in their work. Jespersen asks sarcastically if the sound-shift that is occurring in the flat country of Denmark, just as it did long ago in the highlands of Germany, may be due to the fact that

so many of the Danes go every summer for their holidays to Switzerland and Norway.

Rather amusing is the attempt to ascribe the sound-changes to psychological traits of character. Grimm says that the first German sound-shift is the consequence of a desire for liberty found in the Germans; it is due to their courage and pride in the period of the great migration. When quiet returned the sounds remained the same with the gentle Gothic, Saxon, and Scandinavian tribes, while the wilder spirit of the High Germans impelled them to the second shift. Another author looks upon these sound-changes as the results of alterations in the aesthetic point of view among the Germans.

The theory has been put forward that the changes are the result of increased speed of talking. Even if the people of the world talked with ever-increasing rapidity—a view of which we have no proof—the speed hypothesis has not yet received a valid basis.

Great importance is attached by Jespersen to wars, insurrections, pestilence, and the misery of child-life and of the industrial workers.

The prevalent theory that the changes occurred in order to make speech easier has been rejected by some linguists as 'empty talk', but it is reaffirmed by still other notables as a correct principle.

The influence of neighbouring sounds on one another is a cause that cannot be denied in many cases. But why should sounds influence one another, and how?

Stress, emotional exaggeration, and other causes have been assigned for sound change. Sweet thought that the reason for the unrounding of the vowel in 'no' by the Cockney lay in his habit of speaking with a constant smile or grin.

The mistakes and faulty pronunciation of children when learning to speak are also assigned as an important cause of sound-change. Contact with a people speaking a different language is another assigned cause.

The result of all the vast labour spent in speculating on the causes for sound-change can be summed up in the words of Professor Wyld, of Oxford:

'Of all the factors which, it has been maintained, modify the speech basis, none can be considered wholly sufficient to explain all cases. . . . We must also recognize that the whole question is still very obscure, and that at present we know neither the precise way in which speech is affected by these modifying factors, nor how any of them, while remaining to all appearance constant, can yet produce tendencies of change, now in this way, now in that, in the pronunciation of a single language.'

It is possible, however, to outline a plan whereby the laws and causes of sound-change may be investigated on reliable principles. Inscriptions of speech are to be made under the most varied conditions from the most varied persons. The lines of work would be somewhat as follows:

A study of the speech development in single families would be made. The records of the present generation would be kept for comparison with those of succeeding generations. Such a study of single families might be carried on for a hundred years. The gradual changes could be traced as they arise. Typical families of different social classes would be chosen.

The speech of various communities would also be recorded and studied. The characteristics of Cockney at the present day could be definitely fixed. As the records are made year after year the gradual change of the language could be traced. The effect of the alleged ever-present smile of the Cockney ought to show itself very definitely, if Sweet's theory is correct. Most interesting would be the continuous study of the speech of groups of persons migrating to new surroundings.

Do anatomical differences in the organs affect the sounds? Every physiologist knows that they must do so. Even a disease or a weakness of a single muscle affects the action performed by it. All that is needed is a method fine enough to detect the differences. The method of inscriptions makes visible the details that the ear cannot detect. The inscriptions that every experimental phonetician is constantly making show that no two persons speak exactly alike. Such anatomical differences as a shorter or longer tongue, a larger or a smaller jaw, &c., produce differences in the record. As yet I have had time to carry out investigations only in one direction, namely, that of speech in two muscular diseases (myasthenia and muscular dystrophy). In both diseases the muscles act weakly; in the latter they are enlarged also. Characteristic records, showing exactly the nature of the diseases, are found in each case. Just the same thing should be done for normal speech. The records will undoubtedly show how a large tongue or a small larynx affects the speech.

Do differences in climate affect speech? Why not take records of speech of Englishmen before, during, and after residence in Scotland or India?

The pyschological causes of sound change can be readily investigated. Often we can tell a man's mood by the tone in which he speaks. With the fine method of inscriptions it ought to be possible to establish the speech types that go with joy, sorrow, determination,

lassitude, and so on. I have made just a first beginning in this direction. The sentence 'I'm going away' was spoken indifferently, gladly, and sadly by a single person on a single occasion. No differences in enunciation were found. In the glad sentence the melody was a rising snappy one, while in the sad sentence it was a falling one. In the sad sentence the sounds were longer. In a record by a joyous maniac the enunciation, the loudness, and the melody were all characteristic. In a record of a melancholiac they were again quite different. A jovial case of Korsakoff's disease gave a quite special record. The epileptic always reveals his disease when he speaks. If the modern view that epilepsy is a disease of character is correct, the epileptic speech must be a registration of this special character.

We now know that most of the factors adduced are related causally. A change of climate is known to produce in an individual an alteration in the action of the endocrine glands and to alter to a greater or less degree not only his mental attitude but also the growth and metabolism of his body; it is known to alter even the structure of the skeleton and the shape of the skull in his offspring. Emotional disturbances and changes are also known to alter the action of these glands and to thereby profoundly modify the bodily and mental constitution of the individual. We are quite justified in believing that every one of the causes mentioned above has played and still plays a part in changing the sounds of language. It remains for the methods of speech inscriptions to proceed with the problem.

VI. Concluding Remarks.

The purpose of this paper is to lay before the English-speaking world a brief account of some new methods of investigation that not only record the facts of speech automatically and permanently, but also provide for interpreting them with microscopic accuracy. To the outlines obtained by the usual phonetic observations with the unaided ear there is added the wealth of detail furnished by experimental methods. Of course, these methods are very laborious and require the work of the trained expert, but they give us information that can be obtained in no other way.

The final question is, Is it worth while to spend so much labour on the study of speech? The nation that has spent so much time and money on that most magnificent monument of English learning, the Oxford Dictionary, can only reply in one way when it faces the equally important problem of English speech.

THE EARLY SYRIAC LECTIONARY SYSTEM

By F. C. BURKITT

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Communicated January 31, 1923

THE importance of the document which is published for the first time in this Paper was pointed out by Dr Anton Baumstark in his interesting study of how the Bible was read in the Syriac-speaking Churches.[1] Dr Baumstark knew of it only from the description in Wright's Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the British Museum, but I should be ungrateful were I not to acknowledge my debt to him in having been the first to lay stress upon its value. Indeed, the extraordinary thing is that B.M. Add. 14528 should have had to wait so many years for an editor.

Christian religious services are usually divided into Eucharistic, Daily, and Occasional Services. But in the case of Rites the arrangement and order of which are imperfectly known it is best to treat them all together on a Kalendar, or yearly, basis. We are ignorant of much of the arrangement of early Christian services, because Service-books tend to be destroyed by wear, and are rarely recopied when the use they represent has been changed. And early writers in their references to the services of their time do not often give the precise details which alone are of value to us at the present day.

The main divisions of the Syriac-speaking Church are the *Nestorians*, who were organized in the old Persian Empire of the Sasanians, and the *Jacobites* (or Monophysites) who were to be found chiefly within the bounds of the Roman Empire. It will be remembered that during the latter part of the 5th century, and indeed till the death of the Emperor Anastasius in 518, the tendency fostered by the authorities at Constantinople was Monophysite; after that, under Justin (518-527) and Justinian (527-565), the Monophysite belief was reckoned a heresy by the Greeks, and the non-Greek populations

[1] *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends,* untersucht von DR ANTON BAUMSTARK, Munster, 1921.

of the Eastern Empire, i. e. the Egyptians and the Syrians, found themselves branded as heretics by the central power to which they owed allegiance. A minority of the Syriac-speaking Christians followed the lead of Constantinople, especially in Palestine and the neighbourhood of Antioch. These got the name of *Malkites* (or 'King's men'); they tended henceforth to follow 'Greek-Church' fashions in ritual.

The Nestorians had been driven out of the Roman Empire while the Monophysites were in power. In 489 the 'School of the Persians' at Edessa was broken up, and re-established over the border at Nisibis: after that date Nestorian customs and rituals rarely borrowed from the West. The Monophysites were reorganized as a non-conformist anti-Greek Church by Jacob Burd'ānā, titular Bishop of Edessa from 543 to 578, from whom they are called Jacobites to this day, and henceforth they also developed their liturgical practices on their own lines. But before that time, especially in the first years of the 6th century, when Anastasius was still Emperor, the whole trend of the Syriac-speaking Church had been towards the adoption of Greek rites and Greek practices. It was a time of literary activity and ritual development. The period of fixity and stagnation had not yet begun, so that even if we knew the practice of the 'Jacobite' Church in detail at the time of the great Mohammedan conquests (630–40) we could not be confident that it was evidence for what was done at Edessa a century before, still less for what had been the custom early in the 5th century, in the days of Rabbūlā (411–435). The interest of the Lectionary here published is that it tells us how the Bible was read in the Churches of the Euphrates Valley before the times of Jacob Burd'ānā, in fact, before Severus became Patriarch of Antioch.

Malkite documents are best treated separately.[1] For the Nestorians and Jacobites the usual plan is to start from the existing praxis, working back to such ancient documentary evidence as has been hitherto published. This is especially unsatisfactory in the case of Jacobite rites, because of the great amount of evidence from the earlier periods which actually survives, evidence which in the matter of the Lectionary entirely supersedes all that has hitherto been written on the subject. In the case of the Nestorians it is well known that

[1] Some of Dr Baumstark's most interesting conclusions deal with the Malkite books He shews that the documents in the Palestinian Syriac dialect belong to the Lectionary system of Jerusalem, as preserved in the Armenian Lectionary published by F. C Conybeare in *Rituale Armenorum*.

the existing order is due to modifications introduced by the Catholicos Isho'yabh III (A.D. 630), so that the mere isolation of the Nestorian Church is no guarantee that its present customs go back to the earliest times.[1]

The familiar Epistle and Gospel of Western Eucharistic Services is a relic of what was once a much more extended Bible-reading. There was formerly a Lesson from the Prophets, and it was known that in the East there were once two or more such Lessons. The outstanding feature of the document here published is that it provides regularly for a dozen or more Old Testament Lessons, in addition to the Epistle and Gospel, and very often a Lesson from the Acts as well. And when the scattered Lectionary notices in ancient Syriac Biblical MSS are examined they are found to support this extended Bible-reading in all essential points. I mention this here at the beginning to shew the unexpected nature of the fresh evidence here collected.

Before coming to the text of our document it will be convenient to draw attention to three passages in Syriac ecclesiastical literature, which testify respectively to three successive stages in the development of ritual in the Syriac-speaking Churches.

1 The *Doctrina Apostolorum*, a work Syriac in origin, and in its earlier state (i.e. as edited by Cureton in his 'Ancient Documents') reflecting the usage of the 4th century, if not of even earlier times:—

Canon 2 orders 'service' (*teshmeshtā*) and reading of the Holy Scriptures and the Eucharist (*ḳurbānā*) on Sundays; Canons 3 and 4 order 'service' on Wednesdays and on Fridays at 3 p.m.

Canon 6 orders the celebration of Epiphany on Jan. 6, 'chief of the festivals of the Church', Canon 7 orders a Fast for 40 days before celebrating the day of the Passion and the day of the Resurrection, Canon 9 orders the commemoration of the Ascension[2] 50 days (*sic*) after the Resurrection; the only other feature of the Christian Year being the commemoration of Martyrs on the day of their death (Canon 18).[3]

2. Marūthā of Maipherkāt (before 420) quotes this same work, but in the recension known to him there is to be Eucharist on

[1] 'He (i.e. Isho'yabh) arranged the Ḥudhrā or service-book for the Sundays of the whole year, for Lent, and for the fast of Nineveh, and drew up offices of baptism, absolution, and consecration' (Wright's *Syriac Literature*, p. 174).

[2] 'Ascension unto His glorious Father' is the phrase used: see below, p. 312.

[3] Cureton *ASD*, pp. 26, 27, 312.

Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday; and the Kalendar is: Nativity on Dec. 25, Epiphany on Jan. 6, 40 days Fast, then Passover and Resurrection, Ascension 40 days after the Resurrection and something (the text is not quite clear) ten days later; and in addition to Commemorations of Martyrs there is a mention of 'our Lady Mary'.

The genuineness of this letter is not unchallenged, but genuine or not it represents better than any other document the Kalendar presupposed by the Lectionary here edited.

3. 'Joshua Stylites', i.e. the Edessene Chronicler who wrote his book at or near Edessa not later than 507, tells us that Peter became Bishop of Edessa on Sept. 12, A.D. 498, in succession to Cyrus, and that 'he added to the festivals of the year that of Palm Sunday: he also established the custom of consecrating the Water on the night immediately preceding the feast of the Epiphany; and (made regulations) about the Oil of Unction on the Thursday [of the Mystery] before the whole people, together with the rest of the feasts' (*Josh. Styl.* xxxii).[1]

It is not clear from the Chronicler's wording whether these innovations were made by Cyrus or by Peter, but probably it was by the latter. In any case very considerable ritual changes are indicated; we may be certain that any Syriac MS which contains the services for the Blessing of the Water before Epiphany or the Consecration of the Chrism on Maundy Thursday must belong to a rite later than the 5th century. 'The Blessing of the Waters' is no doubt a very ancient ceremony in Greek-speaking Christendom, and it was adopted by the Copts and the Armenians. But that does not prove its antiquity in the Syriac-speaking Church. The innovation of Bishop Peter with regard to the 'Feast' on Palm Sunday may have had something to do with the distribution of green boughs and the procession connected therewith[2] rather than with Lessons to be read in Church, but it should be noted that the Lectionary Table edited below is remarkable for not using the familiar Syriac name of 'the Hosannas' for the Sunday next before Easter.

[1] Wright's ed., p. 23. I have slightly modified Wright's translation to make it somewhat more literal. The Syriac text is to be found on p. [27]. The term translated 'Palm Sunday' is the usual Syriac term, *lit.* feast 'of the Hosannas' 'Thursday of the Mystery' is the usual Syriac for what we call Maundy Thursday.

[2] See the 'Order of the Consecration of the Branches', B.M. Add. 17128 (Wright *CBM*, p. 227 *a*).

With these preliminaries we can proceed at once to the translation of B.M. Add. 14528, *foll.* 152–191.

Wright *CBM* 176 *b* says:

'This manuscript is written in a good regular Esṭrangĕlā of the vith cent., and contains: 1. An Index to the Lessons (*Purāsh Ḳeryānē*) proper for the Festivals of the whole year and other occasions [foll. 152–191, our document]; 2. Secular Laws and Enactments of the Emperors Constantine, Theodosius and Leo [foll. 192–228, edited in Land's *Anecdota*, vol. i].

'Colophon, *fol.* 228 *a* [abridged]: "Here endeth writing in this volume the Index to the Lessons of Holy Scripture and the Secular Laws and Enactments made by Constantine and Theodosius and Leo, believing Emperors . . . . Glory to the Trinity. Amen."'

The quires are signed with arithmetical figures, so that though the beginning is gone it is certain that no more is lost there than the three leaves needed to complete the first quire. The volume, after the loss of the eight leaves duly noted by Wright, was bound up in ancient times with a collection of Canons, written not much later than A.D. 501 and perhaps even in that year (Wright *CBM* 1030 ff.). Thus the Table of Lessons was sandwiched in between two legal books and so has been effectually preserved.

The Emperor Leo died in A.D. 474: so far as I can see, there is nothing to prevent us dating the Table of Lessons very soon after that event. The facsimile shews the style of writing. It may be noticed that on *fol.* 167 *v*, quoting Hebrews iii 6, Add. 14528 has the ancient spelling ܐܡܢܘܬ (see the Notes in Barnes's *Psalter*, p. xlix, and Gwilliam's *Tetraevangelion*, p. 132).

In the following translation the numbering of the chapters and verses is that of the English Revised Version. The Syriac Psalter agrees with the Hebrew and English, except that Psalms 114 and 115 (Heb. and Engl.) make up Psalm 114 (Syriac), and Psalm 147, *vv.* 12–20 (Heb. and Engl.) is reckoned a separate Psalm. I give the double numeration in each of the three cases.

The word '*end*' always means 'to the end of the book', not merely of the chapter. The Gospels are quoted in the Table by the Syriac Eusebian sections and Canons as well as by their beginnings and endings; the numbers agree with those given in Gwilliam's edition.

B.M. Add. 14528 (*translation*) :—

[*Three leaves missing.*]

2 *r* [Hebr i 1]—ii 4, or Gal iv 1—v 10. Halleluiah, *Ps* 110. 17 Lk ii 1–20.

Epiphany of our Lord on Jan. 6: in the evening of the Vigil of the same. 1 *Psalm* 23, resp. *ver.* 1. 2 Exod iii 1–15. 3 Acts, *v* 1 Peter v 1–*end.* Halleluiah, *Ps* 80. 4 Lk ii 8–15.

And at midnight: *Ps* 29, resp. *ver.* 3[a]. 1 Isai x 33—xii 6. 2 Matt iii 1–17.

And in the morning after the morning service: Joh i 1–34.

Day lessons for the same day of Epiphany: 1 Prov viii 22–36. 2 Job iv 1—v 27. 3 Dan, 'Thanksgiving of Ananias', iii 23 3 *r* [Song 2–68], or read 'After these things' vii 7–27. 4 Zech vi 1–15, or read Mic v 2—vi 8. 5 Josh iii 1—iv 14. 6 Judg *v* vi 34—vii 7[a]. 7 1 Sam xvi 1[a, c]–13[a]. 8 1 Ki i 32–48. 9 Jer xxxiii 10–22. 10 Ezek i 1–28[a]. 11 Isai vii 10—ix 7. 12 Gen i 1—ii 24, or xxi 1–13. 13 Exod, 'the Psalm of Moses', 4 *r* xv 1–26. 14 Nu xxiv 2–18. 15 Psalm 2, resp. *ver.* 7[b]. 16 Acts, 1 Joh iv 7—v 15. 17 Tit ii 11—iii 8, or Hebr i 1—ii 4. Halleluiah, Ps 110. 18 Matt i 18—ii 23, or read Lk iii 1–18, or read Joh i 1–28.

v Sunday of Entry into the Fast of 40: 1 Prov xxxi 1–*end.* 2 Job xxix 1—xxx 23. 3 Dan i 1–17. 4 Joel ii 1–*end.* 5 Josh iii 1—iv 24. 6 1 Sam vii 2–17. 7 1 Ki xix 1–21. 5 *r* 8 Jer xxxvi 1–26. 9 Ezek iii 16—iv 15. 10 Isai lviii 1–14. 11 Exod xxiv 1–18, or read xxxiv 1–35. 12 Ps 35, resp. *ver.* 18. *v* 13 Acts ix 1–30. 14 Rom xii 1–21. Halluliah,[1] Ps. 51. 15 Matt iv 1–11.

Monday of the 1st week of the Fast of 40: 1 Gen i 1—ii 14, or read Exod i 1—ii 25. 2 Deut iv 1–22. 3 Job i 1—ii 10. 4 Josh i 1—ii 24, or Judg ii 1–

[*Three leaves missing.*]

6 *r* 2 2 Ki iv 8–37. 3 Ezek, 'the Resurrection of the dead', xxxvii 1–14. 4 Exod iii 1–22. 5 *Psalm* 49, resp. *ver.* 15[a]. 6 Acts ix 32—x 23[a]. 7 1 Cor xv 1–58, or 1 Thess iv 13—v 11. *v* Halluliah, *Ps* 30. 8 Joh xi 1–44, or read in Lk about the widow's son (vii 11–17), or read in Mk about Jairus' daughter (v 21–43).

[1] The word is spelt ܗܠܠܘܝܗ from this point onward.

Monday in the middle week at the end of the midday service: 1 Gen xiii 11[b]—xv 5. 2 Joel ii 21-*end.* 3 Jer i 1-19. 157 r 4 Psalm 75, resp. *ver.* 1[a]. 5 1 Cor i 1—ii 9. 6 Joh vi 22-47.

Tuesday in the middle week: 1 Gen xv 6—xvii 22. 2 Mic iv 1-7. 3 Jer ii 1—iii 5. 4 Psalm 43, resp. Ps 42, *ver.* 2[a].[1] v 5 1 Cor ii 10—iii 15. 6 Joh vi 48-71.

Wednesday in the middle week: 1 Gen xvii 23—xviii 33. 2 Isai xl 1-8. 3 Jer iii 6-21. 4 Psalm 84, resp. *ver.* 4[a]. 5 1 Cor iii 16—v 8. 6 Joh vii 1-30.

158 r Thursday in the middle week of the Fast: 1 Gen xx 1—xxi 34. 2 Isai xl 9—xli 16. 3 Jer iii 22—iv 8. 4 Psalm 44, resp. *ver.* 8[a]. 5 1 Cor viii 1—ix 27. 6 Matt xxiv 3-51.

Friday in the middle week of the Fast: 1 Gen, 'the Temptation v of Abraham', xxii 1—xxiii 20. 2 Isai xli 17—xlii 4. 3 Zech viii 9—ix 8. 4 Psalm 46, resp. *ver.* 1[a]. 5 1 Cor x 1—xi 34. 6 Matt xxv 1-46.

159 r Saturday in the same middle week of the Fast: 1 Ezek xiv 12-23. 2 Psalm 32, resp. *ver.* 11[a]. 3 1 Thess iv 13—v 11. Halluliah, *Psalm* 112, *ver.* 1[a]. 5 Joh v 1-29.

Now on Saturday of the 1st and of the middle week there is a Commemoration of all our Fathers the Bishops, and of all those who have been baptized in Christ our Lord.

Lessons of the Great Week of Unleavened Bread. In the evening that leads to Sunday,[2] after the evening service: 1 Psalm 23, resp. v *ver.* 5[a]. 2 Joh xii 1-11.

Now in the same Sunday after the morning service: 1 Psalm 95, resp. *ver.* 6[a]. 2 Rom xiii 10—xiv 4. 3 Joh xii 12-25.

Lessons for the same Sunday of the Great Week: 1 Prov i 1—iii 26. 2 Job xxvi 1—xxviii 28. . . . .

[*Two leaves missing.*]

160 r [Rom xv] 14-33. Psalm 65, resp. *ver.* 5[b] ('Answer us, O God our Saviour'). 15 Lk xii 35-50, or read Joh xii 12-29.

Tuesday in the Great Week: 1 Prov vi 6-35. 2 Job xxxi 40[b]— v xxxiii 33, or read xxxi 7—xxxiii 6. 3 Dan iv 4-28. 4 Hos xi 8-*end.* 5 Josh v 1—vi 21. 6 1 Sam vii 2—viii 22 7 Jer iv 1—v 19. 8 Ezek iv 16—vii 9. 9 Isai lxiii 1—lxv 7.

[1] Probably 43 is a slip in the MS for 42.

[2] Syr, *d'ā'el ḥadbshabbā.*

161 *r* 10 Gen iv 8—vi 4, or read Exod ix 22-[*hole in MS*]. 11 Numb, '[about] the Stone of Waters', xx 1—xxi 20. 12 Psalm 25, resp. *ver.* 1. 13 1 Cor i 1—iv 5. Halluliah, Psalm 4, resp. *ver.* 1ª. 15 (*sic*) Matt xxiv 3–14, or read Joh xii 34–50.

v Wednesday in the Great Week: 1 Prov i 10—ii 15, or read viii 1—ix 12. 2 Job xxxiv 1–37. 3 Dan iv 29—v 7. 4 Joel i 1—ii 22. 5 Josh vi 22—vii 26. 6 1 Sam ix 1—x 16ª·ᵇ.
162 *r* 7 Jer v 20—vii 15. 8 Ezek vii 10—ix 11. 9 Isai lxv 8—lxvi 9.
v 10 Gen vi 5—vii 24, or Exod x 21—xi 10. 11 Nu xxxv 9–*end.* 12 Psalm 41 [1], resp. *ver.* 4ª. 13 1 Cor iv 6—vi 20. Psalm 5, resp. *ver.* 1ª. 14 Joh xv 1–19.

And in the evening of this same day, after the evening service: 1 Psalm 36, resp. *ver.* 10ᵇ. 2 Matt xxvi 14–16, or read Lk
163 *r* xxii 1–6.

Thursday in the Great Week: 1 Prov x 7—xi 2. 2 Job xxxviii 1, 3—xxxix 30. 3 Dan vii 1–28. 4 Hab i, ii ('as far as his Prayer'). 5 Josh viii 30—x 14, or xxiii 1ᵇ–*end.*
v 6 Jer ix 23—x 25. 7 1 Sam x 17—xii 25. 8 Ezek xx 30—xxi 7. 9 Isai lxi 1–9, or read xl 1—xli 16. 10 Gen xxxvii 1–36. 11 Exod xii 1–28. 12 Numb, 'the Passover', ix 1–23.
164 *r* 13 Psalm 55, resp. *ver.* 21ᵇ. 14 Acts i 15–20. 15 1 Cor xi 17–34 (*sic*). Halluliah, Psalm [23, resp.] *ver.* 5ª. 16 Matt xxvi 17–35.

Lesson read on the evening of Thursday itself as it dawns into Friday, after the Supper,[2] in the first service; at the beginning of the service they say this respond, 'My enemies have said evil against me' (Psalm 41, *ver.* 5ª). Lesson of Joh xiii 31ᵇ—xiv 31.

v Lesson at the end of the same service: 1 Psalm 109, resp. *ver.* 4ª. Lk xxii 39–44.

Lesson, [again, read in] the night, at the beginning of the service: Psalm [55], resp. *ver.* 21ᵇ. Lesson of Matt xxvi 36–75.

Lesson at the end of the same service of midnight: Psalm 35, resp. *ver.* 8ª. Joh xviii 2—xix 14ª.

[1] The MS has Psalm 45, but the respond is 'I said, Thou art my Lord, have mercy upon me', i. e. Psalm 41, *v.* 4.

[2] Syr. ܒܗ ܒܪܡܫܐ ܕܚܡܫܐ ܒܫܒܐ ܕܢܓܗܐ ܠܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܒܬܪ ܚܫܡܝܬܐ. This must be quite a different rite from the Consecration of the Chrism (always called ܡܘܪܘܢ in Syriac). The time indicated is about 6 p.m.: the word translated 'to dawn' here and elsewhere in the Table is the technical term for the beginning of a Semitic day (see my Paper called Ἐπιφώσκειν in *J. of Theol. St.* xiv 538–546).

165 r And on the morning of the same Friday, after the morning service: 1 Psalm 35, resp. *ver.* 11. 2 Gal vi 14–*end.* 3 Lk xxii 66—xxiii 25.

And at the end of the service of 9 a.m.[1]: 1 Psalm 41, resp. *ver.* 9^b. v 2 Phil i 28^b (29)—ii 11. 3 Matt xxvii 3–26.

And at the beginning of the midday service: 1 Psalm 69[2], resp. *ver.* 21^a. 2 1 Cor i 18–31. 3 Mk xv 16–23.

Now from midday of Friday to 3 p.m. there is a reading of 166 r Scripture: 1 Prov xiii 14—xv 8. 2 Job xl 1—xlii 6. 3 Dan ix 1–19. 4 Amos viii 9—ix 6, or read Jon i 1–17^a. 5 Josh v xxii 1–20. 6 Judg xv 9–20.[3] 7 1 Sam xxvi 1—xxvii 4.[4] 8 2 Ki v 1–19, vi 1–7.[5] 9 Jer xxxvii 12—xxxviii 6. 10 Ezek xxi 8–32. 11 Isai lii 13—liii 12. 12 Gen xxii 1–19, or read 167 r xl 1–23, or read Exod xii 29–42. 13 Numb, 'the Schism of Korah', xvi 1–35. 14 Eph ii 11—iii 21. 15 Psalm 31, resp. *vv.* 4^b, 5^a, or Ps 69, resp. *ver.* 20^a. 16 Lk xxiii 27–49.

v And at the end of the service of 3 p.m.: Psalm 22, resp. *ver.* 18^a 2 Hebr ii 9—iii 6^a. 3 Joh xix 31–37.

And at the evening service: 1 Zech xii 11—xiv 9^a. 2 Jer xi 18—xii 8. 3 Isai liii 1–12. 4 Hebr ix 11–28. 5 Psalm 168 r 88, resp. *ver.* 5^a. 6 Matt xxvii 57–61.

Saturday in the Great Week: 1 Prov xvii 10—xviii 20. 2 Job ii 11—iii 26. 3 Dan ix 1–27, or read ix 20—x 3. 4 Jon v i 1–17^a. 5 Josh xxii 21—xxiii 1^a.[6] 6 2 Sam i 1–27. 7 2 Ki xx 1–21. 8 Jer xxxviii 7—xxxix 2. 9 Ezek xi 1–25. 169 r 10 Isai lxiii 1–10. 11 Gen xlii 3—xliii 14, or read xl 1–23. 12 Psalm 88, resp. *ver.* 6^a. 13 1 Cor i 1–31, or Col i 3—ii 5. Psalm 49, resp. *ver.* 15^a (God will deliver my soul). 14 Matt xxvii 62–66.

And in the evening of Saturday when it dawns into Sunday, at the moment of the ablution (*shyāghtā*): 1 Psalm 51, resp. *ver.* 2^a. v 2 Hebr x 19–39. 3 Joh xiii 3–16.

[1] The 'service of 9 a.m.' is in Syriac 'service of the third hour' and corresponds in time to Tierce. Similarly the midday service and that of 3 p.m. correspond to Sext and None. But as there is nothing to shew that these special Good Friday services corresponded in arrangement to the later Daily Offices I have avoided using the technical Western terms in translation.

[2] The MS has Psalm 79.

[3] *Om.* 'in the time of the Philistines' (xv 20).

[4] At the end the MS adds 'David' to xxvii 4

[5] 'And thou dost leave out the story of Gehazi.'

[6] To 'their enemies' (*ver.* 1, middle).

Lessons of Saturday in the evening, when it dawns into the Sunday of the Resurrection of our Lord: 1 Prov xxx 1–14,[1] xxxi 1–*end*. 2 Job xxvii—xxviii 28. 3 Dan iii 23 [Song 2–68]—iv 3. 170 *r* 4 Jon i 17[b]–*end*. 5 Josh ii 1–24. 6 2 Sam xxiv 1–*end*. 7 2 Ki ii 1–15[a], or read iv 8–37. 8 Jer xvi 16—xvii 13. *v* 9 Ezek xxxvii 15–28. 10 Isai lii 1–10, or read lx 1–22. 11 Gen, 'Temptation of Abraham', xxii 1–19. 12 Exod xii 51—xiv 26. 13 Psalm 30, resp. *ver.* 3[a]. 14 1 Cor xv 1–26, or read Eph i 1—ii 22. Halluliah, Ps 93. 15 Matt. xxviii 1–7[b] ('there shall ye see him').

171 *r* And in the morning, before 'Praise ye, His servants':[2] 1 Isai lx 1–7. 2 *Psalm* 3, resp. *ver.* 5[a], or *Psalm* 98, resp. *ver.* 2[a], or 'The Lord hath reigned and is clothed with majesty' (i. e. Ps. 93, no resp.). 3 Lk[3] xxiv 1–12.

And at the end of the same service Mk xvi 2–*end*.

The Great Sunday of the Resurrection of our Lord, in the day: *v* 1 Prov ix 1—x 26. 2 Job xlii 7–*end*. 3 Dan vi 25–28. 4 Joel ii 21–29. 5 Josh iii 1—iv 14[a]. 6 Judg vi 11–40. 172 *r* 7 1 Sam, 'Prayer of Hannah', ii 1–10, or read xvii 1–51[a]. 8 1 Ki iii 3—iv 1. 9 Jer xxxi 2–14, or read ix 23[b]—x 16. 10 Ezek, 'Resurrection of the dead', xxxvii 1–14. 11 Isai liv 1—lv 3, or read lxi 10—lxii 9. 12 Gen viii 1—ix 7, or read xliii 15—*v* xlv 13[a]. 13 Psalm 65, resp. *ver.* 1[a]. 14 Acts ii 22–43. 15 Eph ii 19—iii 21, or read Hebr i 1—ii 8. Halluliah, Psalm 147. 16 Joh xx 1–18.

And in the evening of the same Sunday, after the evening service: 173 *r* Joh xx 19–25.

[Monday][4] in the Week of Rest, Commemoration of S. John the Baptist: 1 Prov xxii 28[5]—xxiii 16. 2 Job xxv 1—xxvi 14. 3 Dan xii 4–13. 4 Mal ii 17–*end*. 5 Judg xi 12–40. *v* 6 1 Sam xx 35[6]—xxii 1. 7 1 Ki xix 1–18. 8 Jer xxxv 1–16. 9 Ezek xxxiii 7–33. 10 Isai xl 1–26. 11 Gen xli 38—xlii 2. 174 *r* 12 Psalm 79, resp. *ver.* 10[b]. 13 Acts xiii 13–43. 14 2 Tim iii 16–*end*. Halluliah, Psalm 57. 15 Matt xiv 1–12, or read Mk vi 14–29.

[1] 'And leave out the section about the horse-leech.'

[2] i. e. Psalm 113.

[3] The MS has 'Matt', but the Eusebian Canon (386/1) is that of Lk

[4] 'Tuesday' MS, *sic*: probably a slip for 'Monday'.

[5] The MS has ܕܥܒܕܘ ܐܒܗܝܟ (=Heb) where Lee's ed. has ܕܬܩܢܘ ܐܒܗܝܟ.

[6] *Om.* ܠܚܩܠܐ.

[Tuesday][1] in the Week of Rest, in the commem. of the apostles v Peter and Paul: 1 Dan iv 1–17. 2 Zech ii 10—iii 10. 3 Judg v 1–31. 4 1 Sam xxvi 1–25. 5 1 Ki xviii 21–40. 6 Jer xvi 16—xvii 10. 7 Ezek iii 10–27. 8 Isai lii 1–12. 9 Gen 175 r xxviii 10–22. 10 Psalm 19, resp. *ver.* 4ᵃ, or 'Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous' (Ps. 33). 11 Acts ix 1–35. 12 Gal i 11—ii 21. 13 Hypomnemata of Simon Peter and of Paul. Halluliah, Ps 47. v 14 Matt xvi 13—xviii 18, or read Joh xxi 15ᵇ–19ᵃ.

Lessons read in the commem. of the holy Apostles: 1 Prov xv 20—xvi 32. 2 Job xxvii 1—xxviii 28. 3 Dan x 1—xi 1ᵃ (to ܐܢܐܘ, *sic*). 4 Amos ix 1–*end*. 5 Josh vi 5(6)–25. 6 1 Sam 176 r xvi 1–13ᵃ. 7 2 Ki vi 8–23. 8 Jer xvi 14—xvii 18. 9 Ezek xlvii 1–23. 10 Isai lx 8—lxi 9. 11 Gen xxvii 1–29. v 12 Psalm 19, resp. *ver.* 4ᵃ. 13 Acts ii 43ᵇ—iv 4. 14 Rom x 1—xi 4, or read 1 Cor xii 1—xiv 25. Halluliah, Psalm 95. 15 Matt ix 36—x 15, or read Joh i 35–51.

177 r Thursday in the Week of Rest, in the commem. of Bishops: 1 Prov xix 16–xx 15. 2 Job ix 1–32. 3 Bar Sira xliv 1—xlix 16. 4 Dan v 1–17. 5 Obadiah, *all*. 6 Josh xxiv 1–18. v 7 1 Sam xxx 6ᵇ–25. 8 2 Ki xiii 10–21. 9 Jer xviii 1–23. 10 Ezek xxxiv 11–31. 11 Isai xxxvi 1–21. 12 Deut xxxiii 1–178 r *end*. 13 Psalm 115 (= 116 Heb.), resp. *ver.* 15. 14 Acts ix 36—x 23ᵃ. 15 Hebr xi 1–22. Halluliah, Psalm 15. 16 Matt v 1–16, or read Lk viii 40–56.

Friday in the same Week of Rest: 1 Prov xxv 2—xxvi 5ᵃ (*sic*). v 2 Job ix 1—x 22. 6 Dan viii 1–19. 4 Haggai i 1—ii 5. 5 Judg ix 1–22. 6 2 Sam vii 1–29. 7 1 Ki xx 13–43. 179 r 8 Jer ii 4–32. 9 Ezek xviii 1–32. 10 Isai xxvi 16—xxvii 13. 11 Psalm 67, resp. *ver.* 1ᵃ. 12 Acts xxi 26—xxii 29, or xxi 27 (*sic*). 13 1 Tim i 1—ii 15. Halluliah, Psalm 112, resp. v *ver.* 1ᵃ. 14 [Lk] xviii 35—xix 10.

Saturday in the same Week of Rest, commem. of S. Stephen: 1 Prov xxvi 6—xxviii 1. 2 Job xii 1—xiv 6. 3 Dan iii 23 180 r [Song 2–22]. 4 Haggai ii 6–*end*. 5 Judg ix 23–57. 6 1 Sam xxii 5—xxiii 18. 7 1 Ki xxi 1–27. 8 Jer xxvi 1–24. v 9 Ezek xix 1—xx 26. 10 Isai xliii 16—xliv 20. 11 Deut ix 13—x 5. 12 Psalm 96, resp. *ver.* 2ᵇ. 13 Acts vi 8—viii 2 14 2 Tim ii 22—iii 15. Halluliah, Ps. 59, resp. *ver.* 1ᵃ. 15 Joh xv 8–25, or xv 2 (*sic*).

[1] 'Wednesday' MS, *sic*: a slip for 'Tuesday'.

Sunday after the Week of Rest, after the morning service: 181 r 1 Psalm 89, resp. *ver.* 7[a]. 2 1 Peter i 13—ii 10. 3 Rom v 6—vi 23. 4 Joh xx 26—xxi 14.

Again, lessons for the same day read at midday, the Prophets v from the beginning of them:[1] 1 Psalm 149, resp. *ver.* 1. And in Acts, 1 Joh ii 12—iv 6. And in the Apostle thou shalt read 1 Cor xi 23—xii 27. Halluliah, Ps. 96. Joh i 1–34.

Ascension of our Lord unto His glorious Father: 1 Prov xv 20—182 r xvi 24[a], or xi 1—xii 5. 2 Job xxii 1–30, or read xxiii 1—xxiv 25. 3 Dan, 'the Kingdom of the Greeks', vii 7–18. 4 Hos xii 9 (10)-*end*, or read in Haggai i 13 (*om.* 'Haggai')-*end*. 5 Judg vi 1–24, v or read xiii 2–21[a]. 6 2 Sam vi 1–23, or read xxi 1–14 7 2 Ki ii 1–18. 8 Jer xxx 18–xxxi 14. 9 Ezek i 1–28[ab], iii 12–15[ab].[2] 10 Isai xlix 1–23, or read xxxv 3–10 (*om.* 'and sighing'). 11 Exod 183 r xiii 19—xiv 31. 12 Deut, 'the Ten Commandments', v (6)—vi 9. 13 Psalm 47, resp. *ver.* 5. 14 Acts i 1–11. 15 1 Tim i 18—iii 16. Halluliah, Ps 24, resp. *ver.* 1. 16 Lk xxiv 36-*end*.

v Sunday of the completion of Pentecost: 1 Job xxxii 6—xxxiii 6. 2 Dan i 1–21. 3 Joel ii 21–32. 4 Judg xiii 2–25. 184 r 5 1 Sam xvi 1–13[a.b]. 6 Jer xxxi 27–37. 7 Isai xlviii 12—xlix 13. 8 Gen xi 1–9. 9 Exod xix 1—xx 17. 10 Psalm 47, resp. *ver.* 8[a]. 11 Acts ii 1–21. 12 1 Cor xii 1–27. v Halluliah, Ps. 93, resp. *ver.* 1[a]. 13 Joh xiv 15–27.

Lessons when a man is tonsured to be a Bar Ḳyāmā: 1 Psalm 25, resp. *ver.* 4[a]. 2 Isai xxxv 3–10. 3 Acts, 1 Pet i 3—ii 5. 4 Col iii 1–17, or read Tit ii 11—iii 7. Halluliah, Ps 103, resp. 185 r *ver.* 1[a]. 5 Matt x 24–39, or read in xix 27—xx 16, or read in Lk xiv 25—xv 10.

Lessons for commem. of Martyrs: 1 Prov i 10—ii 22. 2 Job v i 1—ii 10. 3 Dan iii 1–23 [Song 1]. 4 Jon i 1—ii 10. 5 Judg xi 30—xii 7. 6 1 Sam xvii 31–58. 7 1 Ki xiii 1–32. 8 Jer xxxvii 12–21. 9 Ezek iii 22—v 6. 10 Isai xliv 6–20. 186 r 11 Gen, 'Temptation of Abraham', xxii 1–19. 12 Psalm 44, resp. *ver.* 22[a]. 13 Acts vi 8—viii 2, or read xii 1–17. 14 Rom viii 28—ix 5. Halluliah, Ps 123 (=124 Heb.), resp. *ver.* 1[a]. v 15 Matt x 16–39.

[1] ܒܫܬ ܫܥ̈ܝܢ ܢܒܝ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܪܫܝܗܘܢ.

[2] MS 'And thou dost leave out in the middle a whole story and readest "And the Spirit took me up".'

Lessons for commem. of Martyrs: 1 Prov xv 27—xvi 32. 2 Bar Sira xliv 1—xlv 26. 3 Dan v 31—vi 24. 4 Josh xxii 21–29. 5 Jer xxxviii 14–28. 6 Gen iv 1–16. 7 Psalm 101, resp. 187 *r* *ver.* 1[a]. 8 Acts v 17–42. 9 Hebr xi 32—xii 2. Halluliah, Ps 105, resp. *ver.* 1[a]. 10 Matt x 34—xi 15.

Lessons for commem. of Bishops: 1 Prov viii 10—ix 9. 2 Job *v* xiv 7—xv 35. 3 Dan xii 1–13. 4 Joel ii 1–*end.* 5 Josh xxiii 1[b]—xxiv 8. 6 1 Sam xi 14—xii 25. 7 1 Ki xvii 1–24. 188 *r* 8 Jer xii 1—xiii 27. 9 Ezek xi 22—xii 20. 10 Isai l 8[b]—li 16. 11 Gen xlix 28–*end.* 12 Psalm 81, resp. *ver.* 1[a]. 13 Acts xvi 5—xvii 1[a]. 14 2 Cor iv 7—v 10. Halluliah, Ps 103, resp. *v* *ver.* 1[a]. 15 Lk vii 1[b]–17.

Again, lessons read in the commem. of our Fathers, the Bishops: 1 Prov xxiv 1–34. 2 Job xvi 1–xvii 9. 3 Dan vii 21—viii 4. 4 Mic i 1—ii 3. 5 Josh xxiv 9–*end.* 6 2 Sam xx 4–22. 189 *r* 7 1 Ki xxiv 51 (52)—2 Ki i 17[a]. 8 Jer xiv 1—xv 4. 9 Ezek xviii 1–32. 10 Isai xxxviii 1—xxxix 8+2 Ki xx 20, 21. 11 Num xx 23—xxi 9. 12 Psalm 115 (=116 Heb.), resp. *ver.* 15. *v* 13 Acts xxii 22—xxiii 11. 14 1 Cor xv 1–28. Halluliah, Ps 46, resp. *ver.* 1[a]. 15 Joh xi 1–46.

Lessons read when a man becomes a Priest: 1 1 Sam xvi 1[a, c]–13. 190 *r* 2 Isai lxi 1–9. 3 Num xxvii 15–23. 4 Psalm 104, resp. *ver.* 4[a].[1] 5 Acts i 15—ii 21. 6 1 Tim i 18—iv 16. Halluliah, Ps 91, resp. *ver.* 1[a], or 15, 'Lord who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle?' 7 Joh xxi 15[b]–*end.*

Lesson for the dedication of a Holy Church: 1 Psalm 84, resp. *v* *vv.* 3[b], 4[a] ('My King and my God, blessed are they that dwell in Thy House'). 2 Hebr ix 1–28. Halluliah, Ps 147, resp. *ver.* 12[a] (*ver.* 1[a] Syr.). 3 Joh x 22–42.

Lesson for the dedication of an Altar. 1 Psalm 43, resp. *ver.* 4[a]. 191 *r* 2 1 Ki viii 1–53.[2] 3 Hebr xii 28–*end.* Halluliah, Ps. 26, resp. *ver.* 1[a]. 4 Matt xxiii 12–22.

On the 7th of May, on the day that the Holy Cross was seen in the heavens by blessed Constantine, the believing King, from the third hour of the day to the sixth hour, on this same day therefore

[1] The catchwords end with ܪܘܚܢ, as in Cod. Ambıosıanus.

[2] Ends: ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܡܪܝܐ ܠܕܘܝܕ ܥܒܕܗ ܘܠܥܡܗ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ.

was this commemoration of the Holy Cross, and these lessons are read in it: first Psalm 97 is said, resp. *ver.* 6[a]. 1 The letter that the Bishop of Jerusalem wrote to blessed Constantine (*sic*), the victorious King (i.e. Cyril of Jerus. to Constantius, A.D. 351). *v* 2 Gal vi 1–*end.* Halluliah, Ps 98, resp. *ver.* 1[a]. 3 Matt xxiv 3–37.

Here endeth the Table of the Lessons of Holy Scripture, by which any one can know the Lessons read on all the Feasts, and on the commemorations of Martyrs, and on the commemoration of our Fathers the Bishops who have departed in the true faith, of the Holy Apostles, and the Lessons read on the departure or on the commemoration of the departed.

The next step was to collate with the above text, which I quote as *Lect.*, the lectionary notices in ancient Syriac Biblical MSS. The regular 'Lectionary', i.e. MSS containing the several lessons and no more, arranged in the order they are read, is an invention of later times. The older method was to indicate lessons in the margin, or even in the text, of Biblical codices. Lectionary notices by the original scribes are found in over 20 MSS of the various books of the Old Testament and in over 30 of the New, all of them older than the end of the 7th century. The most ancient MSS of all do not, it is true, contain such notices by the first hand. There are none, for instance, in BM. Add. 14459, either in the part containing Matt and Mk (5th cent.), or in that containing Lk and Joh (530-40). But some are found in the text of Add. 14470, which is quite as early, so that the practice seems to have been coming in during the 5th century.

For the most part these MSS have a very defective series of lectionary Notes. They are indeed somewhat less defective than has hitherto appeared, for the text of Add. 14528 (= *Lect.*), which professes to give the Lessons 'read on *all* the Feasts', shews us that in the use we are considering the Ecclesiastical Year was not filled up, as in later times. But even so they are defective, sometimes only giving the Lessons out of a single Gospel (e.g. Add. 14470, Vat. Syr. 12), or only in part of a book (e.g. Add. 12175, no lessons given from Isaiah earlier than chap. xxxv). The scribes of these beautiful MSS seem to have been craftsmen rather than scholars; they copied

what was before them, without attempting to make up deficiencies. Probably the lectionary Notes had been inserted originally as occasion arose.

It seems also that the scribes made not a few blunders, especially in confusing days of 'the Great Week', i.e. Holy Week, the week before Easter, with those of 'the Week of Rest', i.e. the week after Easter. Even *Lect.* is not free from blunders, some wrong numbers being given for Psalms, &c., as noted above. Among such blunders must be counted the fact that in the lessons for the Week of Rest the scribe of *Lect.* has written *Tuesday* for Monday (i.e. in Syriac 'Day Three' for 'Day Two'), and *Wednesday* for Tuesday, while the real Wednesday, when there was a 'Commemoration of the Holy Apostles', is left without a date. I shall therefore in the following Tables enter the lessons for the commemoration of John the Baptist on Easter Monday, and those for SS. Peter and Paul on Easter Tuesday.

In most of the Biblical MSS it is not clear where the lessons are intended to stop. Very careful scribes put ܫܠܡ or ܫ at the end or an ornamental point, but more often these are omitted, or cannot be distinguished from the work of later annotators.

The full presentation of the evidence is best left for the Tables at the end of this Paper, as some of the detail, particularly in the Gospels, is rather complicated. It is sufficient here to state that the various ancient Biblical MSS do prove to belong to the same Lectionary system that is given in full in Add. 14528 (= *Lect.*). Some of the younger MSS contain extra lessons, e.g. for the Commemoration of the Virgin Mary, for the 'Rogations', for Sundays in Lent, &c. There is a tendency in most of the MSS to shorten the lessons, in accordance with the custom of later days. But on the whole they give emphatic support to the scheme put forth in *Lect.* To such an extent indeed is this the case, that it is possible to restore with confidence a good deal of the contents of the missing eight leaves.

These leaves, as shewn above, consist of the first three and the last three leaves of the first quire (α 1-3, 8-10), and the middle pair of the second quire (β 5, 6). The last must obviously have contained the end of the lessons for Palm Sunday and the thirteen Old Test. lessons for Monday in Holy Week, which would just fill the required space. The second lacuna (α 8-10) contained the lessons for the week-days of the first week in Lent, and the first lacuna (α 1-3), in my opinion, can have contained nothing but the lessons for Christmas Day.

1st Lacuna.

The first extant leaf of *Lect.* (Add. 14528, fol. 152 r) begins with the Epistles and Gospel for Christmas. Thus Christmas immediately preceded Epiphany in *Lect.*, with no commemoration between, e.g. B.V.M. or Innocents. The Gospel was the 17th Lesson, so that there was almost as full a set as for Epiphany.

Now the Lessons for the Day of Epiphany take up 3½ pages of the MS. The Ep. and Gosp. for Christmas take half a page, so that Christmas must have begun near the beginning of α 2 v, i.e. the verso of the lost 2nd leaf of the codex. This is the usual place for the writing of a Syriac book to begin. One guard-leaf was nearly always left blank, while handsome codices, such as Cureton's MS and the Sinai Palimpsest, had even two blank leaves at the beginning. Thus the lessons for Christmas Day alone, with probably a single head-line, fill up the space required.

In the following reconstructions the figures in square brackets are the numbers belonging to the 'Additional' MSS in the British Museum which attest the various lections. A list is given at the end of this Paper: they are all of the 5th to the 7th century, mostly belonging, I think, to the middle of that period.

Foll. α 1 rv and α 2 r. *Blank.*

Foll. α 2 v and 3 rv. *One line for a heading, followed by*

Lessons for Christmas Day: 1 Prov x 1–16 [17108], or xiii 1– [14443]. 2 Job xvi 1– (xvii 6) [14443]. 3 Dan ii 31– [14445]. 4 (? Mic iv 1–v 9) [*Nestorian Use, and Jacobite revision made in* 1000 A.D. *by Athanasius V*]. 5 Josh xxiv 6–27ᵃ [17102]. 6 Judg vi 11– [14438]. 7 1 Sam i 19ᵇ– [14442]. 8 Jer xxxi 2– [17105, 17106]. 9 Ezek xvii 1– [12136]. 10 Isai vii 10–(ix 7) [14432]. 11 Gen xviii 1–22 [14426]. 12 Exod iii 1–15 [12133]. 13 Deut xxxi 7– [14438]. 14 Psalm (?) 15 Acts xiii 13–27ᵃ [17121, 18812 mg]. 16 Hebr i 1– | ii 4 [*Lect.*, 14476, 17122], or Gal. iv 1–v 10 [*Lect.*, 14476, 14477]. Halleluiah, *Ps* 110 [*Lect.*]. 17 Lk ii 1–20 [*Lect.*, 14470, 12137, 12140, 14449, 14450, 14457, 17113], or Matt i 18– [14457, 17117 mg, Vat. 12].[1]

[1] I have added Lessons 16–17, where *Lect.* is extant, partly for completeness, partly to illustrate the way in which *Lect.* is confirmed by the Biblical MSS.

2nd Lacuna.

This consists of the three leaves (α 8–10), which gave the Lessons for the week days of the first week of Lent, followed by a commemoration of the Departed (see *Lect.*, fol. 159 r). Comparatively few of the Biblical MSS give the Lessons for Lent, and most of the Lessons marked 'Of the Departed' in them do not seem to have belonged to this commemoration. Of those preserved, the Gospel Lessons are in great disorder: the idea was evidently to read the Sermon on the Mount in sequence, but the progressive shortening of Lessons, owing no doubt to the multiplication of other forms of worship, particularly the long Hymns which are such a feature of later Syriac offices, has made the limits of the several sections uncertain. The lacuna in *Lect.* begins after the first four Lessons for the Monday, which I repeat here with the additional evidence.[1]

Monday of the 1st week of the Fast of 40: 1 Gen i 1–ii 14 [*Lect.*, 14426], or read Exod i 1–ii 25 [*Lect.*]. 2 Deut iv 1–22 [*Lect*]. 3 Job i 1–ii 10 [*Lect.*]. 4 Josh i 1–ii 24 [*Lect.*], or Judg ii 1– [*Lect.*] | 5 ? Psalm ... 6 Rom i 1– [14477]. 7 Matt iv 23– [14457, 12140].

Tues. of the 1st week: 1 Gen ii 4 (*sic*)[2]– [14444], or Exod, *in sequence.* 2 Deut (?) ... 3 Job, *in sequence.* 4 Josh, *in sequence.* 5 Psalm ... 6 Rom ii 1– [14477, 14481]. 7 Matt v 38– [14457, 17113, 17117 mg].

Wed. of the 1st week: 1 Gen or Exod, *in sequence.* 2 ... 3 Job, *in sequence.* 4 Josh v 1– [17102]. 5 Isai v 1– [14432]. 6 Psalm ... 7 Rom iii 9– [14477, 14481]. 8 Matt vi 19– [14457].

Th. of the 1st week: 1 Gen iv 1– [14444], or Exod vi 2– [12133]. 2 ... 3 Job, *in sequence.* 4 Josh vi 27– [17102]. 5 Psalm ... 6 Rom iv 1– [14477]. 7 Matt vii 28–viii 17 [14457].

Fri. of the 1st week: 1 Gen or Exod, *in sequence.* 2 ... 3 Job, *in sequence.* 4 Josh viii 1– [17102].[3] 5 Psalm ... 6 Rom vii 1–[14477]. 7 Matt viii 18–ix 8 [14457].

Sat. of the 1st week: Gen or Exod, *in sequence.* 2 ...

[1] A page of Add. 14528 contains about 7 Lessons, so that as the three missing leaves contain the Lessons for six days, it is evident that each day could only have been provided with seven Lessons. W. may have had one extra Lesson.

[2] Perhaps only an error of Cod 14444 for ii 14

[3] Cod. 17102 has 'F in mid-Lent', by error.

3 Job, *in sequence.* 4 Josh (or Judg) ... 5 Psalm ... 6 Rom viii 18– [14477]. 7 Matt x 24– [14457].[1]
Commemoration of the Departed: 1 (?) | 2 2 Ki iv 8–37, &c.

3rd Lacuna.

This consists of two leaves only (β 5, 6), and there is barely room in it for the twelve or thirteen missing lessons of Monday in Holy Week, preceded by a certainly equal number for Palm Sunday. There can certainly have been no room in the MS for any extra services, so that the note to Isai lii 13 in Cod. 12175 ('First Day of the Mystery, in the evening') cannot be correct. The word *First* seems to have been intentionally erased: no doubt it was a mistake for *Fifth* (i.e. *ḥadh* for *ḥamshā*). 'Thursday of the Mystery' is the standing Syriac term for what we call Maundy Thursday, the day before Good Friday: it is one of the signs of antiquity in *Lect.* that this name does not occur in it.

Lesson of the same Sunday of the Great Week: 1 Prov i 1–iii 26 [*Lect.*]. 2 Job xxvi–xxviii 28 [*Lect.*]. | 3 Dan ii 1– [14445]. 4 Zech ix 9–16 [14443]. 5 ... 6 ... 7 1 Sam ii 27– [14442]. 8 Jer i 1– [17105]. 9 Ezek i 1– [12136, 17107[2]]. 10 Isai lv 4– [12175]. 11 Gen ... 12 Exod vii 19– [12133[2]]. 13 Deut (?) 14 Psalm ... 15 Acts, 1 Pet i 1–16 [17121]. 16 Rom xi 13– [14477, 14481, 17122]. Halleluiah (?) 17 Lk xix 28– [14470, Dawkins 3, 14450, 14457, 17113], or Matt xxi 1–(17) [Dawkins 3, 12137, 12140, 14457, 17113, 17117 mg], or Mk xi 1– [Dawkins 3, 12137, 14450, 14457, 17113], or Joh xii 12– [(Dawk. 3), 12140, 14450, 14457, 17113].

Monday in the Great Week: 1 Prov, *in seq.* (i.e. iii 27–vi 5). 2 Job ... 3 Dan viii 1– [14445]. 4 Hosea (?) 5 Josh ... 6 1 Sam ... 7 Jer ... 8 Ezek iii 4–(iv 15) [17107]. 9 Isai .. 10 Gen ii 15–(iv 7) [14426] or Exod viii 20–(ix 21) [12133]. 11 Numb (?) 12 Psalm ... 13 Rom | xv 14–33 [*Lect.*, 14476, 17122]. Halluliah, Psalm 65[5] [*Lect.*]. 15 Lk xii 35–50, or Joh xii 12–25 [*Lect.*].[3]

[1] I have chosen the Lessons from the text of Cod. 14457 in this series, because they are longer than those in other MSS, and therefore are more probably those that stood in *Lect.*; for details see below, p. 338.

[2] Codd. 12133 and 17107, like *Lect.*, avoid calling Palm Sunday 'of the Hosannas'.

[3] For the irregular numbering, see the full text above. Cod. 14470 has a Lection beginning at Lk xii 35, but heads it 'Th. of the Mystery'. This is probably a mere blunder for 'M. of the Great Week', as 14470 has the correct Lection (Lk xxii 1–) marked in its place.

General Characteristics of Lect.

The most significant feature in our document is the Kalendar. The colophon of *Lect.* most distinctly claims that all the Feasts have been included and all the Commemorations, so that we may believe that we have in it the complete series of Lessons as known to the scribe. It is, as I remarked at the beginning, practically identical with the later form of the 'Apostolic Canons' as quoted by Marutha. Christmas is celebrated, as well as Epiphany, and Ascension and Pentecost are two Feasts, not one. But otherwise the Ecclesiastical Year is as simple as it can be; the only times provided with Lessons are the week before and the week after Easter, together with the first and the middle weeks of Lent. No Fast of the Ninevites, no Rogations, no commemorations connected with Christmas such as Innocents' Day, are provided for in *Lect.* What is still more remarkable is that there is no commemoration of the Virgin Mary, either on the day after Christmas (as was afterwards usual among the Jacobites) or at any other time.[1]

A peculiar feature of this Kalendar is the assignment of days in Easter Week as commemorations. The week itself is called the Week of Rest (*nyāḥtā*), a name which it got from the ordinance of Constantine forbidding work during the whole octave of Easter,[2] and of the several days Monday is a commemoration of John the Baptist, Tuesday of Peter and Paul, Wednesday of the Apostles generally, Thursday of Bishops, Saturday of Stephen. Friday has no special commemoration: at a later period this Friday in Easter Week was celebrated as Friday of the Confessors both by Jacobites and Nestorians in memory of Simeon bar Ṣabbā'ē, who was martyred on Good Friday, A. D. 341, but no trace of this commemoration appears in our MSS.

As mentioned above, *Lect.* avoids calling 'the Sunday of the Great Week of Unleavened Bread' (i.e. Palm Sunday) by the name of

[1] A commemoration of the B.V.M. is found at Lk i 26 and at Acts i 12 in a good many Syriac Biblical MSS, including Vat. Syr 12, which was written in 548, and the ancient Oxford MS (Dawkins 3) It should be noted that such MSS call her 'my Lady Mary, the Blessed' (*tūbhnīthā Mart Maryam*), while later MSS, beginning with the illustrated codex at Florence, written in 586, have the Syriac term corresponding to *Theotokos*. The very ancient Cod. 14470, perhaps of the 5th cent., has no commemoration of the B.V.M at all.

[2] In later times it was called the Week of White Garments, the *in albis* of the West, but this name never occurs in *Lect*, and very rarely in the old Biblical MSS.

'Sunday of the Hosannas'. There is a midnight reading in the vigil of the Epiphany, but no rite of the Blessing of the Waters, and on 'Thursday in the Great Week' there is no consecration of the Chrism. In other words there is no trace, either in *Lect.* or in the ancient Biblical MSS, of the innovations of Bishop Peter of Edessa [1]

Attention should be drawn in passing to the fact that there is no service of Feet-washing on Maundy Thursday evening. The moment of 'ablution' (*shyāghtā*), when Joh xiii 3–16 is read, is late on Saturday, just before the vigil of Easter. It is not a rite of 'after supper', such as the feet-washing is, but a preparatory rite for the Easter Communion.[2]

The most curious omission in *Lect.* is of any Baptismal Services. Possibly once no Lessons were read at the actual ceremony. Yet Joh v 1 ff is prescribed in many MSS, including Cod. 14470. On the other hand the first of the occasional services in *Lect.*, before even those for the Martyrs, is that 'when a man is tonsured to be a *Bar Ḳyāmā*', or Son of the Covenant. The Sons of the Covenant were different from the Monks. They were ascetics, living at home or in small groups, vowed to strict continence and a retired life, and no doubt for the last two generations, since Rabbula had regulated their behaviour, they were almost indistinguishable from the regular monk who had joined a convent and had accepted the Rule of S. Basil. But in the old days before Constantine, when Christianity was a proscribed faith and men often deferred their baptism and full Church membership till they felt ready to leave the world, the *Bnai Ḳyāmā* were the backbone of the Church in the Euphrates Valley. With outward prosperity they gradually lost their importance, but I venture to claim the prominence given in our document to the ceremony of their profession as a very signal mark of antiquity.

When we turn from the days provided for to the actual Lessons the most striking features are their length and their number. On Ascension Day, for instance, 444 verses in all are to be read or sung, and all apparently at a single service. As I remarked above in a footnote to the Good Friday Lessons, it does not appear that the Canonical Hours had been definitely fixed, after the manner of later Uses. On Sundays and Festivals there was a 'morning service' and a service 'in the day', as appears from the directions for the Sunday after Easter and for Epiphany, but it is not even clear which was the

[1] See above, p. 304.

[2] It differs from the Service of Forgiveness for Holy Saturday after None B.M. Add. 17230, fol. 40 *a*), which corresponds to Denzinger, *Rit. Or.* ii 522.

Eucharistic Service. In any case the Biblical Lessons are so long that there can have been little time for anything else at the non-eucharistic services, except for a few prayers or short introductory formulas. It must be remembered that when *Lect.* was drawn up the voluminous metrical discourses of Jacob of Serugh were not all penned, and though the Syriac-speaking Church already possessed the Hymns of S. Ephraim and used some of them in the services, a good many of his works had not yet been adapted to liturgical purposes. The Hymns of Severus, again, were not yet available. In any case the general tendency from the 6th century onward was to shorten the Lessons, no doubt in order to gain more time for the Hymns and metrical Homilies, of which the Syrians seem to have been so fond. The Table of Lessons from Acts in Add. 17121, dating from before the end of the 6th century, very well illustrates this tendency; a good many more days are provided with Lessons than in *Lect.*, but the Lessons themselves are shortened, generally at the end.

The number of Lessons provided by *Lect.* is as remarkable as their length. The leading idea seems to have been to illustrate the teaching of the day from every part of the Bible. The several Books are arranged in what appears to be an order of merit or importance, the most weighty coming last. The custom of reading the Gospel last is at least as old as the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, but the elaborate subordination set forth in *Lect.* is a novelty. First come Proverbs and Job, as not far removed from the best worldly wisdom; then Daniel, which with the Syrians as with the Jews is placed somewhat below the greater Prophets, and with it is curiously associated the Book of the Twelve minor Prophets; then come the Books from Joshua to Kings, which are concerned with secular history; then follow the great Prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah, followed in turn by the Pentateuch. At the end of the Old Testament reading comes a Psalm. Then follows the New Testament: first, at certain times of the year, a reading from Acts or the Epistles of S. Peter and S. John; then the Apostle *par excellence*, Hebrews being reckoned also as Pauline; then comes a Psalm called the Halleluiah, corresponding to the Western Gradual, and last of all the Gospel for the day.

From this arrangement we learn what for practical purposes was the Canon of the Syriac-speaking Church in the 5th and 6th centuries. It is chiefly remarkable for its omissions. Leviticus was no doubt regarded as canonical, but no Lesson is taken from it: perhaps it was thought unsuitable reading for Christian services. Ruth, Chronicles,

Ezra and Nehemiah, Esther, Song and Ecclesiastes, are passed over altogether.[1] Of the 'Apocrypha' only the Praise of Famous Men from Sirach (*Bar Sīrā*) occurs, except the Song of Ananias and Azarias, which is always reckoned by the Syrians as an integral part of the Book of Daniel. In the New Testament, the Apocalypse and the Four minor Catholic Epistles, which form no part of the Syriac Bible, are of course unrepresented in the Lectionary. More remarkable is the fact that no Lesson is taken from the Epistle of James, which had been included, along with 1 Peter and 1 John, in the Syriac N.T. since the time of Rabbula. The First Epistle to the Corinthians is used 16 times, the Second Epistle only once; Romans is used 13, and Hebrews 10 times, the next highest figure being Galatians with 4 Lessons in all. 2 Thess. and Philemon are never used. In the Gospels, Mark is little used, only 4 (or 5) Lessons being taken from it, and of these all but two (Mk xv 16–23, Good Friday at midday, and xvi 2–*end*, after 'the morning service' on Easter Sunday) being alternatives. From Luke only 16 Lessons were taken, while there were 27 from John and about 30 from Matthew.

No attempt is made in this system to use up the text of Scripture. The same Lessons, if considered appropriate, are used again and again. It should be noticed that the composite Lessons from several Gospels for Holy Week, so characteristic of the later Jacobite use, are absent from *Lect.* There is nothing in *Lect.* that can be taken as a reminiscence of the Diatessaron. The only modifications of the Biblical text are occasional omissions of unsuitable verses or clauses.

Of special interest is the reading of the 'Hypomnemata of Simon Peter and of Paul' on Easter Tuesday.[2] The Memoir of Paul no doubt consisted of the story of Thecla, which was highly esteemed by the Syrians, and is found bound up with Ruth, Esther, Susanna and Judith in the semi-canonical Book of Women.[3] The Memoir of Simon Peter is with equal probability to be looked for in the Clementine Romance, most likely in the extant Syriac form of the Recognitions. What is certain is that Rabbula, the great regulator of Edessene ecclesiastical affairs, quotes these Recognitions and the story of Thecla as authorities for what Peter and Paul used to eat.[4]

[1] So, curiously enough, is the prophecy of Nahum, though Obadiah is read.

[2] *Lect.* has 'Wednesday', but this is a slip, as pointed out on p. 315.

[3] e. g. in Add. 14652, the 6th cent. codex that contains the Life of Rabbula.

[4] See Rabbula's Letter to the Bishop of Feirān near Sinai (*Overbeck* 237). The passages referred to by Rabbula will be found in Lagarde's *Recognitiones syriace*, p. [illegible], ll. 24, 25, and Wright's *Apocryphal Acts*, p. 129.

In other words, the mention of these Hypomnemata in *Lect.* may fairly be regarded as a link with Rabbula and his ordinances.

I regret that I can find no Syriac evidence to illustrate the Psalm-singing. A single Psalm, provided with a refrain (and therefore sung, not merely read), is ordered for almost every service before the New Testament reading begins. It is distinct from the Halleluiah (or 'Halluliah'), which is sung immediately before the Gospel.

Another significant fact is that the Festival of the Apparition of the Cross on May 7, with which *Lect.* concludes, has left no trace in the Syriac Biblical MSS. At a later period other festivals of the Cross were popular in Syriac-speaking Christendom, but the celebration of May 7 dropped out. The special interest of this celebration is that it is a local festivity of Jerusalem, commemorating a vision of the Cross in the sky witnessed by S. Cyril of Jerusalem in the year 351, which he described in a letter which he wrote off at once to the Emperor Constantius. This letter must have reached the Emperor just before the victory of Mursa. The next generation remembered Constantius as the Arian persecutor of Catholics, so that it is not surprising to find that a confusion between this vision at Jerusalem has taken place with the vision of the Labarum seen by Constantine the father of Constantius, a confusion which is reflected in the rubric of our Lectionary. In any case it was, and remained, a local solemnity at Jerusalem: 'they assemble before holy Golgotha . . . and this Canon is performed. Ps. 97^{6}. Epistle of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, to Constantine (*sic*): *Incipit:* "To the emperor, lover of God and pious, the Augustus Constantius, Cyril, bishop. Rejoice in the Lord." Gal. vi 14–18: Alleluiah. Ps. 98: Matt xxiv 30–35' (Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 525). So runs the old Armenian Lectionary, which follows the order of Jerusalem; it will be observed that it is the same service as that of *Lect.*, except that in *Lect* the Lessons are characteristically much longer.

What is the link between Edessa and Jerusalem? I venture to suggest that here again it is found in the person of Rabbula, bishop of Edessa from 411 to 435. Rabbula had a great respect for Jerusalem and the Holy Places. On his conversion he went from Syria to Jerusalem and prayed before Golgotha and visited the Grave of our Lord and the Cave where He was born, and climbed up to the Place of the Ascension,[1] before going down to Jordan itself to be baptized. Jerusalem was evidently for Rabbula the model Christian city and it is no wonder if we find traces of the local festivals of

[1] *Overbeck*, p 164.

Jerusalem in the use of Edessa over which Rabbula ruled so long and successfully.

It is to Rabbula that I set down the points of contact between our Lectionary and the Jerusalem order, perceptible in the Psalms and the Halleluiahs as well as in the commemoration on the 7th of May. To Rabbula again we may ascribe the reading of the Hypomnemata of S. Peter and S. Paul on Easter Tuesday, another foreign importation into the Bible readings from the still little-worked field of Greek ecclesiastical literature. But the great bulk of our document appears to me to be a home growth. The beginnings and endings of many of the Lessons fit the wording of the Syriac Bible and not the Greek. They do not represent the use of Jerusalem: I doubt if they represented what was ever the use of Antioch except in matters common to all reasonable use of Scripture to illustrate the Christian Year. In any case it seems to me that we have in this Lectionary quite the earliest liturgical monument of Syriac Christianity that is preserved in approximate completeness. It shews us how Syriac-speaking Christians of the fifth and early sixth centuries heard the Holy Scriptures read, and indicates by its choice of Lessons what they were invited to mark, learn and inwardly digest.

INDEX TO THE LESSONS

In these Tables the order of the lists for the several Books is that of the Kalendar provided for by *Lect.*, followed by the additional days, if any, attested by the Biblical MSS. The tables for Acts and the separate Gospels need slight modifications as explained in their place. As all the MSS, with few exceptions, are British Museum Additional MSS I quote them by their number only (e.g. 14444 stands for 'B M. Add. 14444'). Except where otherwise stated all the Lectionary rubrics are by the original scribes of the MSS. The dates are given from Wright's Catalogue: vi/vii means 'sixth or seventh century A.D.'.

GENESIS

**Lections marked in* 14426 (vi/vii)
†*Lections marked in* 14444 (vi/vii).

Day	Lesson
Christmas	xviii 1–22*
Epiphany	i 1—ii 24 or xxi 1–13*
M. 1st wk. in Lent	i 1—ii 14*
T. ,,	ii 4–† (*sic*)
W ,,	...
Th.	iv i–†
F. S.	...
M. in mid-Lent	xiii 11^{b}—xv 5
T. ,,	xv 6—xvii 22
W. ,,	xvii 23—xviii 33
Th. ,,	xx 1—xxi 34
F. ,,	xxii 1—xxiii 20
Palm Sunday	...
M. in Holy Week	ii 15– *
T. ,,	iv 8—vi 4*†
W ,,	vi 5—vii 24
Th. ,,	xxxvii 1–36*
Good Friday	xxii 1–19* or xl 1–23*

H. Saturday	xlii 3—xliii 14*[1] or xl 1–23
eve of Easter	xxii 1–19
Easter Day	viii 1—ix 7* or xliii 15—xlv 13a
M. in wk. of Rest	xli 38—xlii 2*
T. ,,	xxviii 10–22*†
W. ,,	xxvii 1–29
Pentecost	xi 1–9 *[2]
1 Martyrs	xxii 1–19
2 Martyrs	iv 1–16
1 Bishops	xlix 28–*end*
Baptism	xxx 37– *[2]

EXODUS

**Lections in 12133 (vii).*[3]

Christmas	iii 1–15*
eve of Epiphany	iii 1–15
Epiphany	xv 1–26 (*)[4]
Sund. bef. Lent	xxiv 1–18* or xxxiv 1–35*
M. 1st wk. of Lent	i 1—ii 25
T. W. ,,	..
Th. ,,	vi 2– *
F. S. ,,	...
Com. of Departed	iii 1–22
Palm Sunday	vii 19– *
M. in Holy Wk.	viii 20– *
T ,,	ix 22—[x 20]*
W. ,,	x 21—xi 10(*)[5]
Th. ,,	xii 1–28 (*)[6]
Good Friday	xii 29–42*
eve of Easter	xii 51—xiv 26 (*)[7]
Ascension	xiii 19—xiv 31*
Pentecost	xix 1—xx 17*
Oil of Baptism	xxx 22–38*

NUMBERS

No MS with ancient Lectionary Notes survives.

Epiphany	xxiv 2–18
T. in H. Week	xx 1—xxi 20
W. in H Week	xxxv 9–*end*
Th. ,,	ix 1–23
Good Friday	xvi 1–35
2 Bishops	xx 23—xxi 9
Ord. of Priest	xxvii 15–23

DEUTERONOMY

**Lections in 14438 (vi).*

Christmas	xxxi 7– *
M. 1st wk. in Lent	iv 1–22
Th. in wk. of Rest	xxxiii–*end*
S. ,,	ix 13—x 5
Ascension	v 6—vi 9
eve of Easter	xvi 1– *
Martyrs	xiv 22– *

JOSHUA

**Lections in 17102 (A.D. 599).*
†Lections in 12172 (vi/vii).

Christmas	xxiv 16–27a *
Epiphany	iii 1—iv 14†
Sund. bef Lent	iii 1—iv 24
M. 1st wk. in Lent	i 1—ii 24
T. ,,	...
W. ,,	v 1— *
Th ,,	vi 27– *
F. ,,	viii 1– *[8]
Palm Sunday	...
M. in Holy wk.	..
T. ,,	v 1—vi 21
W. ,,	vi 22—vii 26*
Th. ,,	viii 30—x 14 or xxiii 1b–*end*
Good Friday	xxii 1–20
H. Saturday	xxii 21—xxiii 1a
eve of Easter	ii 1–24
Easter Day	iii 1–14a
W in wk. of Rest	vi 5 (6)–25*
Th. ,,	xxiv 1–18†
2 Martyrs	xxii 21–29
1 Bishops	xxiii 1b—xxiv 8†
2 Bishops	xxiv 9–*end*
M in Pentecost	i 1– †

[1] Begins *ver.* 5.
[2] mg, old hand.
[3] Wright says viiith cent., but this is surely too late.
[4] 12133 has xv 22–(26).
[5] 12133 has x 1–.
[6] 12133 has x 21–.
[7] 12133 has xii 41–.
[8] 17102 reads 'F. in middle week', a slip for 'F. in 1st week'.

JUDGES

*Lections in 14438 (vi)

Christmas	vi 11– *
Epiphany	vi 34—vii 7[a]
M. 1st wk in Lent	ii 1–
Good Friday	xv 9–20
Easter Day	vi 11–40*
M. in wk. of Rest	xi 12–40(*)[1]
T. "	v 1–31*[2]
F. "	ix 1–22*[3]
S. "	ix 23–27*
Ascension	vi 1–24*
	or xiii 2–21[a]*
Pentecost	xiii 2–25*
1 Martyrs	xi 30—xii 7*

1, 2 SAMUEL

*Lections in 14442 (vi/vii).[4]

Christmas	1. i 19[b]– *
Epiphany	1. xvi 1[a, c]–13[a]
Sund. bef Lent	1 vii 2–17
Palm Sunday	1. ii 27– *
M in Holy wk.	...
T "	1 vii 2—viii 22
W. "	1. ix 1—x 16[ab]
Th. "	1. x 17—xii 25
Good Friday	1. xxvi 1—xxvii 4
H. Saturday	2 i 1–27
eve of Easter	2. xxiv 1–*end*
Easter Day	1. ii 1–10*
	or 1. xvii 1–51[a]
M. in wk. of Rest	1 xx 35—xxii 1
T "	1 xxvi 1–25
W. "	1 xvi 1–13[a]
Th. "	1. xxx 6[b]–25
F. "	2 vii 1–29
S. "	1. xxii 5—xxiii 18
Sunday "	1. i 1–19[a]*
Ascension	2. vi 1–23
	or 2. xxi 1–14
Pentecost	1. xvi 1–13[ab]
1 Martyrs	1 xvii 31–58
1 Bishops	1. xi 14—xii 25
2 Bishops	2. xx 4–22

1, 2 KINGS

*Lections in 14430 (A.D. 724).

Epiphany	1. i 32–48
Sund. bef Lent	1. xix 1–21
Com of Departed	2 iv 8–37
Good Friday	2. v 1–19, vi 1–7
H. Saturday	2 xx 1–21
eve of Easter	2. ii 1–15[a]
Easter Day	1. iii 3—iv 1
M. in wk of Rest	1. xix 1–18*
T. "	1. xviii 21–40
W. "	2. vi 8–23
Th "	2. xiii 10–21
F. "	1. xx 13–43
S. "	1. xxi 1–27
Ascension	2. ii 1–18*
1 Martyrs	1. xiii 1–32*
1 Bishops	1 xvii 1–24*
2 Bishops	1 xxii 51—2. i 17[a]*
Ded. of Altar	1. viii 1–53
Ded. of Church	1. vi 15– *
Rogations	1 viii 22– *
Pentecost	1. viii 54– *
Of the Tonsure	1. ix 1– *

JOB

*Lections in 14443 (vi).

Christmas	xvi 1—(xvii 6)*
Epiphany	iv 1—v 27
Sunday bef Lent	xxix 1—xxx 23
M. 1st wk in Lent	i 1—ii 10
. .	...
Palm Sunday	xxvi 1–xxviii 28
M. in Holy wk.	...
T. "	xxxi 40[b]—xxxiii 33
	or xxxi 7—xxxiii 6
W. "	xxxiv 1–37
Th. "	xxxviii 1, 3—xxxix 30*
Good Friday	xl 1—xlii 6 *
H. Saturday	ii 11–iii 26
eve of Easter	xxvii 1—xxviii 28
Easter Day	xlii 7–*end**

[1] 14438 begins at xi 1.
[2] 14438 also has a Lection for this day at xi 12.
[3] 14438 begins at viii 33.
[4] 14442 only contains 1 Sam i 1—ii 29, xvii 57—xx 34. No old Lectionary Notes occur in 14431.

M in wk. of Rest	xxv 1—xxvi 14
T. ,,	[*no lesson*] §
W. ,,	xxvii 1—xxviii 28
Th. ,,	ix 1–32
F. ,,	ix 1—x 29
S. ,,	xii 1—xiv 6*
Ascension	xxii 1–30
Pentecost	xxxii 16—xxxiii 6
1 Martyrs	i 1—ii 10
1 Bishops	xiv 7–xv 35*
2 Bishops	xvi 1—xvii 9

PSALMS

The numbers of the Psalms are those of the Syriac reckoning: where they differ from the Hebrew and English both numbers are given The small number is that of the verse used as a respond. if one point comes after the small number the first half only of the verse forms the respond; if two points, the second half only. The Halleluiah corresponds to the Gradual, i.e. a Psalm before the Gospel Psalms marked A are similarly used in the ancient Armenian Lectionary edited by Conybeare in *Rituale Armenorum*, pp. 516–527.

Christmas		...
	Halleluiah	110
Epiphany		
Vigil		23^{1} A
	Hall.	80 A
midnight		29^{3}
Day		2^{7}
	Hall.	110 A
Sunday bef. Lent		35^{18}
	Hall.	51
M.–F.		...
Com. of Departed		49^{15}
	Hall.	30
M. in mid-Lent		75^{1}
T. ,,		42^{2}
W. in mid-Lent		84^{4}·
Th. ,,		44^{8}
F ,,		46^{1}
S. ,,		32^{11}
	Hall	112^{1}
Palm Sunday		
	eve	23^{6}
	morn.	95^{6}·
	Day	...
M. in H. Week		...
	(Hall.)	65^{5} A
T. ,,		25^{1} A
	Hall.	4^{2}·
W. ,,		41^{4} A
	(Hall.)	5^{1}·
	eve	36^{10}
Th. ,,		55^{21} A
	Hall	23^{5} A
	eve begin	41^{6} A
	end	109^{4} A
	night begin	55^{21}
	end	35^{8}
Good Friday		
	morn.	35^{11} A
	9 a m.	41^{9} A
	midday	69^{21} A
	Day	31^{4} ^{5} A
	or	69^{20}
	3 p.m.	22^{18} A
	evening	88^{5} A
H. Saturday		88^{6} A
	(Hall.)	49^{15}·
	ablution	51^{2}·
eve of Easter		30^{3}
	Hall.	93
	morn	3^{5}
	or	98^{2}·
	or	93
	also	113 A
Easter Day		65^{1} A
	Hall.	147 A
M. in wk of Rest		79^{10}
	Hall.	57
T. ,,		19^{4} A ‡
	or	33
	Hall.	47 A ‡
W. ,,		19^{1}
	Hall.	95

§ Here, as elsewhere, I have corrected the days of the week of rest in *Lect.*, so that S. John Baptist is commemorated on Easter *Monday*, and SS. Peter and Paul on Easter *Tuesday*.

‡ i. e. Comm. of Peter and Paul, *Rit. Arm*, p. 527.

Th. in wk. of Rest	115(116*Heb.*)^{15}
Hall.	15 A
F. „	67^{1}
Hall.	112^{1}·
S. „	96^{2}·
Hall.	59^{1}·
Sunday, morn.	89^{7}·
Day	149^{1} A
Hall.	96
Ascension	47^{5}
Hall.	24^{1}
Pentecost	47^{8}·
Hall.	93^{1}
Bar Ḳyāmā	25^{4}
Hall.	103^{1}
1 Martyrs	44^{22}
Hall.	123 (124*Heb.*)^{1}
2 Martyrs	101^{1}
Hall.	105^{1}
1 Bishops	81^{1}
Hall.	103^{1}·
2 Bishops	115 (116 *Heb.*)^{15}
Hall.	46^{1}
Ord. of Priest	104^{4}·
Hall.	91^{1}·
Ded. of Church	84^{3} [4]
Hall.	147^{12}· (A)
Ded. of Altar	43^{4} A
Hall.	26^{1} A
May 7	97^{6} A
Hall.	98^{1} A

PROVERBS

**Lections in* 14443 (vi/vii).
†*Lections in* 17108 (vi).

Christmas	x 1–16†
	or xiii 1– *
Epiphany	viii 22–36*†mg
Sund. bef. Lent	xxxi 1–*end**†
Palm Sunday	i 1—iii 26
M. in Holy wk.	... [1]
T. „	vi 6–35*†
W. „	i 10—ii 15
	or viii 1—ix 12
Th. in Holy wk.	x 7—xi 2* [2]
Good Friday	xiii 14—xv 8*† [3]
H. Saturday	xvii 10—
	xviii 20(*) [4]
eve of Easter	xxx 1–14,
	xxxi–*end**† [5]
Easter Day	ix 1—x 26*
M. in wk. of Rest	xxii 28—
	xxiii 18 (†) [1]
T. „	[*no lesson*]
W. „	xv 20—
	xvi 32*† [6]
Th. „	xix 18—xx 5†
F. „	xxv 2—
	xxvi 5a*†
S. „	xxvi 6—
	xxviii 1*† [7]
Ascension	xv 20—xvi 24a
	or xi 1—xii 5†
1 Martyrs	i 10—ii 12
2 Martyrs	xv 27—xvi 32
1 Bishops	viii 10—ix 9
2 Bishops	xxiv 1–34†
Of priests	xi 15– †
Apostles	xiii 1– *

ISAIAH

**Lections in* 12175 (A.D. 534).
†*Lections in* 14432 (vi).

Christmas	vii 10—(ix 7)†
night of Epiph.	x 33—xii 6† [8]
Epiphany	vii 10—ix 7
Sund. bef. Lent	lviii 1–14*†
W. 1st wk. of Lent	v 1– †
W. in mid-Lent	xl 1–8
Th. „	xl 9—xli 16
F. „	xli 17—xlii 4(†) [9]
Palm Sunday	lv 4– *
M. in Holy wk.	...
T „	lxiii 1 –lxv 7†
W. „	lxv 8—lxvi 9*†
Th. „	lxi 1–9
	or xl 1—xli 16

[1] 17108 gives Prov. xxiii 10– for 'M. in the Great Week', but most likely by error for 'M. in the Week of Rest'.

[2] 14443 begins at x 1.

[3] 17108 gives this for Th.

[4] In 14443 this begins at xvii 6 and ends xviii 12.

[5] 17108 begins at xxxi 10.

[6] 14443 begins at xv 10, 17108 gives only xvi 6b–24.

[7] 17108 gives only xxvi 4 28

[8] In 14432 not specifically for the Vigil.

[9] In 14432 for 'Rogations'.

Good Friday	lii 13—liii 12
evening	liii 1–12
H. Saturday	lxiii 1–10
eve of Easter	lii 1–10 or lx 1–22*†
morning	lx 1–7
Easter Day	liv 1—lv 3* or lxi 10—lxii 9
M. in wk. of Rest	xl 1–26*[1]†
T „	lii 1–12
W. „	lx 8—lxi 9*
Th. „	xxxvi 1–21*
F. „	xxvi 16—xxvii 13
S. „	xliii 16—xliv 20*
Sunday „	i 1–
Ascension	xlix 1–23* or xxxv 3–10†
Pentecost	xlviii 12—xlix 13*
Bar Kyāmā	xxxv 3–10†[2]
1 Martyrs	xliv 6–20†
1 Bishops	l 8^b—li 16
2 Bishops	xxxviii 1—xxxix 8† with 2 Ki xx 20, 21
Ord. of Priest	lxi 1–9†

Epiphany	xxxv 3– *
(Th.) of the Mystery in the evening	lii 13– *[3]
H. Saturday in the evening	li 9– *
Rogations	xxv 1– †
„	xxxiii 2– †
„	xli 17– †
Th. in Holy wk.	l 4– †
Ascension	xxx 27– †
Apostles	lii 7–(12)†
Ded. of Church	liv 1– †

XII PROPHETS

**Lections in* 14443 (vi).[4]

Christmas	(?Mic iv 1—v 9)[5]
Epiphany	Zech vi 1–15 or Mic v. 2—vi 8
Sund bef. Lent	Joel ii 1–*end*
...	...
M. in mid-Lent	Joel ii 21–*end*
T. „	Mic iv 1–7
F. „	Zech viii 9—ix 8
Palm Sunday	Zech ix 9–16*
M. in Holy wk.	...
T. „	Hos xi 8–*end*
W „	Joel i 1—ii 22
Th. „	Hab i, ii *
Good Friday	Amos viii 9—ix 6 or Jon i 1–17^a
evening	Zech xii 11—xiv 9^a
H Saturday	Jon i 1–17^a
eve of Easter	Jon i 17^b–*end*
Easter Day	Joel ii 21–29
M. in wk. of Rest	Mal ii 17–*end*
T. „	Zech ii 10—iii 10
W. „	Amos ix 1–*end*
Th. „	Obadiah
F „	Hag i 1—ii 5
S „	Hag ii 6–*end*
Sunday „	(? Hos i 1–)
Ascension	Hos xii 9 (10)–*end*
Pentecost	Joel ii 21–32
1 Martyrs	Jon i 1–10
1 Bishops	Joel ii 1–*end*
2 Bishops	Mic i 1—ii 3

JEREMIAH

**Lections in* 17105 (vi)[6]
†*Lections in* 17106 (vi/vii).

Christmas	xxxi 2– *†
Epiphany	xxxiii 10–22*mg
Sund. bef. Lent	xxxvi 1–26
M. in mid-Lent	i 1–19
T. „	ii 1—iii 5
W. „	iii 6–21
Th. „	iii 22—iv 18
Palm Sunday	i 1– *
M. in Holy wk.	..
T. „	iv 1—v 19
W. „	v 20—vii 15

[1] Begins in 12175 at *v.* 3.
[2] 14432 has 'Of the Tonsure'.
[3] 12175 has 'Sunday': see above p. 18.
[4] 14443 is defective as far as Nahum.
[5] See above, p 316.
[6] The marginal notes in 17105 are almost as old as the MS.

Th. ,,	ix 23—x 25* [1]
Good Friday	xxxvii 12—xxxviii 6
evening	xi 18—xii 8
H. Saturday	xxxviii 7—xxxix 2
eve of Easter	xvi 16—xvii 13*mg†
Easter Day	xxxi 2–14*† or ix 23b—x 16*mg†
M. in wk. of Rest	xxxv 1–16*
T. ,,	xvi 16—xvii 10*mg† [2]
W. ,,	xvi 14—xvii 18*mg†
Th. ,,	xviii 1–23* [3] †
F. ,,	ii 4–32*mg
S. ,,	xxvi 1–24*†
Sunday ,,	i 1– *mg
Ascension	xxx 18—xxxi 14*mg† [4]
Pentecost	xxxi 27–37* [5] †
1 Martyrs	xxxvii 12–31
2 Martyrs	xxxviii 14–28*
1 Bishops	xii 1—xiii 27†
2 Bishops	xiv 1—xv 4†
Innocents	xxxi 15– *
eve of Easter	xxxi 31– *mg
F of Great wk.	xx 7—xxi 14†

EZEKIEL

*Lections in 12136 (vii) [6]

†Lections in 17107 (A.D. 541).

Christmas	xvii 1– **
Epiphany	i 1–28a **
Sund. bef Lent	iii 16—iv 15**
Com. of Departed	xxxvii 1–14**
S. in mid-Lent	xiv 12–23
Palm Sunday	i 1– **†
M. in Holy wk.	iii 4– †
T. ,,	iv 6—vii 9†
W. ,,	vii 10—ix 11†
Th. ,,	xx 30—xxi 7**†
Good Friday	xxi 8–32†
H. Saturday	xi 1–25
eve of Easter	xxxvii 15–28**
Easter Day	xxxvii 1–14**†
M in wk of Rest	xxxiii 7–33*†
T. ,,	iii 10–27*
W. ,,	xlvii 1–23*† [7]
Th ,,	xxxiv 11–31*†
F. ,,	xviii 1–32†
S. ,,	xix 1–xx 26†
Sunday ,,	i 1– **
Ascension	i 1–28ab, iii 12–15ab*(*)
1 Martyrs	iii 22—v 6**
2 Bishops	xviii 1–32
Pentecost	ix 11—x 22**
Baptism	xlvii 1–12**
Ded of Church	xlv 18—xlvi 15**
Rogations	iii 16—iv 15**
Com. of Bishops	xi 22*
dawn of F. in the Great Wk.	xxviii 11–(19)† [8]
eve of Easter	ix 2– †
Ord of Priest	iii 22– †

DANIEL

*Lections in 14445 (A.D. 532).

Christmas	ii 31– *
Epiphany	Song of Azarias* or vii 7–27
Sund bef. Lent	i 1–17
Com of Departed	?
Palm Sunday	ii 1– *
M in Holy wk.	viii 1–(8)*
T. ,,	iv 4–28(*) [9]
W. ,,	iv 29—v 7*
Th. ,,	vii 1–28*
Good Friday	ix 1–19*
H. Saturday	ix 1–27 or ix 20–x 3(*) [10]
eve of Easter	iii 23a—iv 3*
Easter Day	vi 25–28*

[1] 17105 begins at ix 23.

[2] 17106 ends at *ver.* 13.

[3] 17105 here has 'Th. of the Mystery' (i.e. Th in Holy Week) by error.

[4] 17106 ends at *ver.* 1.

[5] 17105 begins at *ver.* 31.

[6] The double star indicates that the Lesson is also in the Index prefixed to 12136 by the original scribe.

[7] Begins in 17107 at *ver.* 2.

[8] The Lament over the King of Tyre!

[9] 14445 has W. for T.

[10] 14445 has 'S. in week of Rest' by error.

M. in wk of Rest	xii 4–13
T. ,,	iv 1–17
W. ,,	x 1—xi 1a*
Th. ,,	v 1–17*
F. ,,	viii 1–19
S. ,,	Song of Azarias*
Ascension	vii 7–18
Pentecost	i 1–21*
1 Martyrs	iii 1–(23)*
2 Martyrs	v 31—vi 24*
1 Bishops	xii 1–13
2 Bishops	vii 21—viii 4*

BAR SIRA (SIRACH)

Th in wk of Rest	xliv 1—xlix 16
2 Martyrs	xliv 1—xlv 26

S MATTHEW

		Dawk.3	12140	14450	14457	17113	17115	17116	17117 mg	Vat. 12
Christmas	i 18–				*		*	*	*	*
Epiphany night	iii 1–17				(*)[1]		*	*	*	*
day	i 18—ii 23									
Sund bef Lent	iv 1–11				*		*	*	*	*
M. 1st wk. of Lent	in the first				.					.
T ,,	wk of Lent				.	.		.	.	.
W. ,,	the Sermon		.		.	.	.	.		.
Th. ,,	on the Mount				.	.			.	.
F. ,,	was read in		.		.			.	.	.
S. ,,	sequence		.		.	.			.	.
Com. of Departed	xxv 31–46	*		*		*			*	
Th. in mid-Lent	xxiv 3–51									
F ,,	xxv 1–46					*				
Palm Sunday	xxi 1–17	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*
T. in Holy wk.	xxiv 3–14									
W. ,, even.	xxvi 14–16					(*)				
Th. ,,	xxvi 17–35	*[2]	(*)	*[2]	*[2]		*[2]	*[2]		*[2]
Good Friday										
midnight	xxvi 36–75	*	(*)[3]	(*)[3]		*	*[3]	*[3]		*[3]
after 9 a.m.	xxvii 3–26	*[4]		*[4]		*	*[4]	*[4]		
even.	xxvii 57–61					*				
H. Saturday	xxvii 62–66	*		*		*		*		*
eve of Easter	xxviii 1–7b			*	*		*			*
M. in wk. of Rest	xiv 1–12	*	*	*	*		*	*[5]	*	
T. ,,	xvi 13—xviii 18		(*)			*	*		*	
W. ,,	ix 36—x 15	*	*			*			*	*
Th. ,,	v 1–16			*						
Bar Ḳyāmā	x 24–39									
	or xix 27—xx 16	*								
1 Martyrs	x 16–39		*				*	(*)	*	
2 Martyrs	x 34—xi 15									

[1] So mg.: the orig. scribe wrote 'Com. of Joh. Baptist'.
[2] All these use the term 'Th. of the Mystery'. 12140 begins at xxvi 1.
[3] These begin at *ver.* 31.
[4] These begin at xxvii 1.
[5] 17116 has 'T. in wk. of Rest and of Joh. Bapt.', i.e. the same clerical error as in *Lect.*

		Dawk.3	12140	14450	14457	17113	17115	17116	17117 mg	Vat. 12
Ded. of Altar	xxiii 12–22	*								
7 May	xxiv 3–37									
Innocents	ii 13–							*		
Joh. Baptist	xi 1–						*			
S. in Mid-Lent	xxv 31–			*						
2nd Sunday of Lent	xviii 10–								*	
T. in Holy wk.	xxvi 1–			*	*		*			
W. in Holy wk.	xxi 33–		(*)		*			*		
Martyrs	viii 18–		*					*		*
"	xxiii 13–		*							
the Departed	ix 18–				*				*	
"	xxii 23–		*						*	
Priests and Blessed	xxv 14–								*	

S. MARK

		Dawk.3	12140	14450	14457	17113	14464
The Departed	v 21–43					*	*
Palm Sunday	xi 1–24	*		*	*	*	*
Good Fri. midday	xv 16–23			*		*	*[2]
Easter morn.	xvi 2–*end*			*	(*)[1]	*	*
M. in wk. of Rest	vi 14–29		*	*	*	*	*
F. in mid-Lent	x 32–		*			*	
M. in Holy week	xii 1–		*				
Th. of the Mystery	xiv 12		*	*	*		*[3]
night bef. G. F.	xiv 27–		*			*	*
F. of Crucifixion	xv 1–		*				*
F. of Crucifixion	xv 42–				*		
the Departed	xii 12b–				*		*[4]
Martyrs	viii 34–						*
Priests	iv 1–						*
"	x 13–						*

S. LUKE

		14470	Dawk.3	12140	14450	14457	17113
Christmas	ii 1–20	*		*	*	*	*
eve of Epiph.	ii 8–15						
Epiphany	iii 1–18	*		*	*	*	*
the Departed	vii 11–17				*	*	

[1] 14457 begins at *ver.* 9. [2] 14464 beg. at *ver.* 20.
[3] 14464 txt. begins at *ver.* 1, but at *ver.* 12 in mg. [4] 14464 beg. at *ver.* 18.

		14470	Dawk 3	12140	14450	14457	17113
Palm Sunday	xix 28–	*	*		*	*	*
M. in Holy wk.	xii 35–50	(*)[1]					(*)[2]
W. „ even.	xxii 1–6	*[3]	*[3]		*[3]		*[3]
Th. „ 1st serv.	xxii 39–44		*		*		*
Good F. morn.	xxii 66—xxiii 25	(*)			*		
day	xxiii 27–49						
Easter morn.	xxiv 1–12				*	*	*
Th. in wk. of Rest	viii 40–56	*		*	*		*
F. „	xviii 35—xix 10	*			*		
Ascension	xxiv 36–*end*	*			*	*	
Bar Ḳyāmā	xiv 25—xv 10					* mg	
1 Bishops	vii 1b–17						
Joh Baptist	i 5–				*	*	
B. Lady Mary	i 26–	*	*	*	*	*	*
Sund aft. Xmas	ii 21–39				*		*
Simeon the Aged	ii 25–				*		
Epiphany	iii 21–38			*			
Entry of Fast	iv 1–15			*[4]		*[4]	
Sund. aft. Epiph.	iv 14–			*	*		
Or. of Bishop	iv 16–						*
App & Mm	v 1–			*	*	*	*
the Departed	vii 1–17			*	*		*
when the Pot of Anointing is hallowed	vii 36–				*		
Martyrs	viii 4–				*		
Apostles	ix 1–			*			
„	x 1–						*
Of Priests	xii 32–				*		*
Rogations	xiii 1–				*		
Th. of the Mystery	xxii 7–						*
Th of Gt. Week, night	xxii 22b–		*				
T. in Wk. of Rest	xxiv 13–						*

[1] 14470 has 'Th. of the Mystery', obviously a blunder.

[2] 17113 begins a lesson at xii 32 with 'M. in the week of Rest', probably meaning 'M. in Holy Week'.

[3] These MSS have 'Th. of the Mystery', i.e our W. evening after sunset.

[4] 12140 on M., 14457 on Sund.

In addition, Vat Syr. 12 has the lessons for Christmas and BVM (ܡܘܠܕܐ ܒܕܘܟܪܢܗ (*sic*) ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ); 14449 has those for Christmas and Ascension. 14470 contains the whole Syriac NT, but the only other lessons marked besides these are Joh v 1– for Baptism, and Matt i 18–, iii 1–, iv 1–, xxviii 1– for the usual days

S. JOHN

		Dawk 3	12140	14450	14457	17113
Epiphany						
aft mg serv	i 1–34					*
day	i 1–28		*	*		
the Departed	xi 1–44	*		*	*	*
M in mid-Lent	vi 22–47			*		*
T ”	vi 48–71				*	*[1]
W. ”	vii 1–30		*	*		*
S ”	v 1–29					
Palm Sund. eve	xii 1–11					
aft. mg. serv.	xii 12–25	*[2]	*	*	*	*
M in Holy wk.	xii 12–29					
T. ”	xii 34–50	*			(*)[3]	*[3]
W. ”	xv 1–19			*[4]		*
Good Fri. eve	xiii 31^b—xiv 31			*	*	*
midnight	xviii 2—xix 14^a			(*)[5]	(*)[5]	*[5]
after 3 p.m.	xix 31–37			*		*
H Saturday						
ablution	xiii 3–16	(*)[6]				*[6]
Easter Day	xx 1–18	*		*	*	*
even.	xx 19–25			*		
T. in wk. of Rest	xxi 15^b–19^a					(*)[7]
W. ”	i 35–51		*	*		*
S. ”	xv 8–25					
Sund. ”	xx 26—xxi 14				*	*
midday	i 1–34				*	*
Pentecost	xiv 15–27	*		*		(*)[8]
2 Bishops	xi 1–46					
Ord. of Priest	xxi 15^b–*end*					
Ded. of Church	x 22–42		*	*		*
the Departed	iv 46^b–				*	
Baptism	v 1–	*	*	*	*	
the Departed	v 19–	*	*	*		
Th in mid-Lent	viii 28–		(*)			*
Sund, mid-Lent	ix 1–		(*)	*		*
Martyrs	x 1–	*				
Ord. of Bishop	x 11–			*		*
M. of Great wk.	vii 37–				*	*
Th. of Mystery	xiii 1–			*	*	*

In addition, 14449 has the lessons at v 1 and xi 1, and Vat Syr. 12 at xii 12 (‘Hosannas’). I owe the correct readings of Vat. Syr. 12 to the kindness of Mgr Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library, and his courteous assistant Mgr E. Tisserant.

[1] 17113 beg. at vi 47 [2] Dawk. 3 begins at *v* 14.
[3] 14457 has ‘Sunday of the Gt. Wk.; 17113 reads ‘M’
[4] 14150 beg. at xiv 31^b. [5] 14450 beg. at *v.* 28, 14457 and 17113 beg. at *v.* 1; 14457 reads ‘W. of the Crucifixion’ (*sic*).
[6] Dawk. 3 beg. at *v.* 1 and reads ‘at the Ablution’ (without day); 17113 reads ‘in the evening, just after the Ablution’.
[7] 17113 begins at xxi 1 and reads ‘W.’ (*sic*)
[8] 17113 reads ‘Saturday before Ascension’. is this a relic of the time when the Ascension was commemorated at Pentecost?

S. PAUL

		14475	14476	14477	14481
Christmas	Hebr i 1–ii 4		*	*	
	or Gal iv 1—v 10		*	*	
Epiphany	Tit ii 11—iii 8		*	*	*
	or Hebr i 1—ii 4				
Sund bef Lent	Rom xii 1–21				
M. 1st wk. in Lent	Rom i 1–			*	
T. ,,	,, ii 1–			*	*
W. ,,	,, iii 9–			*	*
Th. ,,	,, iv 1–			*	
F. ,,	,, vii 1–			*	
S. ,,	,, viii 18–			*	
the Departed	1 Cor xv 1–58	(*)[1]			
	or 1 Thess iv 13—v 11	*	*	*	*
M. in mid-Lent	1 Cor i 1—ii 9				
T ,,	,, ii 10—iii 15				
W ,,	,, iii 16—v 8				
Th. ,,	,, viii 1—ix 27			*[2]	
F ,,	,, x 1—xi 34				
S. ,,	1 Thess iv 13—v 11				
Palm Sunday					
aft mg. serv.	Rom xiii 10—xiv 4	*[3]			
day	Rom xi 13–			*	*
M. in Holy wk.	Rom xv 14–33		*		
T ,,	1 Cor i 1—iv 5				
W. ,,	,, iv 6—vi 20			*	(*)[4]
Th. ,,	,, xi 17–34	*[5]		*[5]	
Good Fri. morn.	Gal. vi 14–*end*				
9 a m	Phil i 28b—ii 11				
midday	1 Cor i 18–31				
day	Eph ii 11–iii 21			(*)[6]	
3 p.m.	Heb ii 9—iii 6a				*
even.	Heb. ix 11–28				*
H. Saturday	1 Cor i 1–31				
	or Col i 3—ii 5			*[7]	*
ablution	Heb x 19–39				
eve of Easter	1 Cor xv 1–26	(*)[8]	(*)[8]	(*)[8]	(*)[8]
	or Eph i 1—ii 22				

[1] 14475 beg 1 Cor xi 34.
[2] 14477 has 'W.' for Th.
[3] In 14475 the Lesson is Rom xiii 11—xiv 9, but the occasion is illegible.
[4] 14481 reads 'wk. of Rest' for Holy Week.
[5] 14475 and 14477 have 'Th. of the Mystery': 14477 beg. at *v.* 20.
[6] 14477 has 'of the night that dawns into F. of the Passion'.
[7] 14477 beg *v* 1.
[8] All four MSS beg. *v.* 20.

		14475	14476	14477	14481
Easter Day	Eph ii 19—iii 22 or Heb i 1—ii 8			*	
M in wk of Rest	2 Tim iii 16-*end*				*
T. "	Gal i 11—ii 21				
W. "	Rom x 1—xi 4	*			*[1]
	or 1 Cor xii 1—xiv 25	(*)[2]			(*)[2]
Th "	Heb xi 1-32			*	
F. "	1 Tim i 1—ii 15			*	
S. "	2 Tim ii 22—iii 15				*
Sund. " morn.	Rom v 6—vi 23				
midday	1 Cor xi 23—xii 27				
Ascension	1 Tim i 18—iii 16			(*)[3]	*
Pentecost	1 Cor xii 1-27	*			*
Bar Ḳyāmā	Col iii 1-17 or Tit ii 11—iii 7			*	*[4]
1 Martyrs	Rom viii 28—ix 5	*	*	*	*
2 Martyrs	Heb xi 32—xii 2		*		*
1 Bishops	2 Cor iv 7—v 10				
2 Bishops	1 Cor xv 1-28				
Ord of Priest	1 Tim i 18—iv 16		(*)[5]	(*)[5]	*
Ded. of Church	Heb ix 1-28			*	
" Altar	Heb xii 28-*end*				
7 May	Gal vi 1-*end*				
Sund. bef. Lent	Rom xiii 11-			*	
F. of Crucifixion	Heb iv 14-			*	
T. in wk. of Rest	Rom v 6-				*
F. "	1 Cor xv 1-	(*)[6]		*	(*)[6]
S. "	Rom vii 25b-	*			
"	2 Tim i 1-			*	
Baptism	1 Cor x 1-	*		*	
Apostles	Phil iii 1-	*[7]		*	

Also the following occasions have rubrics in 14477: Baptism and Ascension (Eph iv 1); Com of Priests (2 Tim iii 10); Ord. of Priest (Tit i 5); Com. of Priests (Heb xi 1); Of Mar Salībā (Heb xii 1)—does this mean 'Of S. Cross'?

Cod. 14480 has no Lessons marked. Cod. 17122 has 20 Lessons which agree more or less with *Lect.* and 10 not in *Lect.*

[1] 14481 reads 'Th' for W.

[2] Both 14475 and 14481 begin 1 Cor xii 28, and 14475 ends xiii 13.

[3] 14477 beg. 1 Tim iii 14.

[4] 14481 beg. Col ii 20.

[5] 14476 and 14477 beg. 1 Tim iii 1

[6] 14475 has 'Sund. of the Resurrection' and 14481 has 'New Sunday'.

[7] 14475 has 'Com. of Paul'.

ACTS

For Acts and the three Catholic Epistles we have the full Table in Cod. 17121. Cod. 17121 is of the 6th cent, and the Table is not much later The Table gives the ends of the Lessons as well, so I print their extent, to shew how much they were shortened.

	Lect	17121	17120	14472
Christmas	..	Acts xiii 13–27ª		
eve of Epiph.	1 Pet v 1–*end*			1 Pet v 1–
Epiphany	1 Joh iv 7—v 15	1 Joh i 1—ii 14	(='21)[1]	1 Joh iv 7–
Sund. bef. Lent	Acts ix 1–30	Acts ix 1–19ª		
the Departed	ix 32—x 23ª	ix 32–43		ix 36–
Palm Sunday	. .	1 Pet i 1–16		
Th in Holy wk.	i 15–20	Acts i 15–20		
Easter Day	ii 22–43	ii 22–36		
M. in wk. of Rest	xiii 13–43	xiii 13–33ª	xiii 14–	
T. ,,	ix 1–35	ix 1–16	ix 1	
W ,,	ii 43ᵇ—iv 4	ii 43ᵇ—iii 8		
Th. ,,	ix 36—x 23ª	ix 36–43		
F. ,,	xxi 26—xxii 29	xxi 26–34	xxi 27–	xxi 26–
S. ,,	vi 8—viii 2	vi 8—vii 2ª, 51—viii 2	vi 8–	vi 8–
Sund. ,,	1 Pet i 13—ii 10			
midday	1 Joh ii 12—iv 6			
Ascension	Act i 1–11	Acts i 1–14	i 1–	
Pentecost	ii 1–21	ii 1–21	ii 1–	ii 1–
Bar Kyāmā	1 Pet i 3—ii 5	1 Pet i 3—ii 5		1 Pet i 3–
1 Martyrs	Acts vi 8—viii 2	Acts vi 8—vii 2ª, 51–60		
or	xii 1–17		xii 1–	
2 Martyrs	v 17–42		v 17–	
1 Bishops	xvi 5—xvii 1ª	xvi 5–26		
2 Bishops	xxii 22—xxiii 11			xxii 22–
Ord. of Priest	i 15—ii 21	i 15, 16ª, 21–26, vi 1–7		

Besides these, 17120 has a Com. of Confessors (Acts xvi 16); 14472 has F of Pentecost (Acts iii 1), Apostles (v 12), F of the Crucifixion and Baptism (viii 26). There are 12 Lessons marked in Cod. 18812, including Acts iii 1.

The full Kalendar provided for in 17121 is: Xmas; B.V.M, Ac i 12–14, ii 42ᵇ–47; Sund. 'between Xmas and Epiphany', xv 5–29; Innocents, vii 12–25; Epiph.; J. Bapt. (xiii 13–25); Entry of Fast, ix 1–19ª or xxvii 19–39ª; Hosannas; Th. of Myst; S of Annunciation, 1 Joh i 1—ii 14; Easter; Compl. of Pentecost; Com. of Dep; Baptism, Ac x 34–48ª; C of Dep., xx 2–12; Tonsure, xviii 18–28; days of wk. of Rest; New Sunday, xiii 26–43; Ascension; 7th Sunday (i.e. Sun. aft. Ascension),

[1] The rubric for Epiphany in 17120 orders the reading of 1 Joh 'from the beginning, and end where you like'.

v 27–42; 2nd–8th Sun. aft. Pentecost, iv 32—v 11, xii 1–17, xiv 8–23, xvii 22–34, xvi 16–31 (*sic*), xxi 27–34, xix 8–20 (*sic*); Martyrs; Bishop, xvi 5–26 or xx 17—xxi 1[a], Blessed ones, ix 32–43; Encaenia of the Cross, James i 1–18; Ded. of Ch. and Altar, Ac vii 44–50, Ord. of Priest, i 15, 16[a], 21–26, vi 1–7, or xii 25—xiii 5, or 1 Pet ii 1–10, iii 8–16[a]; when a man is tonsured to be a Bar Ḳyāmā, Rogations, 1 Pet iv 12–19, v 6–11, or James i 13–27.

LESSONS FROM S. MATTHEW FOR 1ST WEEK IN LENT

	14457	12140	14449	Vat 12, 17113[1]	17116	17117 mg
M.	iv 23	iv 23	...	v 1	...	v 17
T.	v 38	v 17	...	v 38	v 19	v 38
W.	vi 19	vi 16	vi 1	vi 1	v 38	
Th.	vii 28	vii 6	vii 1	vi 19	(vi 1)	vi 25
F.	viii 18	vii 28		vii 1	vii 1	vii 7
S.	x 24	ix 9		vii 28		viii 1

[1] 17113 only begins at Matt v 16.

LIST OF N.T. MSS.

NEW TEST.	Gwilliam's numbers
B.M. Add. 14470 (v, vi)	17

GOSPELS

Vat. Syr. 12 (548 A.D.)	40
Oxf. Bodl. Dawkins 3 (vi)	36
B.M. Add. 12140 (vi)	31
,, 14449 (vi, vii)	21
,, 14450 (vii)	
,, 14457 (vi, vii)	27
,, 14464 (vi)	5
,, 17113 (vi, vii)	23
,, 17115 (vi)	10
,, 17116 (vi)	2
,, 17117 mg (? vii)	(18)

S. PAUL

B.M. Add. 14475 (vi)
,, 14476 (v, vi)
,, 14477 (vi, vii)
,, 14481 (vi, vii)
,, 17122 (vi)
,, 14480 (v, vi; no Lessons)

ACTS

B M. Add. 17120 (vi)
,, 17121 (vi, Index vi or vii)
,, 14472 (vi, vii)
,, 18812 (vi, vii)

Messis quidem multa operarii autem pauci.

ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܬܪܬܝܢ ܐܘܢܝܬܐ ܕܩܘܡܐ
ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܒܐ ܘܬܫܬܒܚܘܢ ܩܘܡܘ
ܕܒܨܦܪܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܕܗܘ ܡܪܢ. ܫܪܐ ܢܘܗܪܗ ÷
ܠܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܘ ܐܬܠܝܗ ܗܘܘ
ܘܒܗܘܢ ܒܢܝܢ ܒܫܦܪ ÷ ܒܗ ܕܝܢ
ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ.
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܗܘ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ
ܘܚܝܐ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ. ܠܗ ܢܣܓܘܕ ܘܢܫܒܚ ÷
ܠܗ. ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܬܪܬܝܢ. ܫܠܝܚܐ ܦܘܠܘܣ
ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܠܡܪܢܗ
ܒܫܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ. ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܦܠܓ ܠܗ
ܒܐܝܕܝ ܦܪܘܩܗ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ÷
ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܐܘܢܝܬܐ ܕܩܘܡܐ
ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܒܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚ ܩܘܡܘ. ܡܫܝܚܐ.
ܘܠܗܘܢܐ ܐܢܫܐ. ܒܢܝܐ ܛܠܝܐ.
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܘܩܢ
ܠܒܢܝ ܕܝܠܢ ÷ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܕܡܫܒܚܐ ܕܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܪܒܐ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ
÷ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܛܪܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܘ ÷
ܡܢ ܕܪܫ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܢܗܘܐ ܒܢܝܢ ܘܢܦܩ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܚܫܒ ÷
÷ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܬܪܬܝܢ ܐܘܡܢ ÷
ܦܩܘܕ ܐܘܡܢ ܘܐܒܪ. ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܪ
ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܚܠܦ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܫܘܒܚܐ
÷ ܡܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ÷

THE RALEIGH LECTURE ON HISTORY

NATIONAL POLICY AND NAVAL STRENGTH

XVIth to XXth Century

By Rear-Admiral H. W. RICHMOND, C.B.

Delivered February 21, 1923

We are all familiar with the idea that naval strength is essential to the security of this Kingdom of ours, and for the support of its external policy. To this there is a corollary which is, perhaps, less familiar; that external policy itself aims at the maintenance of our naval strength. Indeed, we may go even further, and say that the attitude taken up by this country in many of the great international situations and movements has been determined finally by the effect one or another course of action would have upon our strength at sea.

Strength at sea is a compound of many elements, of which ships of war spring first to the mind: and ships must have seamen, they must have harbours, they need supplies. But a navy has also frontiers. Just as a continental nation strives to achieve secure and strong frontiers—a range of mountains, a river, a buffer state, or a desert—so a maritime nation directs its attention to a corresponding problem. Its interests are in the sea highway; and any territory from which those interests can be reached constitutes a frontier. Therefore, so far as is practicable, the maritime nation is anxious that the territory on the other side of a highway, or in the neighbourhood of it, belongs rather to a friend, or an innocuous power, than to a prospective enemy or one that has the capacity to act at sea. Ships or seamen may indeed be increased by the internal efforts of a country; but frontiers are international questions with which external policy has to deal. So too alliances, questions of rights at sea, are matters external, very essential to sea-power and therefore objects to which the efforts of Policy are directed.

Many threads run through that great fabric, the National Policy of England of the last three centuries, and none will take so narrow a view as to say that any single thread has dominated it throughout

all those years. Particular and immediate causes of widely differing characters—dynastic, religious, or social—spring at different times into the front of the stage, and furnish the immediate object of the statesman's care. But while these come and go, one basis of Policy is so persistently recurrent that it seems to deserve a claim to permanency: the maintenance of naval strength.

I do not pretend to make a survey of Policy in all its transitions, for that has already been done, but only to make some slight examination of the degree to which that part of it relating to the maintenance of strength at sea—by which I mean the combination of all its elements, commercial and fighting strength—has actually dictated or influenced its course. How often during the course of the centuries has not the conclusive test to which to subject a matter of policy been in the question, 'How does this proposal affect our maritime strength?'

The Raleigh lecture seeks to keep alive the memory of Raleigh, the times in which he lived, the influences of the thoughts and actions of the spacious Elizabethan period. It will therefore be fit and proper to begin with Raleigh's thoughts in this matter, and to trace in some broad measure their application down the long path of later experience.

What is called 'the doctrine of sea-power' did not, as we well know, take its origin from the Elizabethans. In the *Libel of English Policy*, of which the Bishop of Chichester is supposed to have been the writer in the fourteenth century, he says that the true process of English Policy was to 'cherish merchandise, keep the Admiralty, that we be masters of the Narrow Sea'. For the Elizabethans this had a new meaning. No longer was it merely the Narrow Sea that interested them, no, not even the more spacious waters of the Mediterranean. English trade, which until Henry VII's time had been confined to parts of Europe and Iceland, had now stretched across the Atlantic and was seeking an outlet in America. The Sea had become the Ocean. The instrument of trade, the ship, had increased her power of endurance, and the true meaning of trade and maritime command had become clear to British thinkers As Professor Pollard told us last year, the true expansion of England at this time was not territorial but an expansion of the mind; and of those who contributed to this expansion not the least was Raleigh.

It is not Raleigh, the Sea Commander, but Raleigh, the Thinker, who plays a great part in this development of the idea that our policy must depend upon power to execute it, and, as our power was derived from the sea, so our policy should always contribute towards

the increase in the strength of its instrument. In more than one of his Essays Raleigh discusses problems of foreign relationships, and the action he considers England should take in reference to alliances or interferences in war between other states. When he sets himself this task he goes direct to the fundamental point, and puts himself the question, 'What is most to the interest of this country?'

What is England's interest? Security. In what manner can her security be lost? 'There are', he says, 'two ways in which England may be afflicted. The one by invasion, being put to the defensive in which we shall cast lots for our own garments. The other by impeachment of our Trades by which Trades all Commonwealths flourish and are enriched.' We are, in fact, comparable to a fortress which can be subjected only by assault or investment, and it is by sea alone that we can be made to suffer these afflictions. 'Invaded or impeached we cannot be except by sea.' Commerce, he points out, is essential to us, for it is the strength of nations, for money, the first and most forcible of the five means by which power is attained, is derived from commerce. Commerce requires great quantities of shipping and seamen, and these represent our strength. Therefore he concludes that in our foreign relations that country which is strongest in shipping 'is most to be suspected and feared'.

Such a country was Holland, or, to be more correct, the United Provinces. Her long wars with Spain, and her diligent search all over the world for trade, had given her 'the most orderly and best disciplined men of war by sea in all Europe, and she can furnish more men of war and mariners than all England and Scotland can do, and with greater facility and in shorter time'. She is so placed that she threatens our Baltic trade, the loss of which would cause great distress. What, then, should be our attitude towards the struggle then proceeding between Spain and this formidable maritime rival of ours? While there is no question of joining Spain against her, should we remain neutral or should we assist her? What is the *final* test to which our Foreign Policy should answer in this situation? Are we, in the name of Freedom, to support a small nation struggling bravely for liberty? Or are we to give help to the Protestant cause? Shall we seek some advantage for the Dynasty? Or shall we take some action that will increase our territory?

Not one of these does Raleigh bring into the question. None is a national interest. The sole national interest with which we should concern ourselves is our maritime strength. That policy which will best defend our power at sea from being weakened, or, better still, increase it, is the true policy for this Kingdom. The

Dutch are powerful at sea, but, if left to fight Spain single-handed, will be overcome on land; and, he asks, what will then be the effect upon ourselves? Beaten, or in danger of being beaten, the Dutch have two roads open to them—to accept defeat and become once more a province of Spain, or to turn to France for help and join her. If they return into the Spanish fold, then we shall have a maritime combination of a most dangerous character against us, a navy in the East acting in co-operation with a navy and army in the West. Such a division would be enforced upon our fleet to guard us in both areas that we could be strong enough in neither, and we should be exposed to the dangers of the loss of our commerce from Dutch action, and of invasion from Spain.

If, on the other hand, the Dutch go to France, they furnish France with what she chiefly needs against us—shipping. We then lose the maritime advantage we had over France. 'I hope', he says, 'I shall never live to see the day when the French shall be masters of the Netherlands upon any conditions'—a statement that, possibly, foreshadows the policy concerning the Low Countries that first came to the forefront as a question of diplomacy about fifty years later. For these reasons, based solely upon the maintenance of security at sea, upon questions of maritime strength, Raleigh recommends interfering in the struggle to support the Dutch against Spain. Holland must neither be reabsorbed into Spain nor absorbed into France. Our situation at sea would be more seriously prejudiced by either of these than by her remaining a solitary rival. Added to France or Spain, she became far more dangerous.

The same idea enters into Raleigh's often-quoted discourse on a marriage between Prince Henry and a daughter of Savoy. To his mind an alliance with Savoy will neither strengthen nor enrich England. Savoy cannot help us against France, Spain, the Pope, or the Emperor, for she is not a maritime state, nor has she any harbour except the poor galley port of Villafranca and so cannot help us at sea. She is also remote, and elsewhere he expresses the view that 'Every league made with a Prince or republic remote is weak, and rather aideth us with fame than effect, and consequently deceiveth all those that in such amity repose confidence'. Raleigh did not, nor could he, foresee that a hundred years later we should enter the then remote Mediterranean, and that good relations with the House of Savoy would influence our power of acting in those waters. To him there were no advantages in an alliance with that House beyond what he contemptuously dismisses as those resulting from the possession of a sum of money and a beautiful lady. On the

other hand he sees a serious disadvantage, and that disadvantage relates to maritime power. Such an alliance would create differences with the Netherlands; it promised to throw them into the arms of France or Spain, and 'he that hath them (the Netherlands) shall give the law to the rest—they master us both in their number (of ships) and in their mariners'. Thus, to the touchstone of strength at sea he applied this question as he had the other. Doubt may properly be thrown on his views as to the probable action of the Dutch in the cases discussed, but it is not in his judgement on that matter that the principal interest, so far as my subject of to-day is concerned, lies, but in the fundamental test to which he appeals for the guidance in our conduct.

Fear that France would become a maritime state, and consideration of our policy if there were prospects of her doing so, either by joining with the Dutch or by her own endeavours, is expressed by Raleigh's contemporary, Monson. He even goes so far as to recommend that very dubious course of action, a preventive war. 'Rather than the French ambitious thoughts', he wrote, 'should now aspire to greatness in shipping, it were better, happier, and safer for us to proclaim an everlasting war against them than by our suffering peace they should attain to a strength at sea, but we will not oppose the French greatness among themselves *when it shall have no relation to us* abroad.' Let them, in fact, become as powerful as they desired on land. That was no concern of ours. But if their ambitions were leading them out into blue water, then it became a different matter. We should fight them rather than allow them to rival our strength at sea.

Neither Raleigh nor Monson was a statesman holding a responsible position in foreign affairs, though each was placed high enough to be consulted and to express his views. I do not quote them in approval of the principle of preventive war, or even as definite expressions of the policy actually followed: but they show the working of the minds of contemporary men, and show how clearly the need for maritime strength was recognized as being not merely a question of shipbuilding but also one of our foreign relations.

The policy of the period of the early years of the seventeenth century is marked by a reluctance to take part in the disputes on the Continent. Although Protestanism was again attacked in the second Spanish-Dutch war of 1621, and was being attacked also in France, still an even stronger interest contributed to keep England out of the disputes. She had now become, as Seeley says, a true maritime state, building on the foundations—for foundations only they were—laid by the Tudors. She was colonizing. Colonization is an expression

of trade—we see colonies and trade associated in the same Board of 'Trade and Plantations'—and the quarrels of the Continent, the religious and dynastic problems there, affected England's national interest far less than those of oceanic development. Holland was now strong enough to stand by herself. Spain, though still feared by some, was recognized as no serious enemy. England, now capable of protecting herself, secure in her territory and religion, was under no necessity to intervene elsewhere. She did indeed, after a hesitation that expresses in some degree her lack of interest in the matter, enter into a war with Spain over the Palatinate, but such popularity as supported this war was dictated at least as much by the benefits to trade that were expected to follow, as from any passion for supporting the Reformed Religion. So, throughout this period, our continental policy has an air of uncertainty. When we fight France or Spain we do it in a passionless, and perhaps nerveless, manner. No well-defined national object actuates our conduct, and, where the object is not clear, conduct will always be feeble. The people—or the merchants—were willing to fight Spain for the increase of prosperity through trade that was expected, and the King was prepared to intervene in Germany, or to support the Protestant or Huguenot causes; but for the lack of an outstanding expression of the nation's interests an unnecessary war is begun, and conducted in a fruitless manner. Our hearts were elsewhere, in developing trade and colonies. it was there our true interests lay. Even the need for maintaining naval strength became dim, notwithstanding the writings —and there are many—of those like Colonel Harwood who tried to keep it to the forefront.

The rise of France under Richelieu coincided with the internal troubles of England between King and Parliament. What Monson had feared was then taking place without a corresponding reaction on our part. France, under that great Minister whose appreciation of the value of the sea was so true that he could say, 'without the sea one can neither profit from peace nor sustain war', was gathering strength by unity, overthrowing Spain, and becoming a sea-power, without apparently inducing on our part those fears and counter-preparations that have accompanied the rise of other sea-powers. The confused internal condition of the country may account in part for this, but there was another cause which attracted the attention of the people notwithstanding the constitutional disputes—the great increase in the maritime power of the Dutch, then emerging victoriously from their second long struggle with Spain. The growth of Dutch trade, and the belief that the Dutch aimed at a monarchy

of the sea, gave rise both to anxiety and distrust. The maritime interests of England, her greatest interests, were believed to be in danger. The Navigation Act of 1651 was a consequence; a measure which, by forbidding the carriage of British goods in ships other than British, aimed at protecting our shipping interests and also strengthening us at sea by increasing the number of our seamen. Affecting, as they did, the interests of neutrals, these were not municipal acts; they possessed an international character and constituted a definite step in foreign policy. The view that they were designed to bring about war and afford occasion for crushing at one blow the sea-power of the Dutch, in its twin and interdependent manifestations of trade and fighting ships, is now discredited—though the opinion that this would have been a sagacious policy is supported by no less a person than Adam Smith. 'National animosity', he wrote, 'at that particular time aimed at the very same object which the most deliberate wisdom could have recommended, the diminution of the naval power of Holland, the only naval power which could endanger the security of England.'

The Acts remained on the Statute Book for nearly 200 years. They are a standing example of recognition of the statesmen of that period that the true interest of the Kingdom lay in its maritime strength and of the duty of Policy to foster that strength. I am not discussing whether or no the Acts did actually achieve what they were believed to do, but the doctrine which dictated their adoption. The Acts were believed to stimulate our real, our most important, interests—navigation and naval power, the twin props of our well-being. 'As a means of raising seamen,' said Lord Sheffield, 'it cannot too often be repeated that it is not possible to be too jealous on the head of Navigation.' They were bound up with the problem of colonial trade; indeed, it appears that the very value of the sugar trade of the West Indies related not only to the direct contributions it brought to the Exchequer, but also to the great increase in shipping and seamen the expansion of the trade would bring into being, so that the West Indian merchants could say that 'navigation and naval power are not the parents of commerce but its happy fruits'. Chalmers, speaking of the National Policy of which the Acts were the concrete expression, remarks, 'In these considerations of nautical force and public safety we discover the fundamental principle of Acts of Navigation, which, though established in opposition to domestic and foreign clamours, have produced so great an augmentation of our native shipping and sailors, and which therefore should not be sacrificed to any projects of private gain'.

To return to Cromwell and the times of the initiation of the Acts. The Protector and his colleagues were well aware that the Acts would raise 'foreign clamour'; but the measure was considered necessary for the upholding of our maritime strength, and whatever dangers or resentments to which it might expose us, these were accepted in view of the necessity for preserving maritime power.

So the cry went out that, as Spain had been the old enemy who had designed to obtain the universal monarchy of Christendom, now the Dutch were scheming to lay a foundation for themselves for engrossing the universal trade. 'It is by trade and the due ordering and governing of it, and by no other means,' says one of the many pamphleteers of the time in August 1651, 'that wealth and shipping can be either increased or upheld; and consequently by no other that the power of any nation can be sustained by land, or by sea.'

A dual significance was now being widely attached to trade. Trade itself being the means by which power is sustained in war, a nation whose greatness was due to trade was thereby vulnerable. Spanish power, it had long been recognized, was founded upon the wealth drawn from trade, and so a new form of war had come into being, a form that does not exist in the fifteenth century. War is a process of compelling compliance upon one's enemy. The pamphleteers of 1651 wrote that, 'It is by knowledge of trade and commerce, and the course of it, that one nation or state knows how to straiten and pinch another, and to compel compliance from them', either by stopping necessary imports, obstructing exports, or weakening shipping. There is a singular ring of modern science in this sentence, enforcing the need of knowledge of the trade and commerce of an enemy, which we who have had recent experience of the war at sea will detect. Out of this arose recognition of the importance to a maritime state of preserving the power to stop enemy trade at sea, together with all its concomitant measures, such as examination of all ships to ascertain whether they were enemy or carried enemy commerce. Hence arose our doctrine of war that, no matter by whom carried, goods for an enemy or belonging to an enemy could legitimately be taken.

These were those fundamental 'Maritime Rights', shorn of which the naval weapon would become offenceless, unable to use its most effective means for 'compelling compliance'. To uphold these Rights, without which our naval strength, shield and protection though it might be, was no sword, became a corner-stone of National Policy. We therefore find those of our Governments which had experience of war invariably adamant in insisting upon exercising

these essential Rights, firmly refusing even to listen to proposals for their modification, even though war should be the result; for war was preferable to a diminution of our power at sea. It is indeed noticeable that we continuously exercised these Rights against the Dutch, to the detriment of the Dutch, even when they were our allies. Identical, too, as were the interests of England and the United Provinces, as Protestant powers, in opposing the Counter-Reformation, and allied as the two nations were at later periods against the encroachments of France or Spain, British Ministries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries never abrogated in the smallest degree their rights in this matter, so important was it, in their eyes, to maintain the power to use to the full its naval strength. They stopped and searched Dutch ships as freely as any others. The claim to this right was a predominant cause of the actual war with the Provinces in 1652; it strained severely our relations with them in 1656, we upheld it in 1657, when the Spaniards wished to use Dutch ships to carry their goods; we maintained it against the Dutch in the Seven Years' War, when the addition of their navy to the French would have been a serious matter; we insisted upon it in 1780, even when we were in conflict with a great European coalition and with the revolted North American Colonies. Only under the pressure of force at the second Armed Neutrality did we make some insignificant concessions. The maintenance of these rights was considered of such importance in 1812 that, although we were engaged in our titanic struggle with Napoleon, we considered the disadvantages of having the United States added to our enemies less than those that would follow from a modification of our code. In the peace negotiations at the end of the Napoleonic Wars it was clearly laid down that no proposals mitigating our Maritime Rights could possibly be entertained. Lord Aberdeen cautioned M. de St. Aignan 'against supposing that any possible consideration could ever induce Great Britain to abandon a particle of what she felt to belong to her maritime code, from which in no case could she ever recede': nor would she even discuss the question of the 'Freedom of the Seas'.

Maritime Rights, then, were an essential part of a national policy, based on the principle that an enemy could, in the words of the seventeenth-century writer, 'be compelled to compliance' by interruption of her import and export trade. But was it true? Had not the Habsburg Empire of the Tudor period been dependent on the Indies, so that Francis I had cried out that the Emperor could carry on a war against him by means of the riches he drew from the West Indies alone? and had not the Elizabethan seamen had a fair

field of action, and strength at sea withal wherewith to press the enemy? They had. But the power had never been exercised to its full. The measures taken had been partial. The sword had not been used to cut home. Spain had been drained and weakened, but the artery that carried her life-blood had never been severed. The Commonwealth seamen, however, used no half measures, and the truth of the English doctrine was proved by Blake in 1657, when he fought his way into Santa Cruz and prevented the treasure on board the Plate Fleet from reaching Spain. With the story of our great soldier-seaman's successful fight with the ships of the Plate Fleet all are familiar. But the student of policy looks for the results. These were indeed far-reaching. They were not confined to the waters of Teneriffe. Thus, the Spanish conquest of Portugal, until then proceeding favourably, was brought to a stop for want of money to pay the armies; in Flanders the Spanish armies were weakened for the same reason; while both in Spain and America prices rose. Cargoes of needed goods could not be sent to the Spanish Colonies, to the great distress of the people there. The treasure that should have paid the armies lay in the hills of Teneriffe, the ships that should have carried the goods were destroyed.

How well it was commonly understood that Spain should be struck through her wealth is shown in its lyrical expression by Marvell:

> Oh! would those treasures which both Indies have
>   Were buried in as large and deep a grave.
> War's chief support with them would buried be,
>   And the land owe her peace unto the sea.
> Ages to come your conquering arms will bless,
>   There they destroy what has destroyed their peace,
>   And in one war the present age may boast
> The certain seeds of many wars are lost.

When Spain, having lost her own ships, would have sent the bullion in Dutch ships, Cromwell stood firm to the right of search. Thus the policy which had maintained Maritime Rights proved itself, and the treasure remained as useless to Spain as were the guineas that Robinson Crusoe found on the wreck to him. Without these Rights naval strength would have been shorn of its power; the victories at sea would have been fruitless, and the battles have deserved, in some degree, the censure of 'sterile' which Jomini applies to battles fought merely for the sake of winning them. From that reproach our national policy kept us free.

The Restoration brought with it two wars with the Dutch; these were the expression of a policy partly dynastic, partly commercial.

Neither of these can be called an employment of policy to increase naval strength. Rather are they the employment of a naval strength that is not felt to be in any need of political aid. The growing strength of France, unnoticed by Cromwell, was still unnoticed by Charles and his ministers; and the two sea-powers whose interests, even as trading nations, were so identical, indulged in a fratricidal struggle to the real advantage of neither and to the disadvantage of both. It is hard to believe that if the principal aim of policy had been the maintenance of naval strength we should have proceeded to destroy a peaceful maritime commercial state and allowed an ambitious state to grow into being. The error was indeed discovered in 1672, and the result was the Treaty of Westminster of 1674. By an astounding piece of good fortune for this country the policy of France was dictated by the military-minded Louvois instead of by Colbert, whose vision was of trade, ships, and colonies. The continental wars that resulted from this ill-chosen military policy enforced upon France so vast an expenditure upon her armies that money was not available for her fleet. Britain was thereby afforded the opportunity to regain the supremacy at sea she had temporarily lost, and her statesmen were not slow to see that her foreign policy could be made an instrument for the maintenance of her sea-power.

The rise of the power of France brought acutely to the front the question of the policy this country should observe concerning the Netherlands, the importance of which Raleigh had fully appreciated.

The period of William III and Anne brought with it wars in resistance to French ascendancy territorially in Europe and commercially in her navy, her shipping, and her colonies; and those wars hinged largely upon the Netherlands. But why was such importance attached to the Netherlands? One reason was the need of supporting the Dutch, now recognized as our national allies, without whom we could not withstand the naval power of France: but still more there was the danger that would result from the possession of the Low Countries by an ambitious hostile and powerful state. Precisely as the thinkers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had seen danger in a French absorption of Holland, because of the increase in her maritime power such an absorption would bring about, so thought those of the end of the seventeenth century. France, in possession of the harbours and facilities offered by the Netherlands, could only be prevented from overpowering us by vast increases in our strength at sea, and whether we could make those increases, whether the burden were not more than we could bear, was open to question. Strength is a purely

relative term; there are two ways by which it may be attained—namely, either by increasing one's own force or preventing the enemy from increasing his. The policy of opposing the French in the Netherlands was of the latter order: it was one of preventing her from obtaining the maritime benefits and increases of shipping that would result from the possession of the Scheldt and Antwerp, and the great military advantage of a naval base opposite our heart. The object of the policy was the maintenance of maritime power; and how important were the Netherlands is shown by our giving up a colonial conquest—Cape Breton—in a war largely of a colonial character, in order to recover them from the French.

Of this same order was one aspect of the British interpretation of the doctrine of the Balance of Power in the eighteenth century. The Balance of Power was a means by which to maintain this country's naval strength. It was not a measure for preventing war; it was not one for dividing into two equal camps the forces of the various Powers; nor had it an altruistic aim such as supporting the weak against the strong. It aimed at obliging our continental rivals to maintain such large land forces that they could not at the same time afford to maintain a navy that threatened our strength. No country can afford for long great armaments in all elements. So long as the Habsburgs and the Princes of the Empire held together and were able to support large armies, so long France must do the same, and so long as she had to do so could not find the money to outbuild Britain at sea. The Duke of Newcastle put the matter in a few words when he said, 'France will outdo us at sea when they have nothing to fear by land. I have always maintained that our marine should protect our alliances upon the continent; and they, by diverting the expense of France, enable us to maintain our superiority at sea.' This expresses the doctrine in a nutshell.

The Netherlands question again sprang into prominence in the early days of the French Revolution. The Jacobin invasion of the Low Countries in 1793 was a principal cause of the rupture with this country. Other causes, truly, there may have been that might eventually have brought us to war with Revolutionary France; but what was fundamental was the old question of the Netherlands and the Scheldt, and for exactly the same reasons as it had been fundamental a hundred years earlier; fundamental, indeed, from the days of Edward III. It was vital to British sea-power that a military and naval rival should not be able to obtain that immense additional strength that is represented by possession of such a base of operations as the Scheldt close to its heart, forcing us to divide and weaken our fleet, or incur great expenses in increasing it—and that possibly

fruitlessly since the enemy also could increase his—in order to guard the country against invasion, and the trade, in one of its most important points, against impeachment. Because our naval strength was threatened by the Scheldt Decrees in November 1793 war between Britain and Revolutionary France became inevitable. At the peace, the absolute exclusion of France from any naval establishment on the Scheldt was made an essential condition.

I speak of naval strength being threatened because bases of operation are essential factors in the power to use our great weapon. We had learned that however great our navy we could not use its strength permanently in any theatre unless it possessed harbours. Hence our acquisition of Gibraltar and Minorca; and hence, too, our analogous attitude towards the possession of bases by a foreign rival. Just as our policy had been to keep France out of the Scheldt, so our policy had also been to keep her out of Dunkirk, as the Dunkirk clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht show. Abroad it was the same. Sicily, holding a commanding position in the Mediterranean, was an island of high importance for naval reasons when Britain became a Mediterranean power. Until Britain entered the Mediterranean and had strategic interests there, Sicily occupied no great place in British eyes. Thus in the proposed Partition Treaty of 1698 and 1699 it was to fall, by consent of William III, to France, a rival sea-power: but when our possession of Gibraltar and Minorca extended our power of effective action in the Mediterranean, Sicily assumed an interest to us. The Treaty of Utrecht allocated Sicily to the non-naval Savoy; and when, in 1718, Spain, suddenly breaking out, seized Sicily, a British squadron was sent without delay to co-operate with Savoy and Austria in her expulsion. Nor did we offer any opposition, at the end of this short war, to the transfer of Sicily from the King of Sardinia to the Emperor. By so doing we met the wishes of the Emperor, and thus strengthened the bonds upon which the Balance of Power depended: it made no difference to us in a maritime sense whether Sicily were in the hands of one or another of the non-naval powers: it made a great difference if it were in the hands of a naval one.

The justness of the views as to the naval importance of Sicily was confirmed by the practical experiences of the Napoleonic Wars. British statesmen saw with perfect clearness what it would mean if Sicily should fall into the hands of Napoleon in 1803. If Sicily were lost 'it would become doubtful', wrote Harrington to Nelson, 'whether the blockade of Toulon could be maintained as effectively as it has been hitherto': and it would make matters critical in the Adriatic and Greece. So, as it had been a matter of foreign policy to prevent

the island from falling into the hands of a power possessing naval strength, its continued occupation by a non-naval power became a point in our war policy, or what we may call our grand strategy: and it is not without interest to recall that the movement of the troops sent out to assist to hold Sicily against the French culminated in Trafalgar.

While the principle of maintaining sea-power may be fairly obvious in the problem of alliances with Holland, of occupation of the Low Countries, and of the Balance of Power, its connexion with the Near Eastern question is possibly less apparent. For what reason was the maintenance of the Turkish Empire so consistently, and for so long, regarded as a British interest? I think I do not exaggerate when I say that it was because our maritime interests were believed to be bound up in the preservation of Turkey. Turkey was a feeble power at sea, but she occupied a situation of great strategic importance at the Dardanelles, flanking our trade route in the Mediterranean, a route important long before the Suez Canal increased its value. Within the Black Sea there lay a power, Russia, the possessor of a navy, to which importance was attached: at least, a navy that we could not afford wholly to neglect, particularly if it should be joined to the navy of any Mediterranean power. Such a force, acting from a secure base in the Dardanelles, would unquestionably affect our maritime position in the Mediterranean. But so long as the Turkish Empire stood, and Constantinople and the Dardanelles remained in her hands, the Russian navy could not act either singly or in alliance with another fleet in the Mediterranean, nor, so long as friendship with Turkey existed, would the Straits be a base for any other hostile navy. In the view of the statesmen of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was a greater advantage to Britain that the Russian fleet should be prevented from coming out of the Black Sea than that the British fleet should be able to go in. Pitt took this view; the Duke of Wellington held it. To each of them the closing of the Dardanelles was the end to which we should direct our political efforts. Lord Salisbury, though he drew different conclusions from his predecessors, arrived at it from the same initial premiss—the relation of the whole problem to maritime power. 'I feel convinced', he writes to Lord Lytton in March 1877, 'that the old policy—wise enough in its time—of defending English interests by sustaining the Ottoman dynasty, has become impracticable.' Some territorial rearrangement appeared preferable. We should take steps to provide ourselves with a base in the Eastern Mediterranean, while we could, before France had recovered her position or Germany became a naval

power. He did not share the fear of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, for the Russians were not a maritime people. 'Their naval history simply does not exist. . . . Maritime population they have practically none. And yet we are asked to believe that their presence in the Black Sea or the Bosporus would be a serious menace to England in the Mediterranean. . . . To make a maritime power something more is wanted than a good port. Men and money are required; and Russia has got neither.' Because we were much the strongest naval power we could with perfect safety see the Russians permitted to come into the Mediterranean. The grounds assigned to opposing Russia, upon which so much of our Near Eastern policy hinged, 'appear to me', he said, 'wholly untenable'. Fundamentally, it will seen, our attitude towards the Eastern and Low Country questions rested upon the same solid grounds of maritime interests—navigation and naval strength.

With the dawn of the twentieth century a new sea-power sprang into being. Although we are still too close to the events of the last fifteen or twenty years to be able to see things in their true perspective, it is clear that the feeling of security we had hitherto enjoyed gave way to another. We no longer felt as we and as our eighteenth-century opponents of continental alliances had felt, that we 'do not stand in need of assistance from any power on the continent'. Lord Haldane remarks, in his *Before the War*:

> 'The days when splendid isolation was possible were gone. Our sea-power, even as an instrument of self defence, was in danger of becoming inadequate in the absence of friendships which should ensure that other navies would remain neutral, if they did not actively co-operate with ours. . . . It was only through the medium of such friendships that ultimate naval preponderance could be secured. . . . Had there been no initial reason for the Entente policy in the desire to get rid of friction with these two great nations (France and Russia), the preservation of the prospect of continuing able to command the sea in war would in itself have necessitated the Entente.' [1]

What I have called the 'Municipal effort' of providing money had, indeed, become so great that it appeared beyond our strength, more especially as money was being required for many other purposes. The sums considered available would not suffice to maintain our maritime strength, so, just as our predecessors had had to fall back upon other means, had we to use the same. The means consisted in forming friendships. What was happening was a precise reproduction of what has happened before. Anxious as many were to avoid the entanglements of continental affairs, the sheer logic of

events was proving too strong for us, and we had to abandon the isolation we both desired and enjoyed, and to fall back upon the same expedients as those who have gone before.

Thus, through different periods, we can trace at least one definite aim running with slight, very slight, interruption through our external policy: that by its efforts it shall contribute to supplement the internal efforts to maintain supremacy at sea. At one time we see our statesmen concluding alliances with an eventual aim of diverting a prospective rival's money from his navy to his army; at another to procure active naval assistance, when the resources of the rivals appear capable of outstripping us alone: our alliances aim also, at other times, at preventing the principal hostile state from seizing territory of naval importance—the Low Countries, Dunkirk, Sicily, the Dardanelles; and we view the occupation of such commanding points unfavourably or favourably according to whether it will or will not weaken our security at sea, either by decreasing the power of our fleet, increasing its burdens, or increasing the maritime strength—either directly or indirectly—of a power that has the capacity to injure us; that is to say, we esteem such territory in terms of its influence upon our strength at sea. We engage in alliances, alliances which almost invariably involve us in quarrels over petty principalities, duchies, bishoprics, or minor monarchies with which we have no direct interest or concern, not because we are interested in the personality, the dynasty, or the religion of the ruler, not even because we like or dislike either party to the quarrel, but because disputes between these lesser powers provide too often the spark that lights a great war, in the outcome of which our security at sea will eventually be involved.

This may seem a cold and selfish doctrine, at variance with the higher aspirations that should dictate policy, comparing ignobly with the Whig toast of 'civil and religious liberty all over the world'. Yet it seems to me to be the policy by which this country has grown to its full estate. There have, indeed, been occasions when we have set ourselves to right what we believed to be wrong, to assist those struggling for liberty of person or of religion, yet in the long run these have done less for liberty on the whole than has the policy of concentrating a steady effort on providing for our own interests at sea. It was the pursuit of this policy which developed both the instrument and the conditions under which it could act; and without the power conferred by this instrument we should have been unable to give effectual help in any cause, however just. The policy which produced our supremacy at sea has contributed to developing the liberties of the world.

MEETING AT OXFORD

A MEETING of the British Academy was held at Oxford on February 27th, 1923, at which the following Communications were read:

1. Sir ARTHUR EVANS, F.B.A., exhibited and gave a preliminary account of a Mycenaean treasure, consisting of a series of gold bead seals and signet rings brought out during the war from what appears to have been a royal tomb near the site of Thisbe, the port of Thebes on that side. Much relating to the discovery is still dark, but the intaglios, many of them clearly executed by the same artist in the fine Minoan style of about 1500 B.C., are of unique importance from the light they throw both on the religion and on the epic traditions of the time.

The scene of the seated goddess on the great signet ring from Mycenae meets here with parallels and supplementary illustration. On one seal the Spring Goddess rises from the ground assisted by an attendant, a remarkable anticipation of known classical motives. More astonishing still is the appearance on Boeotian soil—nearly a thousand years before the emergence of the Greek version—of a Minoan Oedipus slaying the Sphinx, while on another signet the same youthful hero is seen, in a rocky glen, attacking a helmeted man in a chariot, the prototype of Laios. Another scene, of great dramatic realism, may represent the version of the Orestes story in which he wreaks his vengeance on Clytemnestra as well as Aegisthus.

2. Professor J. L. MYRES read a paper on 'The Causes of the Break-up of the Mycenaean Régime in Cyprus'. He said that the cause of the collapse of Mycenaean civilization in Cyprus, about 1200 B.C., was a general one, affecting Palestine, Syria, and Cilicia; namely, the sea raids and land raids, of north-western origin, which reached the frontiers of Egypt in 1194 B.C., and penetrated into Northern Mesopotamia before 1150 B.C. Analysis of the decorative art of Cyprus in the subsequent period revealed at least four distinct traditions, the origin of which could be traced. It was inferred from this and collateral evidence that Cyprus was serving as an asylum for dispossessed peoples of Cilicia and North Syria, and that its early Iron Age culture resulted from the absorption of these refugees.

3. Dr. D. G. HOGARTH drew attention to Rostovtzeff's *Iranians and Greeks*. He said:

My object to-day is simply to signalize to the Academy, and especially to the members of its Section I, the appearance of a new scientific book of exceptional interest. Professor Rostovtzeff frankly admits that a politico-scientific *parti pris* inspires his book. Its object is to demonstrate that, from the earliest to the latest times, South Russia has been an independent province of artistic production, whatever influence it may have absorbed from other provinces, for example, the Greek: and that its characteristic products in all ages are worthy to be put beside those of contemporary societies. While recognizing that since the beginning of time wave after wave of migrants has entered South Russia, he maintains that comparatively few of these have been mere passengers, and that there has always been a measure of stability in the Russian corridor, which is agricultural land attractive to settlers; and that in consequence there was throughout a distinctive South Russian civilization, established where it could readily both receive and impart influences. Also there were political formations more or less permanent, and ready to digest new comers.

The author begins with what he believes to be Copper Age remains, and brings to this inquiry parallel evidence from the Sumerian and Egyptian culture areas, and some comparisons with the Trojan finds of the first part of the Bronze Age. Though convinced of close parallelism between the Russian products and those of Sumerian art in the third millennium B.C., he claims independence for the former. They represent, he thinks, a local development from a general high Asiatic Copper Age culture, and are impressed with a native artistic genius.

His next immigrants to settle down in the Corridor and make a new avatar of indigenous civilization he finds in the Gimir or Cimmerians, whom he regards as Iranian. It need hardly be said that, if he succeeds in proving this people to have been from the first productive with an independent Orientalized art of its own, its irruptions into Asia Minor, permanent settlements there, and collisions with Greeks, may have had consequences hitherto unsuspected. It may indeed be they, and not Hittite or other peoples farther south, who introduced Orientalizing motives to the Ionian art of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.

In the Scythians the author finds a dominant minority, which, while responsible for much fresh Iranian influence on the native staple, became blended culturally with the latter and carried on Russian artistic life. They formed strong and stable political formations

which had decisive influence upon the growth and prosperity of the Greek colonies and factories on the coast. Their art learned much from Hellenism, but gave to it hardly less in return. Professor Rostovtzeff deals at length with the strong combination which he believes the Greeks made with Cimmerians and Thracians to form the Bosphoran kingdom. This, after passing through a Hellenistic phase and a forced union with the interests of Mithridates, became eventually a true Russian state under Roman support. His chief touchstone of Scythian art is the use of highly stylized animal forms, generally parts rather than the whole of animals, for decorative purposes, and he devotes a chapter to the characteristics of this Scythian animal style, and also to the Polychrome style in jewellery, from which he derives the Gothic toreutic. This was learned, in his view, by the German tribes through the Sarmatians.

The latter are Professor Rostovtzeff's latest exponents of a native Russian culture before he comes to the Dark Ages; and, with the mass of archaeological material belonging to the two centuries before and two centuries after our era which is available, he makes a strong case for Sarmatian art.

The whole book is a protest—and, it must be admitted, one not unnecessary—against acceptance of the exclusively Latin idea of what constituted civilization in antiquity—an idea to which the blinkers of Greek and Roman literature have for centuries limited our vision. He bids us purge our judgement concerning these Russian peoples of the connotation of what a Greek called barbarism.

4. Mr. S. LANGDON's paper dealt with 'Newly-discovered Letters of Hammurabi'. In it he gave the results of the first year's preliminary work of exploration in Mesopotamia by Mr. H. Weld-Blundell, who is now supporting a three years' excavation at Kish. The Blundell Collection, now in the Ashmolean Museum, contains an important new correspondence of Hammurabi with officials of Ellasar; a fine group of Sumerian prisms, which furnish new material for the early history of Sumer; and remarkable epical poems. One of the tablets contains the long-sought Babylonian list of the ten patriarchs who lived before the Flood, the source from which Berossus obtained his list of prediluvian kings.

5. Professor C. H. TURNER dealt with the attempt to produce a Lexicon of Patristic Greek, as projected and commenced by the late Dr. Swete, with the aid of the Society of Sacred Study founded by him. It has been arranged with the editor of the new edition of Liddell and Scott that all words marked 'eccl.' should be handed over to this

Lexicon, and that its printing should immediately follow the issue of the other. A much larger staff, however, and increased financial support were needed. Proofs were submitted of material contributed to the *Journal of Theological Studies* in preparation for articles in the Lexicon.

6. Professor H. STUART JONES spoke on 'A Flavian Relief in the Louvre'. The relief now in the Louvre, he said, best reproduced in *Monuments*, Piot, vol. xvii. plate xvii, which represents an emperor offering the *Suovetaurilia* at two altars, beside which bay-trees are planted, was brought to Paris from Venice in 1797. It had previously been in the Palazzo di Venezia, and before that, as it appears, in the possession of the Frangipani, whose house was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Palace. Here the earliest drawing of the relief (ascribed to the Venetian school) was made at the close of the fifteenth century, and this relief was a favourite subject with the draughtsmen of the following century, especially Amigo Aspertini. There are several restorations, the most important of which is that of the face of the emperor, which makes it impossible to identify the ruler represented. In 1896 Huelsen succeeded in determining the position of certain fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae*, and in showing that the great building of Domitian known as the *Porticus Divorum*, which was designed to serve as the centre of the cult of the deified members of his house, and contained *Aedes* of Vespasian and Titus, lay partly under the church of S. Marco and the adjacent palace. The form of the relief resembles that of the Louvre-Munich frieze shown by Furtwängler to have belonged to the altar in front of Domitius Ahenobarbus' temple of Neptune: a similar altar in the *Porticus Divorum* is indicated in the Marble Plan: and the two altars with bay-trees planted beside them suggest the cult of the two deified emperors, Vespasian and Titus, and we may therefore with great probability assign the relief in the Louvre to the *Porticus Divorum*.

THE BEARING OF THE *CURSUS* ON THE TEXT OF DANTE'S *DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA*

By PAGET TOYNBEE, D.Litt.

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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In the Appendix on the mediaeval *cursus* in my edition of the *Letters of Dante* (Oxford, 1920) I incidentally drew attention to the fact that in both the *De Monarchia* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* clausulae constructed in conformity with the laws of the *cursus* are introduced from time to time, even in the argumentative portions[1] of these works, especially at the end of chapters or sections; and that its regular observance is noticeable in occasional passages of some length in both of the treatises.

In the course of a re-reading of these treatises, with a view to the revision of the text for a new edition of the Oxford Dante, it was brought home to me that so far as the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is concerned the remark above quoted as to the observance of the *cursus* understates the case. A closer examination of the rhythmical structure of the texts revealed the fact that in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* the *cursus* is observed, not in occasional passages[2] only, but systematically throughout the treatise, in almost every passage where the nature of the subject allows. I was consequently led to suspect that the neglect of the *cursus* in certain passages of the *textus receptus* where its normal observance would be expected, was due, not to lapses on Dante's part, but to corruptions introduced by the

[1] It should be explained that the systematic observance of the *cursus* was dispensed with in didactic or argumentative passages, in which of necessity technical terms and expressions have to be introduced which do not easily lend themselves to the required manipulation. Exceptions covering titles, dates, quotations, and technical phraseology generally, were formally recognized in the rules of the *cursus* of the Roman Curia (see N. Valois, *Étude sur le Rythme des Bulles Pontificales*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xlii 258).

[2] It is obvious that in any piece of Latin composition there may be occasional clausulae which correspond with those of the mediaeval *cursus*, but their occurrence does not necessarily imply that the writer was consciously observing the laws of the *cursus*, or that he was even acquainted with them, that the occurrence of such clausulae in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is not accidental is proved beyond question by the figures given below (see pp 374-377).

carelessness or officiousness of copyists, or by the caprice of editors.

This suspicion was confirmed by a collation of the texts printed in Professor Pio Rajna's three critical editions, and in the Oxford Dante, with that of the newly discovered MS., the so-called Bini MS. A text based on this MS., the earliest of the three known MSS. of the treatise,[1] was printed by Dr. Bertalot at Friedrichsdorf in 1917; but I have been able to make what is for all practical purposes a first-hand collation of the Bini text itself, by means of a photographic reproduction, which I procured through the intermediary of Dr. Bertalot. The result of my collation was to show that in the majority of cases the sporadic neglect of the *cursus* observable in the later texts is non-existent in the Bini text, the rhythmical structure which has been destroyed by the vagaries of subsequent copyists, such as the substitution of one word for another, or a change in the order of the words, being for the most part consistently maintained throughout.

It is evident, therefore, that considerations of the *cursus* have an important bearing on the constitution of the text. As this is an element which has hitherto been ignored by the editors of the treatise,[2] I propose in the present paper to deal with the subject in some detail, thereby at the same time supplying (in part) the *pièces justificatives* of the emended text I have prepared for the new edition of the Oxford Dante.

Before proceeding farther, however, it will be convenient for the better understanding of what follows, to give a brief explanation of the technicalities of the *cursus* as normally employed by Dante and his contemporaries.

It must be borne in mind, to begin with, that the mediaeval *cursus* depends entirely upon accent, not quantity, and that there is no elision, the hiatus being tolerated. Three principal types of clausula[3] are recognized, which are known respectively as *planus*, *tardus*, and *velox*. Of each of these, it may be observed, there are secondary

[1] There are actually four MSS, but the fourth, the Vatican MS., is a late copy, which has no independent value.

[2] The subject was touched on incidentally by F. Di Capua in *Appunti sul Cursus, o ritmo prosaico, nelle opere latine di Dante Alighieri* (Castellammare di Stabia, 1919).

[3] Strictly speaking, the clausula only occurs where there is a pause, however slight; but in practice, with writers who observed the *cursus*, it became customary to employ the formulae of the clausulae even where there was no pause. Instances of this practice will be found throughout the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, as well as in the *Epistolae* of Dante.

forms, which were in common use, but for present purposes these may be disregarded.

The *cursus planus* in its normal form (*pl*) consists of a paroxytone trisyllable (or its equivalent, a monosyllable and a paroxytone dissyllable), preceded by a paroxytone dissyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the second syllable of the clausula; as (to take examples from the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* itself), (quod) clávem | vocábat (ii. 13, 30)[1]; (au)dácter | testámur (i. 9, 67); (na)túra | abhórret (i. 2, 9); ésse | opórtet (i. 16, 9); or, (vel) nóta, | vel mélos (ii. 8, 42); (regi)ónes | et úrbes (i. 6, 34); (asser)éndum | non pútet (i. 13, 47).

The *cursus tardus* in its normal form (*t*) consists of a proparoxytone tetrasyllable (or its equivalent), preceded by a paroxytone dissyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the second syllable, as in the *planus*; as, vóces | incípiunt (i. 1, 24); (prod)ésse | tentábimus (i. 1, 12); (imit)ántes | accípimus (i. 1, 27); (repraesent)ántur | pulcérrimi (i. 2, 19); (variati)ónem | perpéndimus (i. 10, 78). The final tetrasyllable may be represented either by a paroxytone trisyllable followed by a monosyllable; as, ésse | credéndum est (i. 5, 28); (confusi)óne | percússi sunt (i. 7, 47); or by a proparoxytone trisyllable preceded by a monosyllable; as, íllud | quod quaérimus (i. 14, 47); (compil)ándo | ab áliis (i. 1, 15).

The *cursus velox* in its normal form (*v*) consists of a paroxytone tetrasyllable (or its equivalent) preceded by a proparoxytone trisyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the third syllable of the clausula; as, próferunt | blandiéntes (i. 14, 17); última | eleménta (ii. 10, 8); (in)vénio | poetásse (ii. 2, 95); (avid)íssimi | speculántur (i. 2, 20). The final tetrasyllable may be represented either by a paroxytone trisyllable preceded by a monosyllable; as, (de) stántia | est agéndum (ii. 9, 6); (testi)mónio | se tuétur (i. 10, 12); or by two dissyllables; as, débeant | illud úti (ii. 1, 15); (proverbi)áliter | dici sólet (i. 7, 17).[2]

Besides the above three simple types, what may be termed combined or compound clausulae, in which two or more of the recognized *cursus* formulae are used in combination, are of frequent occurrence; thus, bréviter pertractáre conémur (i. 2, 67), is a combination of the *velox*, bréviter pertractáre, with the *planus*, (pertract)áre conémur (*v*+*pl*); prími loquéntis sonáverit (i. 4, 27), is a combination of the

[1] The references throughout are to book, chapter, and line of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* as printed in the Oxford Dante.

[2] Other types of *planus, tardus,* and *velox,* used by Dante in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia,* will be found in the Appendix.

planus, prími loquéntis, with the *tardus*, (loqu)éntis sonáverit ($pl + t$); húmeros Apennìni frondíferos (i. 14, 1), is a combination of the *velox*, húmeros Apennìni, with the *tardus*, (Apen)níni frondíferos ($v + t$); (hu)mánae propáginis principális (i. 8, 6), is a combination of the *tardus*, (hu)mánae propáginis, with the *velox*, (pro)páginis principális ($t + v$); (in) quántum natúra permíttit (i. 1, 7), is a combination of the two *planus*, quántum natúra, and (na)túra permíttit ($pl + pl$).

In addition to two-membered clausulae of the foregoing types, compound clausulae consisting of three members are not infrequent; such as, (ut) ípsum perféctius edocére possímus (ii. 6, 8), which is a combination of the *tardus*, ípsum perféctius, with the *velox*, (per)féctius edocére, and of this again with the *planus*, (edoc)ére possímus ($t + v + pl$); or, (contra su)périus praelibáta vidétur insúrgere (i. 4, 48), which is a combination of the *velox*, (su)périus praelibáta, with the *planus*, (praelib)áta vidétur, and of this with the *tardus*, (vid)étur insúrgere ($v + pl + t$); or, (progressi)ónis província lucidáre expóstulat (ii. 7, 3), which is a combination of the *tardus*, (progressi)ónis província, with the *velox*, (pro)víncia lucidáre, and of this with the *tardus*, (lucid)áre expóstulat ($t + v + t$); or, (potion)áre possímus dulcíssimum hydromélIum (i. 1, 16), which is a combination of the *planus* (potion)áre possímus, with the *tardus*, (poss)ímus dulcíssimum, and of this with the *velox*, (dulc)íssimum hydromélIum ($pl + t + v$), and so on.[1]

We may now proceed to the consideration of the passages, upwards of fifty in number, in which the *cursus* plays an important, if not decisive, part in the settlement of the text. These may be divided into two categories—those in which there are recognized variants, which have the support of one or other of the MSS.; and those in which the proposed emendations are purely conjectural.

In the first passage on our list (i. 1, 37: 'totus orbis ipsa perfruitur'), there is no question of emendation involved; it is introduced here in connexion with a point raised by Professor Rajna in a note on the word *perfruitur* in his commentary on the first chapter of the first book of the treatise ('Il primo capitolo del trattato *De Vulgari Eloquentia* tradotto e commentato'), printed in a volume of studies in honour of Attilio Hortis (*Miscellanea di studi in onore di Attilio Hortis*, Trieste, 1910). After quoting what Giovanni da Genova says in the *Catholicon* under *fruor* ('Item *perfruor-eris*, idest perfecte frui'), he writes:

'E la spiegazione è ben corretta. Io non so tuttavia se qui Dante

[1] A table of the various types of compound clausulae which occur in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* will be found in the Appendix.

abbia avuto chiara coscienza di dir più che un semplice *fruitur*, o non sia stato invece guidato più che altro dall' orecchio, pur essendo la prima cosa opportuna di sicuro.'

He then refers to a passage at the end of the sixth chapter of the first book in which Dante uses the simple verb *fruor*. 'ut Redemptor noster . . . non lingua confusionis, sed gratiae frueretur'. There can be no doubt as to the explanation. Dante's choice between the simple and compound verbs in each case was obviously determined by the requirements of the *cursus*, 'ípsa perfrúitur' in the first passage giving a *tardus*, the third clausula in a series of six: 'Harum quoque duarum nobílior est vulgáris (*velox*), tum quia prima fuit humano géneri usitáta (*velox*), tum quia totus orbis ípsa perfrúitur (*tardus*), licet in diversas prolationes et vocábula sit divísa (*velox*), tum quia naturális est nóbis (*planus*), cum illa potius artificiális exístat (*planus*)—and 'grátiae fruerétur' in the second passage giving a *velox*. Dante does not use *fruor* elsewhere in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, but *perfruor* occurs again in the thirteenth chapter of the second book, line 78: 'In versibus quoque fere semper hac lege perfruimur', where its use in preference to *fruor* is undoubtedly due once more to the exigencies of the *cursus*, 'lége perfrúimur' constituting a *tardus*.

The *cursus*, again, affords the explanation of a seeming inconsistency on the part of Dante. In i. 11, 38, all three MSS. read *eructuant*; in ii. 4, 17, all three read *eructare*. Both *eructo* and *eructuo* were in use in mediaeval Latin, as may be seen from the *Catholicon* of Giovanni da Genova, s.v. *ructus*. There is no difference in the meaning, and it might be supposed that the change to *eructare* in the second passage was dictated by caprice. Several editors (Fraticelli, Torri, and Giuliani) get rid of the apparent inconsistency by reading in the first passage *eructant* instead of *eructuant*.[1] Rajna, who defended and restored to the text *eructuant* in this passage, in a note on *eructare* in the second passage, says: 'L'aver dovuto altrove difendere i diritti di *eructuare* non m' impedisce punto di portar qui rispetto all' *eructare*'; but he suggests no reason for its use there. The *cursus* at once supplies the reason, 'rationabiliter eructare praesumpsimus' containing a compound clausula, consisting of the *velox* '(rationa)bíliter eructáre' in combination with the *tardus* '(eruct)áre praesúmpsimus' ($v + t$).

In the discussion of the following passages, which for convenience of reference are numbered, the abbreviations used are—(for the *cursus*): *pl* = *planus*; *t* = *tardus*; *v* = *velox*;—(MSS.): B.[1] = Berlin

[1] Similarly *eructuavit* at the beginning of Dante's letter *Exulanti Pistoriensi* was altered by the editors to *eructavit*, and has only recently been restored to the text.

MS. (the so-called codex Bini, actually MS. Lat. 437 in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin); G. = Grenoble MS.; T. = Trivulzian MS. (at Milan);—(printed texts): B.[2] = Bertalot's text (based on B.[1], printed at Friedrichsdorf in 1917); O.[3] = the text printed in the third edition (1904) of the Oxford Dante; R.[1] = Rajna's *editio maior* (Florence, 1896); R.[2] = Rajna's *editio minor* (Florence, 1897); R.[3] = Rajna's text printed in *Le Opere di Dante, Testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana* (Florence, 1921). MSS. and printed texts are quoted in alphabetical order, MSS. coming first.

A. Emendations adopted in the new Oxford text (O.[4])

(1). i. 6, 38 : *for* utiliori sermone uti quam Latinos (B.[1] G. B.[2] O.[3] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) *read* u. s. úti quam Látios (*t*).

[T. reads *lationes*, which is doubtless due to the influence of *nationes* in l. 37. For the interchange of *Latius* and *Latinus* (which in MSS. are often only distinguished by a stroke over the *i*), cf. Nos. 6, 7, 18, 26; also ii. 2, 95, where B.[1] B.[2] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3] read *Latium*; G. *lectinum*; T. *leccium*; O.[3] *Latinum*; and ii. 5, 12, where all the above texts read *Latii*.]

(2). i. 6, 60–1: *for* primi loquentis labia fabricaverunt (T. O.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1] G. B.[2] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) p. l. lábia fabricárunt (*v*).

[Rajna notes that the syllable *ue* is a later insertion in T. Dante uses syncopated or unsyncopated forms according as they suit the requirements of the *cursus*; thus we have, i. 1, 2–3 : inveniámus tractásse (*pl*); i. 8, 21 : Ásiae occupárunt (*v*); i. 15, 22 : invénimus poetásse (*v*); ii. 2, 79 : vulgáriter poetásse (*v*); ii. 2, 96: invénio poetásse (*v*); but, i. 1, 29: grammáticam vocavérunt (*v*); i. 8, 13 : gúttura potavérunt (*v*). In the *Epistolae* we find, vii. 42 : manus méae tractárunt (*pl*); ix. 6 : districtius obligástis (*v*). Where the *cursus* is not in question Dante's preference seems to have been for the syncopated forms; as, *cincasse* (i. 9, 80); *principiasse* (ii 12, 39); *exacerbasse* (Epist viii. 92); *vocasse* (ii. 4, 16), which, however, may be due to the *cursus*, plerúmque vocásse poétas, giving the compound clausula (*pl*+*pl*); and *armasse* (Epist. vi. 80), which may be accounted for in the same way: pínnis armásse iuvábit (*pl*+*pl*).]

(3). i. 9, 45–6: *for* sermonum varietates, quid acciderent (O.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1] B.[2]) s. varietátes quid áccidant (*t*).

[R.[1] R.[2] R.[3] read, with T., *accidunt*; G. reads *accident*.]

(4). i. 9, 72–3 : *for* quem exolescere non videremus (G. T. O.[3] R.[1]) *read* (*with* B.[1] B.[2] R.[2] R.[3]) quem exoléscere non vidémus (*v*).

[With regard to the reading *videremus* of G. T., Rajna draws attention to the similar misreadings *cunctaremur* for *cunctamur* (i. 10, 5) in G., and *veneremur* for *venemur* (i. 11, 3; 14, 3) in both G. and T.]

(5). i. 9, 91 : *for* nec natura nec consortio firmantur (G. T. O.[3] R.[1], R.[2] R.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1] B.[2]) nec n. nec consórtio confirmántur (*v*).

[Dante is fond of clausulae with alliterative jingles like 'consórtio con-

firmántur'; cf. Mon. ii. 4, 49: 'concórditer contestántur'; Mon. iii. 12, 48: 'substántiae subsisténtis'; Epist. v. 84: 'confidéntius coniugábit']

(6). i. 10, 36: *for* ad vulgare Latinum retrahentes (G. T. O.[3] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1] B.[2]) ad v. Látium retrahéntes (*v*).

[See No. 1, and the parallel passages referred to in the note.]

(7). i. 11, 1: *for* Latino dissonante vulgari (O.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1] G. T. B.[2] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) Látio dissonánte vulgári (*v*+*pl*).

[See No. 6, and note.]

(8). i. 11, 7–8: *for* praeponendos extimant (G. T. B.[2] O.[3] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1]) praeponéndos exístimant (*t*).

[As between *extimo* and *existimo* Dante's choice is determined by the *cursus*; see No. 16; and cf. i. 4, 3. ésse exístimo (*t*); ii. 3, 32: séquitur extimándas (*v*); and Mon. iii. 3, 56: venerándas exístimo (*t*); in Mon. ii. 1, 57 the *textus receptus* reads 'mendaciter existimantes', which violates the *cursus*, but there can be little doubt that B.[1] (which contains the text of the *De Monarchia* as well as that of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*) is correct in reading *extimantes*, giving a *velox* (see No. 50, note), the fourth clausula in a series of five: 'Nam per hoc, quod Romanum imperium de iure fuísse monstrábitur (*t*), non solum ab oculis régum et príncipum (*t*), qui gubernacula publica síbi usúrpant (*pl*), hoc ipsum de Romano populo mendáciter extimántes (*v*), ignorantiae nébula eluétur (*v*).']

(9). i. 11, 26: *for* Castra composuerat (O.[3] R.[1] R.[2]) *read* (*with* B.[1] G. T. R.[3]) Cástra posúerat (*t*).

[B.[2], though his MS. (B.[1]) gives the correct reading, reads *poiverat*, for which there is no authority whatever.]

(10). i. 12, 33: *for* Sicilianum vocaretur (R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1] G. T. B.[2] O.[3]) Siciliánum vocétur (*pl*).

[Rajna defends *vocaretur* in a long note in his *editio maior*, but the evidence of the three MSS., and the fact that *vocaretur* involves a violation of the *cursus*, are decisive against it.]

(11). i. 12, 55: *for* sicut inferius ostendimus (G. T. O.[3] R.[1] R.[2]) *read* (*with* B.[1] B.[2] R.[3]) s. inférius ostendémus (*v*).

[The future is clearly right, as is shown by the *cursus*, and by Dante's own practice elsewhere; cf. i. 8, 24: 'sicut inferius ostendemus'; i. 6, 48: 'ut inferius ostendetur'; so ii. 3, 11, and Mon. iii. 8, 74.]

(12). i. 14, 3: *for* contanti veneremur (G. T.) *read* (*with* B.[1] R.[3]) contátim (B.[2] O.[3] R.[1] R.[2] contanter) venémur (*pl*).

[For the reading *veneremur* of G. T., see No. 4, note. Rajna in all three editions punctuates: 'laevam Italiam c. venemur ceu solemus, orientaliter meuntes', thus violating the *cursus*; instead of 'l. I. contátim venémur (*pl*), ceu solemus orientáliter meántes (*v*)'—which, it may be

observed, is the punctuation adopted by Trissino, in his Italian translation (1529), the form in which the treatise first appeared in print: 'cominciando, come fare solemo a levante'.]

(13). i. 14. 9 *for* prolationis mollitudinem (R.[1] R.[2]) *read* (*with* B.[1] B.[2] O.[3] R.[3]) prolatiónis mollítiem (*t*).

[G. reads *mullitine* or *mullitine*; T., *mollitine*; in i. 15, 15 (cf. No. 15), G. reads *motine*; T., *motins*; these curious corruptions led Rajna in his *editio maior* to argue in favour of *mollitudinem*, which the *cursus* shows to be wrong in both passages; in ii. 7, 33, where the word occurs for the third time, G. reads *molitiem*, and T. correctly, *mollitiem*.]

(14). i. 14, 24–5: *for* sed esse virum dubitare facit (O.[3] R.[1] R.[2]) *read* s. e. v. dubitáre auctórat (*pl*).

[There is no MS. authority for *facit*: B.[1] reads *dubitare doctor*, which is meaningless; G. and T. read simply *dubitare*, and run on to the next sentence, without lacuna, or any indication that a word is missing; in G. *dubitare* comes at the end of a line, which may account for the omission. The missing verb was first supplied by Trissino; he inserted *fa*—'ma ancora fa dubitare'. This lead was followed by Corbinelli, the editor of the *editio princeps* of the Latin text printed at Paris in 1577, who inserted *facit*, which has been incorporated in every printed text of the treatise down to and including that of the third edition of the Oxford Dante (1904). Rajna in his *editio maior* states that he had thought of substituting *cogit* for *facit*, but on consideration had rejected it as being too strong; he has, however, reconsidered his opinion, for in R.[3] he reads *cogit*.

I was led to question the reading *facit* or *cogit* by considerations of the *cursus*, which is consistently observed (so far as the subject allows) elsewhere throughout this chapter, but is violated by the adoption of either of those words. Thus in the first twenty-five lines, which end with the passage under discussion, we have, reckoning normal clausulae only, ll. 1–2: húmeros Apennini frondíferos (*v*+*t*); l. 3: contátim venémur (*pl*); ll. 3–4: orientáliter meúntes (*v*); l. 6: invenísse vulgária (*t*); l. 7: contráriis alternáta (*v*); l. 8: muliébre vidétur (*pl*); l. 9: prolatiónis mollítiem (*t*); l. 11: ésse credéndum (*pl*); ll. 14–15: ésse vidétur (*pl*); l. 15: totíus provínciae (*t*); l. 16: affirmándo loquúntur (*pl*); l. 17: próferunt blandiéntes (*v*); l. 18: a próprio poetándo (*v*); ll. 18–19: divertísse audívimus (*t*); l. 22: hirsútum et híspidum (*t*); l. 24: non sólum distérminat (*t*): and then, in l. 25, at the end of the period, where if anywhere the *cursus* should be observed, we have, if *facit* or *cogit* be read, a violation of the *cursus*! What is wanted in order to satisfy the requirements of the *cursus* is either a paroxytone trisyllable, or a proparoxytone tetrasyllable, which in combination with the paroxytone *dubitáre* would give, in the first case a *planus*, in the second a *tardus*. The word at the same time must more or less satisfactorily account for the *doctor* of the Berlin MS., which is obviously a corruption of the primitive reading. Such a word is *auctorat*, which was suggested to me by Dr. Mackail, to whom I submitted the problem. This word meets all the requirements—it satisfies the *cursus*, giving the *planus*: dubitáre auctórat; it gives an eminently satisfactory sense, 'authorizes' or 'warrants the doubt'; and it plausibly accounts for the meaningless *doctor*, which might easily have arisen out

of a blotted or mutilated *auctorat* in the MS. which the copyist had before him.

If it be objected—can Dante have known of the word, which he does not use elsewhere? the answer is in the affirmative. I find it registered in the *Magnae Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, Dante's Latin dictionary, in the first article, the very article from which Dante quotes in the sixth chapter of the fourth book of the *Convivio*, in the discussion (ll. 38 ff) as to the derivation of the word *autore* (see my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp 101 ff.). Under *augeo*, immediately after the passage quoted by Dante, Uguccione says: '. . . Et ab *autor* quod significat *autentim* derivatur *hec autoritas*, idest sententia imitatione digna, et *autenticus, -ca, -cum* . . et *autorizo, -zas*, et *autoro, -ras*, in eodem sensu, idest affirmo vel autenticum facio' (from MS *Misc.* 626 *Laud* in the Bodleian).

It should be noted that according to Uguccione, who distinguishes between *auctor* and *autor*, the word should be spelt *autoro*, and doubtless Dante would so spell it, but the copyists ignore the distinction. B [1] inserts the *c* throughout in *auctor* (ii. 6, 75; ii. 8, 20, 25), and *auctoritas* (i 9, 4, 105; ii 10, 46); as do G. and T. in every instance except ii 6, 75, where they both write *autoribus* It may safely be assumed, therefore, that if *autorat* was the missing word, it was spelt *auctorat* by the scribe from whose MS *doctor* was derived.

Bertalot reads *docet* instead of *facit*, no doubt as being nearer to *doctor*; but this, while equally unsatisfactory from the point of view of the *cursus*, is decidedly less acceptable as regards the meaning.]

(15). i. 15, 15. *for* lenitatem atque mollitudinem (R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1] B.[2] O.[3]) l. átque mollítiem (*t*).

[See No. 13, and note, where the readings of G and T here are given]

(16). i. 15, 38–9: *for* praeferendum extimant (G. T. B.[2] O.[3] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1]) praeferéndum exístimant (*t*).

[See No. 8, and note.]

(17). i. 15, 44: *for* a primo divertissent (G. T. O.[3]) *read* (*with* B[1] B.[2] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) a próprio divertíssent (*v*).

[The phrase 'a proprio (vulgari) divertisse' occurs again in i. 12, 74, and i 14, 18; cf i. 13, 42: 'a propria (loquela) diverterunt'.]

(18). i. 15. 67–8: *for* esse vere Latinum negaremus (G. T. O.[3] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) *read* (*with* B.[1] B.[2]) e. v. Látium negarémus (*v*).

[See No. 1, and note. In line 68, where O.[3] R.[2] R[3] read 'si *Latinum* illustre venamur', B[1] G. T B[2] R[1] read 'si *Latium* illustre venamur', which in view of i. 10, 36, 11, 1; 19, 4 (Nos 6, 7, 26) is to be preferred; *Latium* not *Latinum* should be read also in i 19, 15, and ii. 1, 3.]

(19). i. 16, 5–6: *for* redolentem ubique et ubi apparentem (B.[1] G. T.) *read* (*with* B.[2] O.[3] R.[1] R.[2] R.[3]) r. u. et nécubi apparéntem (*v*).

[The correction *et necubi* for the *et ubi* of the MSS is due to Rajna Witte proposed *nec usquam*, but, apart from the fact that this emendation would violate the *cursus*, it is difficult to see how it can be got out of the reading of the MSS. Previous editors read *ubique et ubique*, which not only violates the *cursus*, but conveys the exact opposite of what Dante intended to say.]

(20). i. 16, 9 · *for* unum oportet esse (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2}) u. ésse opórtet (*pl*).

(21). i. 16, 18 · *for* secundum quod accedunt vel recedunt (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2} R.^{3}) s. q. a. vel recédunt ab álbo (*pl*).

[Torri, whose edition was published in 1850, in a note on the text of this passage as it stood in his day, remarks: 'Qui v' ha elissi, se non lacuna, dovendo intendersi *ab illo* riferito all' *albo* di sopra, come bene si esprime il volgarizzamento ("secondo che a lui più vicini, e da lui più distanti si sono"); notandosi dall' Autore la gradazione dei colori, secondochè sono più o men distanti dal *bianco*' Upon which Rajna in his *editio maior* observes: 'L' idea dell' elissi è la giusta; e il motivo dell' averci ricorso sarà da cercare nella diversità del complemento che i due verbi avrebber richiesto (*ad illum, ab illo*).' But, independently of the evidence of the new MS., the *cursus* shows that Torri's second alternative was the correct one. In G. *recedunt* comes at the end of a line, which may account for the omission of *ab albo* (cf. No. 14, note *ad init.*).]

(22). i. 16, 62–3: *for* mensurantur, ponderantur et comparantur (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2}) mensurántur et ponderántur et comparántur ($v + v$).

[By a scribal error G. and T. read *pondantur* For other instances of *velox* of the type: (ponder)ántur et comparántur, see Appendix, p. 375.]

(23). i. 17, 5: *for* facimus patere (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2} R.^{3}) faciámus patére (*pl*).

[In T. *facimus* has been altered by a later hand (presumably that of Trissino) to *faciamus*.]

(24). i. 17, 26–7. *for* sit exaltatum potestate, videtur (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2}) exaltátum sit potestáte, vidétur ($v + pl$).

[For the *velox*: (exalt)átum sit potestáte, see No. 22, note.]

(25). i. 18, 47: *for* unica accipitur (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2}) uníta accípitur (*t*).

[This misreading, with the consequent violation of the *cursus*, is on all fours with that in Epist. vi. 169 where until lately all the printed texts read *Punica barbaries*, instead of *puníta barbáries* (which is the actual reading of the only MS in which the letter has been preserved). The correction in that case was due to W. Meyer (see his *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 156–7), who suspected *Punica*, not only on account of the doubtful Latinity of the phrase 'iterum iam Punica barbaries', but also as violating the *cursus*.]

(26). i. 19, 4: *for* vulgare Latinum appellatur (G. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} T. B.^{2} R.^{3}) v. Látium appellátur (v).

[See No. 18, and note]

(27). ii. 2, 55: *for* vel angelicae naturae sociatur (O.³ R.¹ R.² R.³) *read* vel naturae angélicae sociátur (*v*).

[All three MSS. read *vel angelice sociatur.* The insertion of *naturae* by Corbinelli, the editor of the *editio princeps,* was no doubt suggested by Trissino's translation: 'ovvero alla natura angelica s' accompagna'. The abbreviation of *nature* (*n* with *e* superscript) might easily drop out in the process of copying. The *cursus* can be rectified either by reading 'angelicae sociátur natúrae' (*pl*), or as above; the latter has in its favour the fact that 'natura angelica', as Dante doubtless remembered, is the phrase used by Aquinas (S. T. 1 Q 50 A. 3, 4). B² reads 'angelis sociatur'.]

(28). ii. 3, 3: *for* sollicite investigare conemur (B.¹ B.²) *read* (*with* G. T. O.³ R.¹ R.² R.³) sollícite vestigáre conemur (*v* + *pl*).

[Cf. No. 43]

(29). ii. 3, 16: *for* digna sunt vulgari (O.³) *read* (*with* B.¹ G. T. B.² R.¹ R.² R.³) sunt dígna vulgári (*pl*).

(30). ii. 3, 38–9: *for* conditoribus suis quam ballatae (B.¹ B.²) *read* (*with* G. T. O.³ R.¹ R.² R.³) suis conditóribus quam ballátae (*v*).

(31). ii. 3, 56–7: *for* quicquid artis reperitur, in ipsis (O.³ his) reperitur (R.¹ R.²) *read* (*with* B.¹ B.² R.³) quicquid artis reperitur in omnibus aliis, et in cantiónibus reperítur (*v*).

[G. T. read *quicquid artius reperitur,* and omit 'in omnibus .. reperitur'. B.¹ supplies the missing words, and thereby restores the *cursus,* which is violated by the conjectural emendations of the editors.]

(32). ii. 4, 20: *for* fictio rethorica versificata in musicaque posita (R.¹); f. r. musice composita (R.²); f. r. musicaque posita (R.³); f. r. in musica composita (O.³) *read* f. r. musicáque compósita (*t*).

[The readings of both G. and T are corrupt. G reads, *f. r. musica que posita*, T., *f. r. ĩ usica que pōita.* The emendation I have proposed, which is based on the assumption that the abbreviations of *que* and *com-* in MSS. being somewhat alike one of them has dropped out, rectifies the *cursus.* B.¹ reads *musicaque poita,* which B.² adopts in his text on the assumption that *poita* is the participle of *poire* (a verb which occurs in the last line of Dante's second Eclogue), and not the abbreviation of *posita* with the stroke over the *i* accidentally omitted. (See Rajna's discussion of this reading in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.,* N. S. xxv. 147 ff.; and, on the other hand, Parodi's note in N. S. xxviii. 27.)]

(33). ii. 4, 48–9: *for* nos oportet sumere (G. T. O.³ R.¹ R.² R.³) *read* (*with* B.¹ B.²) opórtet nos súmere (*t*).

(34). ii. 4, 69–70: *for* cautionem atque discretionem habere sicut decet (O.³ R.¹ R.² R.³) *read* (*with* B.¹ B.²) c. atque discretionem hanc accípere sicut décet (*v*).

[G. T. omit the verb after 'discretionem hanc'; Corbinelli's *facere* (suggested by Trissino's *fa*) was altered by Rajna to *habere,* on the

assumption that *hanc* represented a corrupted abbreviation of that word. Rajna calls *hanc*, which is found in all three MSS., 'superfluo'; but it points back to the injunction of ll. 63–4: '*Caveat* ergo quilibet, et *discernat* ea quae dicimus'.]

(35). ii. 4, 74: *for* dilectos Dei (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2}) Déi diléctos (*pl*).

(36). ii. 5, 63: *for* propter fastidium obsoluit (O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) *read* (*with* B.^{2}) p. fastídium absolévit (*v*).

[B ^{1} by a scribal error reads *assoleuit*; G. T. read *absoluit*. Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon*, s. v *soleo*, says: '*soleo, -les* . . . componitur, ut *assoleo, -les*, . . . idest valde vel iuxta solere . . . *absoleo, -les*, idest dissuescere et a solito cessare'.]

(37). ii. 6, 19: *for* alia vero incongrua est (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2}) alia véro incóngrua (*t*).

(38) ii. 6, 29–30: *for* accidit discretio (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2} R.^{3}) accédit discrétio (*t*).

(39). ii. 6, 43–4: *for* sua magnificentia praeparata cunctis, illum facit esse dilectum (R.^{1} R.^{2}) *read* sua magnificéntia praeparáta (*v*), cunctis illum facit ésse diléctum (*pl*).

[R.^{3} reads 'sua magnificentia praeparata cunctis, cunctis illum f. e. d.', for which there is no MS. authority, and which equally violates the *cursus*.]

(40). ii. 7, 23–4: *for* Intuearis ergo, lector: attende, quantum (R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) *read* (*with* B.^{2}) I. ergo, léctor, atténte (*pl*), quantum.

[But for the punctuation, which naturally does not appear in the MS., the reading of B.^{2} is that of B.^{1}; O.^{3} reads 'attende quantum'.]

(41). ii. 7, 44–5: *for* positione immediate post mutam dolata quasi (O.^{3} B.^{2}) *read* (*with* R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) p. immediáte post mútam (*pl*), dolata q.

(42). ii. 8, 43: *for* Nullus enim tubicen (G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} B.^{2} R.^{3}) Nullus énim tibícen (*pl*).

[Rajna in his *editio maior* suggested that *tibicen* would be more appropriate than *tubicen*, but he felt bound to follow his MSS.]

(43). ii. 9, 6–7: *for* ut scilicet investigemus quid ipsa sit (B.^{1} B.^{2}) *read* (*with* G. T. O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) ut scílicet vestigémus quid ípsa sit (*v* + *t*).

[Cf No. 28.]

(44). ii. 11, 50: *for* pedes et versus similiter contexere (B.^{2} O.^{3} R.^{1} R.^{2} R.^{3}) *read* (*with* B.^{1} G. T.) p. et v. símul contéxere (*t*).

[The alteration of *simul* to *similiter* was first made by Rajna, against the authority of his two MSS., which are now confirmed by B.^{1}; nor is the alteration called for from the point of view of the sense, for of the four meanings of *simul* given by Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon* the second is 'pariter'.]

B. Conjectural Emendations.

The following emendations, suggested by considerations of the *cursus*, have no MS. support, and consequently have not been introduced into the text.[1]

(45). i. 1, 6 : *for* parvuli nitantur *read* párvuli connitántur (*v*).

[Note Dante's phrase in the next line, 'in quantum natura permittit', and cf. Cicero, *De Finibus*, v. 15: 'parvi .. connituntur ut sese erigant', in a passage where the part played by 'natura' is discussed, a passage it is quite likely Dante had in mind, for he was familiar with the *De Finibus*, which he quotes some half-dozen times. The abbreviation of *con* in *connitantur* may easily have been omitted by a careless scribe in the process of copying (See No. 5, a passage in which two out of the three MSS. read *firmantur* for *confirmantur*.) The proposed emendation rectifies the *cursus*, which with this single exception is strictly observed in a long series of clausulae throughout the introductory paragraph of the treatise :—'Cum neminem ante nos de vulgaris eloquentiae doctrina quicquam inveniámus tractásse (*pl*), atque talem scilicet eloquentiam penitus omnibus necessáriam videámus (*v*), cum ad eam non tantum viri sed etiam mulieres et párvuli [con]nitántur (*v*), in quántum natúra permíttit (*pl*+*pl*): volentes discretionem aliquáliter lucidáre illórum (*v*+*pl*) qui tanquam caeci ámbulant per platéas (*v*), plerumque anteriora posterióra putántes (*pl*); Verbo aspiránte de coélis (*pl*), locutioni vulgarium gentium prodésse tentábimus (*t*), non solum aquam nóstri ingénii (*t*) ad tantum póculum hauriéntes (*v*), sed accipiéndo vel compilándo ab áliis (*v*+*t*), potióra miscéntes (*pl*), ut exinde potionáre possímus (*pl*) dulcíssimum hydromélium (*v*).']

(46). i. 1, 18 . *for* oportet non probare *read* non probáre opórtet (*pl*).

(47). i. 1, 27–8 . *for* alia locutio secundaria nobis *read* alia secundaria nóbis locútio (*t*).

(48). i. 2, 8 . *for* datum fuisset eis *read* eis dátum fuísset (*pl*).

(49). i. 2, 12–13 : *for* enucleare aliis conceptum *read* aliis enucleáre concéptum (*pl*).

(50). i. 2, 23 : *for* dupliciter responderi potest *read* potest duplíciter respondéri (*v*).

[Adverbs in *-ter* of the above description lend themselves readily to the requirements of the *cursus*, especially in the formation of the *velox*. Dante consequently makes frequent use of them for that purpose, both in simple and compound clausulae; it is improbable, therefore, that with the requisite elements at hand in the above passage he should have neglected to utilize them. The following instances of *velox* formed with adverbs of this class occur in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*—i. 1, 8: aliquáliter lucidáre illórum (*v*+*pl*); i. 1, 20:

[1] One or two of these have since been adopted in the text.

celériter attendéntes; i. 2, 17: totáliter innotéscit (where the *cursus* shows that the pause should come not after 'per se', as in most of the texts, but after 'innotescit'), i 7. 17: proverbiáliter dici sólet; i. 7, 63: gráviter detestántes; i 8, 2: non léviter opinámur; i. 12, 10: gráviter cecinísse; i. 12, 32–3: vulgáriter protulérunt; i. 14, 3–4: orientáliter ineúntes, i. 18, 55: corporáliter sit dispérsa; ii. 2, 78: vulgáriter poetásse, ii 3, 6: vulgáriter poetántes; ii. 4, 8–9: casuáliter est assúmptus; ii. 4, 16–17: rationabíliter eructáre praesúmpsimus ($v+t$); ii 6, 26: non áliter deridémus. Sundry instances occur in the *De Monarchia* in which the *cursus* is only occasionally observed (see No. 8, note); while in the small corpus of *Epistolae*, in which the *cursus* is obligatory, no less than seventeen examples will be found.]

(51). i. 2, 27: *for* expectare noluerunt *read* expectáre nolúerint (t).

[Note that in the two previous clausulae the *cursus* is observed, 'ésse tractámus' (pl), and 'praeteríre debémus' (pl)]

(52) i. 3, 19: *for* nihil deferri possit *read* nihil póssit deférri (pl).

(53). i. 13, 2: *for* propter amentiam suam infruniti *read* propter suam améntiam infruníti (v).

[The reading of the *textus receptus* interrupts what would otherwise be an unbroken series of clausulae in which the *cursus* is observed: 'Post hoc veniámus ad Túscos (pl); qui propter suam améntiam infruníti (v), titulum sibi vulgáris illústris (pl) arrogáre vidéntur (pl); et in hoc non solum plebéa deméntat inténtio ($pl+t$), sed famosos quamplures viros hoc tenuísse compérimus (t).']

(54). ii. 3, 64: *for* in cantionibus tractanda sunt *read* in cantiónibus sunt tractánda (v).

(55). ii. 5, 7: *for* quod et moderni faciunt *read* quod fáciunt et modérni (v).

(56). ii. 9, 12: *for* diceretur stantia *read* stántia dicerétur (v).

List of Emendations adopted or proposed.*

i. 1, 6: parvuli connitantur.*
i. 1, 18: non probare oportet.*
i. 1, 27–8: alia secundaria nobis locutio.*
i. 2, 8: eis datum fuisset.*
i. 2, 12–13: aliis enucleare conceptum.*
i. 2, 23: potest dupliciter responderi.*
i. 2, 27: expectare noluerint.*
i. 3, 19: nihil possit deferri.*
i. 6, 38: utiliori sermone uti quam Latios.

* Conjectural emendations are marked with an asterisk.

i. 6, 60–1 : primi loquentis labia fabricarunt.
i. 9, 45–6 : sermonum varietates quid accidant.
i. 9, 72–3 : quem exolescere non videmus.
i. 9, 91 : nec natura nec consortio confirmantur.
i. 10, 36 : ad vulgare Latium retrahentes.
i. 11, 1 : Latio dissonante vulgari.
i. 11, 7–8 : praeponendos existimant.
i. 11, 26 : Castra posuerat.
i. 12, 33 : Sicilianum vocetur.
i. 12, 55 : sicut inferius ostendemus.
i. 13, 2 : propter suam amentiam infruniti.*
i. 14, 3 : contatim venemur.
i. 14, 9 : prolationis mollitiem.
i. 14, 24–5 : sed esse virum dubitare auctorat.*
i. 15, 15 : lenitatem atque mollitiem.
i. 15, 38–9. praeferendum existimant.
i. 15, 44 : a proprio divertissent.
i. 15, 67–8 : esse vere Latium negaremus.
i. 16, 5–6 : redolentem ubique et necubi apparentem.*
i. 16, 9 : unum esse oportet.
i. 16, 18 : secundum quod accedunt vel recedunt ab albo.
i. 16, 62–3 : mensurantur et ponderantur et comparantur.
i. 17, 5 : faciamus patere.
i. 17, 26–7 : exaltatum sit potestate, videtur.
i. 18, 47 : unita accipitur.
i. 19, 4 : vulgare Latium appellatur.
ii. 2, 55 : vel naturae angelicae sociatur.*
ii. 3, 3 : sollicite vestigare conemur.
ii. 3, 16 : sunt digna vulgari.
ii. 3, 38-9 : suis conditoribus quam ballatae.
ii. 3, 56–7 : quicquid artis reperitur in omnibus aliis, et in cantionibus reperitur.
ii. 3, 64 : in cantionibus sunt tractanda.*
ii. 4, 20 : fictio rethorica musicaque composita.*
ii. 4, 48–9 : oportet nos sumere.
ii. 4, 69–70 : discretionem hanc accipere sicut decet.
ii. 4, 74 . Dei dilectos.
ii. 5, 7 : quod faciunt et moderni.*
ii. 5, 63 : propter fastidium absolevit.
ii. 6, 19 : alia vero incongrua.

* Conjectural emendations are marked with an asterisk.

ii. 6, 29–30: accedit discretio.

ii. 6, 43–4: sua magnificentia praeparata, cunctis illum facit esse dilectum.

ii. 7, 23–4: Intuearis ergo, lector, attente, quantum.

ii. 7, 44–5 · positione immediate post mutam, dolata quasi.

ii. 8, 43: Nullus enim tibicen.

ii. 9, 6–7: ut scilicet vestigemus quid ipsa sit.

ii. 9, 12: stantia diceretur.*

ii. 11, 50: pedes et versus simul contexere.

APPENDIX

THE *CURSUS* IN THE *DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA*

A. Simple Clausulae.

Of the three simple clausulae, *planus*, *tardus*, and *velox*, there are about 1,150 instances altogether in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*—*planus* occurring some 470 times, *tardus* 350, and *velox* 340.[1]

Though as a general rule Dante uses one or other of the normal forms of these clausulae, he occasionally, like other writers, allows himself the licence of employing less strict forms. Thus, besides the regular types of *planus*, such as: áves | loquúntur (i. 2, 57); (doctrin)ámur | in ílla (i. 1, 34); we find clausulae in which the pre-caesura dissyllable is replaced by two monosyllables, as: non e | convérso (ii. 1, 9); in hoc | palátur (ii. 3, 55), quas nunc | tractámus (ii. 8, 53); per se | subsístens (ii. 12, 58).

Similarly, in addition to the three normal forms of *tardus*, such as: paúci | pervéniunt (i. 1, 31–2); síbi | sortíti sunt (i. 8, 19); (diversific)étur | in síngulis (i. 3, 5); we meet with *tardus* of the following types—(pre-caesura dissyllable replaced by two monosyllables): hoc est | confúsio (i. 7, 30); hoc·quod | repértum est (i. 17, 1–2); hic est | quem quaérimus (ii. 8, 69);—(post-caesura tetrasyllable replaced by dissyllable preceded and followed by monosyllable): (natur)ántem | quod Déus est (i. 7, 28); (sub)límet | in prómptu est (i. 17, 32); tális | ut díctum est (ii. 3, 19–20); éa | quae dícta sunt (ii. 4, 14); ópus | et lábor est (ii. 4, 70).

* Conjectural emendations are marked with an asterisk.

[1] A certain number of instances of *planus*, and possibly a few of *tardus* and *velox*, may be fortuitous; but the great majority of these clausulae throughout the treatise are obviously due to design on the part of the author.

Of the *velox*, again, besides the normal types, such as: póculum | hauriéntes (i. 1, 14); (no)bílior | est vulgáris (i. 1, 35); brévius | dici pótest (i. 1, 24–5), Dante employs *velox* of the following types—(pre-caesura trisyllable replaced by dissyllable and monosyllable): áctus et | passiónes (i. 2, 37); (divers)árum sunt | speciérum (i. 2, 39–40); (non) sólum in | poetándo (i. 15, 12); (ad)épti quod | quaerebámus (i. 16, 57); (ponder)ántur et | comparántur (i. 16, 62–3); (magis)trátu et | potestáte (i. 17, 17); támen et | ipsum lóqui (i. 5, 25); (per) vérba quam | sine vérbis (i. 6, 4); íllud quod | fuit Ádae (i. 6, 16–17); (reped)áre quam | frustra lóqui (i. 12, 42–3); (hoc) sólum in | mente prémat (i. 13, 47–8);—(post-caesura tetrasyllable replaced by dissyllable preceded or followed by two monosyllables): álii | sed non ómnes (i. 1, 30–1); (voc)ábulo | quod est ámor (i. 9, 22); (magis) rédolet | quam in brúto (i. 16, 49–50); (vel tot)áliter | vel in párte (ii. 13, 69); étiam | ante quam nos (i. 5, 19–20).

Of the alternative or secondary clausulae the one most frequently employed by Dante in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is a variety of *tardus* (classed by some as a type of *cursus medius*), having the caesura after the third syllable of the clausula, which thus consists of a proparoxytone trisyllable (or its equivalent) preceded by a proparoxytone trisyllable or polysyllable; as, (suf)fícere | crédimus (i. 4, 65); (oper)ántibus | áccidit (i. 7, 56); (in) víride | rédolet (i. 16, 56–7); fúerit | óptima (ii. 1, 93); (lo)cútio | dáta sit (i. 4, 4); (pro)sáicum | súum est (i. 10, 16); mínime | dígnum est (i. 12, 47). Clausulae of this type occur some fifty times in the treatise.

B. Compound Clausulae.

The following types of compound clausulae (divided into two classes, according as they are composed of two, or three, members) are represented in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

a. Clausulae composed of two members.

i. With *planus* final.

(*pl* + *pl*), as:

prórsus damnósa fuísset (i. 2, 41),
tíbi restáre vidébis (ii. 7, 38).

(*v* + *pl*), as:

specie videátur gaudére (i. 3, 6).
trágice poetári conámur (ii. 12, 11)

ii. With *tardus* final.

pl + *t*), as:

(effu)títa est príma locútio (i. 5, 31).

(de medi)ócri vulgári tractábimus (ii. 4, 13).

(*v* + *t*), as:

(univer)sáliter et membrátim descríbitur (i. 6, 28).

(in)férius instruéndum relínquimus (ii. 7, 74).

iii. With *velox* final.

(*t* + *v*), as:

nóstri iudícii podiámus (i. 6, 22).

sóla vulgária ventilámus (ii. 8, 57).

Of compound clausulae of this class there are upwards of 170 instances; (*v* + *pl*) is the most frequent, occurring between fifty and sixty times; (*t* + *v*) comes next, with upwards of forty instances; then (*pl* + *pl*) and (*pl* + *t*), with thirty apiece; and lastly (*v* + *t*), with about a score.

b. Clausulae composed of three members.

i. With *planus* final.

(*pl* + *pl* + *pl*), as:

sólo natúrae instínctu ducántur (i. 2, 34).

(ornat)íva vidéntur vulgáris illústris (ii. 7, 50).

(*v* + *pl* + *pl*), as:

(prosai)cántibus permanére vidétur exémplar (ii. 1, 8).

trádere quo ligári haec dígna exístant (ii. 3, 4).

(*t* + *v* + *pl*), as·

(tempor)úmque distántias variári opórtet (i. 9, 59).

(loc)órum divérsitas facit ésse divérsos (i. 9, 106).

ii. With *tardus* final.

(*pl* + *pl* + *t*), as:

mágis vidéntur inníti grammáticae (i. 10, 31).

úti vulgáre debére astrúximus (ii. 2, 2).

(*v* + *pl* + *t*), as:

ídeo confutétur córum stultítia (ii. 4, 77).

(quem) quaérimus cum supréma venémur, ut díctum est (ii. 6, 51).

(*t* + *v* + *t*), as:

(Latin)órum vulgária comparándo consíderant (i. 15, 35).

(quod) débent effíciunt, quod ballátae non fáciunt (ii. 3, 28).

iii. With *velox* final.

(*pl* + *t* + *v*), as:

sóla vidétur Itália variári (i. 10, 73).
ómnis optáta licéntia concedénda (ii. 13, 49).

(*v* + *t* + *v*), as:

quáe quidem tractandórum digníssima nuncupámus (ii. 2, 44).
ídeo consequénter de stántia est agéndum (ii. 9, 5).

Of compound clausulae of three members, which are naturally of much less frequent occurrence than those of two, the total number of instances is under forty; (*pl*+*pl*+*pl*) occurs nine times, (*t* + *v* + *pl*) seven, and (*pl*+ *t* + *v*) five; of the remainder none occurs more than four times, nor less than twice.

ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE, 1923

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SHAKE-SPEARE'S TEXT

By ALFRED W. POLLARD, C.B.

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read April 23, 1923

This annual Shakespeare lecture in previous years has been given by distinguished students and critics of Literature who have concerned themselves mostly with the larger questions of Shakespeare's art, and year by year, as I have sat waiting in the audience, I have wondered how the lecturer who was about to address me would find anything fresh to say, where so much had already been said and written. Because Shakespeare is so inexhaustible my predecessors always *have* found something fresh to say, and yet I imagine that when each man braced himself to his task that difficulty presented itself to him as a real one. My own trouble is of a different kind. We are celebrating this year the Tercentenary of the publication of Shakespeare's Plays in the Folio Edition of 1623, and it is my privilege to ask your attention this afternoon to such problems as: what was the task which Heminge and Condell, the collectors and gatherers of the plays, and Edward Blount and William Jaggard their publishers, set before them? what materials were at their disposal? what use did they make of them? and how far can we be satisfied with the result? My trouble is that to some of these questions it is only possible at this moment to offer answers avowedly tentative and incomplete, because, as regards the Folio, so little work has yet been done along the lines in which I hope to interest you. Those lines are in their origin bibliographical, the method followed in bibliography being first to get all the information possible from the book itself and then to interpret this information in the light of all we know as to the methods of book-production at the time that it was printed and published. Of late years a good deal of useful work has been done in clearing up the problems of the single plays printed in small quarto before the publication of the Folio in 1623. That work has been done mainly by sorting the quartos into

groups and not only studying each quarto individually, but studying it also as a member of its group. Forty years or so ago, in prefaces to some of the Facsimiles of the early Quartos issued under the direction of Dr. Furnivall, real progress was made by the late Peter Augustus Daniel in determining the relation of the quarto editions of single plays to the texts of the same plays as they appear in the Folio. Mr. Daniel had the advantage of building on the foundations laid by the Editors of the (old) Cambridge Shakespeare, Messrs. Clark and Glover and Wright. But he advanced knowledge greatly, both in accuracy and extent, and we can only regret that he was not entrusted with the task of editing *all* the facsimiles. On the Folio as a whole, more especially on the plays which had not previously appeared in quarto editions, little work that can be reckoned final has yet been completed, and until we can group the plays according to the sources from which they appear to be derived, and then test this grouping scene by scene, not much permanent progress can be made. Finally, in addition to all this work, there remains (to borrow the not very happy phrase applied to Biblical research) the Higher Criticism of Shakespeare, the effort to discover not only what happened to his text at the hands of printers and publishers, but something at least of what happened to it from the time that each play was first 'plotted' till it became stabilized in a final form. As to that most difficult of all problems you will be relieved to hear that I propose to say only a very little this afternoon, and that little mainly by way of a plea for moderation and a refusal to press too far methods which (I am yet confident), if cautiously used, should be fruitful of good results.

Our problem then is the Foundations of Shakespeare's Text. What are our materials, the necessary materials, for investigating it? The foundations of Shakespeare's text must have been laid in his study and in the playhouse. Any fragment of text which can be shown to be derived from Shakespeare or from the playhouse requires investigation. Until a text can be shown to be so derived it cannot be admitted as evidence. Applied to our problems this rules out all editions subsequent to 1623. On the face of them these are reprints, and until it can be shown that where they differ from the editions from which they are reprinted, these differences are the result of a new recourse either to Shakespeare's manuscripts or to the playhouse copies; they do not concern us, though they have their own interest.

We are left then with the Folio of 1623, and the forty-four editions of sixteen different single plays issued before it appeared. From the *Titus Andronicus* of 1594 to the *Othello* of 1622. Among

these editions of single plays we find that for *Romeo and Juliet* and for *Hamlet* we have for each play two texts so different from each other as to be clearly derived from different sources. Treating these rival texts as distinct we have then eighteen First Editions and twenty-six Reprints. We find that these twenty-six Reprints differ, each of them, in scores of lines from the First Editions from which they are derived. We examine these differences to see, not merely whether they are good or bad, but whether, when good, they must be due to a new consultation of Shakespeare's autograph or a copy of it, or may more reasonably be attributed to the cleverness of the printer's reader. In the case of each play we must consider this question both as regards each difference in itself and as regards each difference in relation to all the other differences. Moreover, while we must consider the evidence for each play by itself, we must also consider the evidence for all these twenty-six intermediate editions as a group. Taking the good readings introduced in these editions individually we find some whose goodness needs explanation, and explanations have been forthcoming, though I must not trouble you with examples this afternoon, interesting as they mostly are. Taking each intermediate edition by itself, in no single instance do we find evidence of the sort of care which could lead us to believe that its overseer had obtained access to any authoritative source. Taking the intermediate editions as a class we find that every time a play was reprinted new errors were introduced, mostly many new errors, and that the few corrections are nearly always such as any moderately intelligent reader would naturally make for himself. As evidence of the words which Shakespeare wrote or of the words which were spoken by the actors engaged in his plays these intermediate editions are absolutely worthless, except where we possess only one or two copies of the First Edition. It is necessary to make that exception because, printing being a slow process in Shakespeare's day, corrections were sometimes made while a sheet of text was passing through the press, so that some of the copies printed would have a right reading, where others had a wrong one. A Second Edition might thus be printed from a copy of the First in which a correction had been made which does not appear in any copy of the First now extant. With this reservation all the intermediate editions are worthless as to the words Shakespeare wrote or the actors spoke, and all the later reprints, the third, fourth, and later editions, are worthless without any reservation at all.

For another purpose, however, the Intermediate Editions have one quite distinct value, that is as tests of the First Folio. They were in

existence in 1623 when the Folio was printed. Every printer knows the convenience and comfort of printing from type instead of from manuscript, and while the printer would be better pleased to print from the latest quarto instead of from manuscript, the publishers of the Folio had two good reasons for paying sixpence for a printed text and sending it to the playhouse to be corrected, rather than copying the whole play afresh; firstly, they would have had to pay their copyist more, and secondly, he would probably have made more mistakes. It can be proved that even when, as in the case of *Richard III*, recourse was had to a radically different text, the copy which the Folio printer received was one of the late quartos altered in accordance with the manuscript, and that readings, including obvious errors, which had originated with the Intermediate Quartos, thus got into the Folio, to the detriment of its authority. We must note also that this applies to punctuation as well as to words, that, for instance, the punctuation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the Folio, where it differs from that of the First Edition, is largely derived from the Quarto of 1619, and therefore cannot be authoritative. Thus in considering the authority of the Folio we must clearly deduct from it everything that can be shown to be derived from an edition itself of less authority than the First.

We are thus left with the eighteen First Quarto editions and the Folio (purged of any readings accepted from variants introduced into the later Quartos) as the twin Foundations of Shakespeare's text. What is the value of each of these? We take the Quartos first, and here we can make a further sub-division by separating into a group by themselves four of the First Quarto editions: the 1597 *Romeo and Juliet*, the 1600 *Henry V*, the 1602 *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and the 1603 *Hamlet*. Two of these editions were quickly superseded by much superior texts, the *Romeo and Juliet* of 1599 and the *Hamlet* of 1604. Not one of the four was used in printing the Folio. Their texts are shorter by from a third to nearly a half than those printed in the Folio; they are full of absurdities, though also 'good in parts' — the parts, it has been suggested, which were played by a minor actor, through whose treachery sections of Shakespeare's text were placed at the disposal of an unscrupulous printer, or of an uninquiring printer through the agency of an unscrupulous publisher. In the Address to the Reader in the First Folio there is a well-known reference to buyers of Shakespeare's plays having previously been 'abus'd with diverse stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them', and the comforting assurance is given that 'even those are now offer'd

to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes'. It is submitted that this reference is not only explained, but *completely* explained, by the existence of these four bad texts, for each of which a radically different one was substituted in the Folio, and that there is no reason whatever to apply the epithets 'stolne and surreptitious' to any of the remaining First Quartos, which are of an entirely different character, and came into the world of books in a markedly different way.

The four quartos to which the epithets 'stolne and surreptitious' obviously apply I have ventured to call uncompromisingly the Bad Quartos, but I have already admitted that they are 'good in parts', and it has even been thought that they throw more light on the evolution of Shakespeare's plays than any other documents we possess. The other fourteen Quartos it is convenient to call, equally sweepingly, the Good Quartos, though the goodness of some of them is painfully obscured by defects, which have too hastily been ascribed to the innate weakness or wickedness of all copyists and compositors who have had anything to do with Shakespeare's texts. It is better to confess that some of the flaws in these Good Quartos are the result of imperfections in Shakespeare's own work, and I have ventured to claim that some of these Good Quartos may actually have been set up from Shakespeare's autograph manuscripts.

The argument is that in the absence of evidence making it impossible we are not entitled to assume that what *did* happen in the case of some plays by other playwrights did *not* happen to some plays by Shakespeare. In the case of some plays by other playwrights we find that it was the author's autograph manuscript which was first submitted to the censor and then used as a prompt copy and equipped with the notes and stage-directions necessary for this purpose. From the notes and stage-directions which occur in some of the printed quartos there is a high probability that these were printed from prompt copies, and if what happened with other plays by other playwrights is any guide to what happened to Shakespeare's, some of these prompt copies were probably in his autograph. Some of them, also, were probably *not*; but it may be claimed that at every stage in the passage of a play from Shakespeare's study the balance of probabilities is in favour of optimism. Thus, firstly, when there was a risk of piracy it would be foolish to increase that risk by making a single needless transcript. Secondly, in view of the insistence of the censor that a play should be acted in exact conformity with the copy on which the licence was inscribed, the greatest proof of obedience on the part of the players would be to put this inscribed copy in the hands of the prompter as a guarantee against gag. Thirdly, as a ready

means of persuading the wardens of the Stationers' Company that a play might be printed without special 'authority' being obtained for it, the production of the manuscript on which the censor's licence was inscribed, as the copy sent to the printer, would carry all before it. On the other side I can think of no countervailing argument except that the owners of the play would not be likely to let such a precious thing as a prompt copy out of their hands. But if, in place of their manuscript prompt copy, they could, within three or four weeks, get back a printed copy which could be used for the same purpose (and, in the case of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, we have evidence that the printed copy was so used) this objection is greatly weakened. Without labouring this point further, I ask you to believe on the evidence of all the editors who have largely relied on these editions, while mechanically abusing them, that these fourteen good first quartos form a very solid section of our Foundations, sometimes supplying, sometimes rivalling, always at least supplementing the texts found in the Folio, and for the most part carrying with them the prestige of being based on versions used in the playhouse while Shakespeare was still connected with it. The producers of the Folio did not make the best use of this material. When later reprints were more easily obtainable they used these in preference to the originals, correcting them by the prompt copy which sometimes may have been of the original edition. In other cases, as in *Richard III*, they relied on a manuscript which they believed (in the case of *Richard III* wrongly) to be of higher authority. But the 'good' quartos have been recovered, thanks to the enthusiasm of collectors, and as regards most of these fourteen plays for which we have a double text our position is exceptionally good.

If the managers of Shakespeare's company were able to supply good texts, in some cases possibly autograph texts, to the printers of the Quartos whom they probably disliked (regarding them only as a preferable but still unpleasant alternative to pirates), it may seem reasonable to believe that when they authorized and cordially authenticated a collected edition of Shakespeare's plays they would be able to do as well or better. It is here, ladies and gentlemen, that we reach the Third Act of our Pleasant Comedy of the Fate of Shakespeare's Plays. As an incurable optimist I refuse to believe that the fate of these plays can rightly be regarded as Tragic. I claim to lead you up gradually to a happy ending. But in a Shakespearian comedy, so often illustrative of the theme 'the course of true love never did run smooth', there is often a moment when tragic possibilities are so evident that only the description of a play as a comedy assures us of

a happy ending. More than this, lest you accuse me of deceiving you, it must be remembered that the hero of a Shakespearian comedy is often a much more sober and disciplined person in the last act than in the first. He may have made mistakes and paid penalties; he may have run into dangers and difficulties and not escaped scot-free; and we may find that this is so with the hero of this lecture, Shakespeare's text. Our hero has begun well. The Good Quartos stand greatly to his credit. The attacks by the pirates have done no harm and have supplied valuable information. But we are now at the crisis of our Drama. We have to face two facts; the first, that the Globe theatre was burnt down in 1613, and there is no agreement at present as to what damage was then done to the collection of prompt copies or other theatrical manuscripts in the company's possession; secondly, that in 1623 something like a dozen years had elapsed since the last of Shakespeare's plays had been written, and some thirty since the production of the earliest, and such knowledge as we possess of how plays written by other dramatists were handled does not encourage us to believe that by any means all of the manuscripts available in 1623 were in the same state as when Shakespeare put his last touches to them.

Both of these points are serious, and I must repeat with especial reference to them my plea for indulgence on the ground that the work of investigation is far from complete. As regards the possible destruction of playhouse copies in the fire of 1613, alarm may at first sight seem superfluous. We know that many plays by Greek dramatists have been lost, because, while no manuscripts of them survive, quotations from them in the writings of other authors prove that they once existed. As far as I know we have no evidence of this or any other kind that any single play by Shakespeare has perished, the reference by Francis Meres (in his *Palladis Tamia* of 1598) to a *Loves Labours Won* being satisfactorily explained as pointing to *All's well that ends well* having been originally produced under the title which Meres quotes. If the Folio editors have delivered the goods, and *all* the goods, what need is there for pessimism? My pessimism does not, and cannot, extend to the survival of my hero. In the last act of a comedy he must appear, damaged, perhaps, but presentable. But is he quite the man we thought? Somewhat against my will I have to own that there is more in a passage of Dr. Johnson's preliminary advertisement of his edition of Shakespeare than I was willing to admit eight years ago. In his highly imaginative picture of the misfortunes which had befallen the text of Shakespeare's plays, Johnson asserted that they had been 'printed at last from compilations made by chance or by stealth out of the separate

parts written for the theatre', which he proceeds to write of as 'fragments so minutely broken and so fortuitously reunited'. I still think the words *by chance* and *fortuitously* the nearest approach to nonsense which the great Doctor ever made, but that the separate parts written for one of the actors who took the characters of Marcellus, Voltemar, the Second Player, &c., in *Hamlet*, the Host in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and various parts of moderate importance in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Henry V* were one of the sources from which the piracies of these plays were put together is highly probable. More than this there are three plays first printed in the Folio, the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Winter's Tale*, which, it has been plausibly maintained, were mainly or entirely put together from the Actors' parts reunited (*not* fortuitously) by means of the 'Plot' or list of the entrances of the various actors in each scene. The main evidence for this theory is that instead of the entrance of each actor being noted at its proper point, they are all massed together at the beginning of each scene. The text in these plays is by no means bad; as has been suggested, an actor's part is likely to have been legibly written and free from erasures. But there is no chance of a Shakespeare autograph in these 'Parts', and some risk both of omissions and gag. Our evidence as to their use as 'copy' for the Folio is cogent only for the three plays named, but it must be remembered that, if after 1613 it had been desired to revive a play which only survived in these 'Parts', a prompt copy would have had to be constructed from them, and this in the course of a few years would have been gradually filled out with the necessary entrances and exits and other stage-directions. On the other hand, we have prompt copies for the three parts of *King Henry VI*, which no one in 1613 would have been likely to trouble to reconstruct, if it had once perished, and there were certainly manuscripts of *Richard III* and some seven other plays first printed in Quarto. It is clear, therefore, that some manuscripts in addition to the theatrical 'Parts' survived, and it must always be remembered that we have no contemporary statement, such as has come down to us as to a later calamity of the same kind, that any manuscripts were destroyed at this fire. Save the peculiarity in the stage-directions of the three plays named there is really no evidence on either side, and the only reasonable attitude is thus that which would certainly be adopted by a Fire Insurance Company, a refusal to admit any claim as to which specific evidence cannot be produced.

Another alternative to which recourse might have been had if and when any prompt copies were destroyed has been surmised to exist in

copies of plays made for private patrons of the stage. We gather from a preface and prologue by Thomas Heywood that from about 1605 there was a sufficient demand for plays in manuscript to encourage shorthand writers to take them down at the theatre. We gather also that, when the theatres were closed during the Civil War, Beaumont and Fletcher's plays (mainly prompt copies) were temporarily in private hands and had to be bought back. The amateur of theatrical manuscripts seems to have had a real existence. We may imagine, if we please, that the text of *The Tempest*, with its elaborate literary stage-directions and careful punctuations, may be a text of this class, prepared for some play-loving courtier who had seen it acted at Whitehall and was willing to pay for a copy for his private reading, and again willing to lend it when the original text was lost. Here also we may be thankful for what we have, and yet admit that a prompt copy might have been better. I believe, however, that even when full allowance has been made for both these possibilities the possibility of plays printed from players' parts, and the possibility of plays printed from fair copies made for private patrons, any theory which assumes a large destruction of prompt copies in the fire of 1613 raises more difficulties than it explains.

Our second doubt, as to what may have happened to Shakespeare's plays between the time when he set his last personal touches to them and the handing over of the copy to the compositors in Jaggard's printing-house, is probably much the more serious of the two. To take the simplest case as an example: it is clear that Shakespeare, with all his amazing stage-craft, frequently wrote more lines than the actors were able to deliver in the time at their disposal. He himself, when emphasizing the brevity of plays, speaks of the 'two hours' traffic' of the stage. Perhaps in such a connexion two hours may stand for any time between two hours and three; but even granting this it means that a play of 3,000 lines would have to be delivered at the rate of over a thousand lines an hour, and actors cannot deliver blank verse at the rate of much over a thousand lines an hour (especially if they insist on 'chanting' it) without risk of becoming incoherent. Yet *Henry IV*, *Troilus*, *Coriolanus*, *Lear*, *Othello*, and *Cymbeline* all exceed 3,300 lines; *Richard III* exceeds 3,600, *Hamlet* exceeds 3,900, and was probably performed in full as seldom in the seventeenth century as it is now, more probably still was never performed in full at all. Now if we take a case where we have both a Quarto text and the Folio, for instance *Lear*, we find that both texts have been abridged, and that there are some eighty lines in the Folio which the

Quarto omits, and some 190 lines in the Quarto which the Folio omits. How many lines there may have been in the original manuscript which *both* the Quarto and Folio omit no one can now tell. In the case of *Lear*, I think very few; but what about other plays, for instance, *Antony and Cleopatra* with its scenes of ten lines, of nine lines, of five lines, its two scenes of four lines? Were these scenes always as short as this? If you look at the scenes in *Lear* where the admirable 'Kent' explains successive situations to 'a Gentleman', and see how the Quarto has cut out some lines which the Folio retains and the Folio has cut out some which the Quarto retains, I think that you will surmise that in *Antony and Cleopatra* also there have been cuts. Please remember also that the Folio editor has been proved by Mr. Daniel to have had a copy of the First Quarto of *Lear* before him, and could have printed the lines cut out from the theatre's manuscript if he had pleased. But he did not please. We have to face the fact that the producers of the Folio preferred the acting-version used in the playhouse, and if lines written by Shakespeare were omitted from that were content that they should perish. If that was a crime, they committed it.

Thus in all the longer plays by Shakespeare, speeches may have been curtailed to save time, and passages omitted because the players considered that they were ineffective in representation. But several of the plays are quite short. *The Tempest* has under 2,300 lines, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2,173, *Macbeth* 2,100, *The Comedy of Errors* 1,777. It may seem, at first sight, as if plays as short as these could have offered no temptations to the abridger. Unhappily, the whole question as to the occasions on which exceptionally short plays were acted is still obscure. It has been suggested that they were in request for performances in the provinces, for performances at court, for performances in private houses, even possibly for performances in the public theatres in the short winter afternoons, or on Sundays. These are all plausible suggestions; but for lack of proof they remain suggestions and little more. Yet though the occasions are doubtful, it seems certain that (despite intermediate lengths) short plays and long plays were theatrically distinct, and that while some short plays (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* I hope may be accounted one) were definitely planned as short, plays originally written as long were sometimes cut down to shortness, and plays originally written as short were occasionally expanded. It has been suggested with great plausibility that *The Tempest* was originally a much longer play than it now is, with the events which Prospero narrates to Miranda in the first Act represented in a series of scenes on the stage. There is even greater

reason to believe that *dreadful* things have been done to *Macbeth*, the adjective implying that not all of the changes made in *Macbeth*, perhaps not all of those made in *The Tempest*, were made by Shakespeare. That is a grim thought, and there are possibilities grimmer still, possibilities of additions as well as excisions. In the manuscript of the play of *Sir Thomas More* (an extraordinarily useful manuscript to study) there is a scene rewritten in a different hand, apparently for no other reason than to put in a few conspicuously feeble remarks by the Clown. Are there no additions of this kind in the received text of Shakespeare? What of *Macbeth?* Are all the Witch scenes Shakespeare's? We have seen how the text of *King Lear* was cut down alike in the Folio and the Quarto. Was the Fool's 'prophecy' at the end of Act III, Sc. ii ever in Shakespeare's manuscript? The Fool has sung his song,

> He that has and a little tiny wit,
> With hey ho, the wind and the rain,
> Must make content with his fortunes fit,
> Though the rain it raineth every day.

Lear answers with the patience he ever shows to the Fool: 'True, my good boy', and bids the disguised Kent 'come bring us to this hovel', and then we are to believe that Shakespeare made the Fool stay behind and speak his 'prophecy':

> When priests are more in word than matter,
> When brewers mar their malt with water,

and the rest of it. It seems improbable.

I have already disclaimed any desire to enter this afternoon into the more difficult questions of the Higher Criticism of Shakespeare. It was no part of the business of his earliest printers to distinguish between what he took from others and what was his own, or to mark by difference of type the changes and additions he made in successive rehandlings. In such a play as *Richard III* the modern editor of an unannotated text, whether he believes that the Folio or (as surely he should) the Quarto represents Shakespeare's latest text, has an impossible task of choosing in cases of obscurity between two readings, both of which have authority. The four pirated texts give us hints of much more extensive changes than we find in *Richard III*, and in most of the plays, if we look closely enough into them, we shall find enough discrepancies, enough evidence of what seems imperfect revision, enough diversity of style, to tempt us to believe that Shakespeare wrote all his plays in the years of his dramatic apprenticeship and spent the rest of his working life in constantly rewriting them. That

theory is not much more untenable than its opposite which envisages each play as the result of a continuous effort throughout so many weeks and then finished and done with. But discrepancies and loose ends and the reappearance of an earlier style in later plays can be explained in more ways than one. There is the possibility of rough drafts of plays, laid aside and developed later; the possibility, for which some evidence could be adduced, that Shakespeare's staying power as a dramatist was limited to half a play at a time, and that when he resumed work on it he may have been in a different mood and trusted too confidently to his memory; the possibility, lastly, that just as in dealing with the same situations Shakespeare expresses himself with curious similarity in plays of widely different dates, so when a generous lover has to be given a speech in a play as sombre as *King Lear* the speech shapes itself into the rhymes in which generous lovers pour out their passion in earlier plays. But all these considerations are this afternoon beside the point. They are problems for literary critics, problems for modern editors, but altogether outside the range of the actors, printers, and publishers who produced the First Folio. The charge a defender of these has to meet is that this edition is full of misprints, that in the longer plays lines and passages written by Shakespeare have been omitted, that in some of the shorter plays there has been drastic abridgement, and that now and again there seem to have been additions by other hands. It is a serious indictment. Some of you may be thinking that this Comedy of Shakespeare's text is not a Comedy at all, that the fate of his plays is tragic. Whoever thinks so is, to use a nice old-fashioned phrase, *sinning his mercies*. We have only to remember the fate of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, now represented by a few fine speeches overladen with much alien buffoonery, or of the scanty and mangled texts of the plays of Greene and Peele, to recognize how great a miracle it is that Shakespeare's early work should have come down to us in so much better condition. These men were his immediate forerunners. They had prepared their audience to expect something more than had previously been offered. By their popularity homes had been made for the drama, so that plays needed no longer to be performed at the Cross Keys or other inns. And yet it is possible that some of their best work would have been lost had it not been preserved in plays which Shakespeare rehandled. It is a great thing, a very great thing, that every play which Shakespeare wrote, or in which he had any considerable share, has come down to us, and come down in texts which, if here and there they present difficulties to students, who rightly wish to understand the exact sense in which every word is used in every

passage, to the sympathetic reader, and still more to the sympathetic listener when the plays are acted or read, offer very few obstacles.

If any one persists in bewailing that the text of Shakespeare is not better than it is there is more to be said to him. If we go beyond the imperfections to the causes of the imperfections there is only one man to blame for them, and that is Shakespeare himself. If we are to blame any one, do not let it be the actors, or the printers, or the publishers. According to the standards of their day they all did extraordinarily well. Only if Shakespeare himself had lent a hand could they have done materially better. From 1594 onwards he was one of the two or three most important members of his Company. Quite a few years after 1594 he was already well to do. He ceased writing for the stage when he was about forty-six. After that he had some half a dozen years of leisure. Why did he not edit his own Plays and anticipate that volume of Ben Jonson's *Works* which appeared in the year of his own death? I think we may find two reasons, or perhaps two aspects of the same reason, which should content us. One of the impressions about Shakespeare which has been strongly forced on me, especially of late, is that he was all of one piece. He developed, but in his development he cast nothing away. His attitude towards life deepened, but his outlook remained the same. I think we may find this consistency in his attitude to his own work as a playwright. It was the well-attested custom of the time for a dramatist to sell his complete rights in his plays to one of the companies of actors, or to some agent acting on their behalf. The actors did what they pleased with the manuscript, abridged it, augmented it, caused it to be rewritten in part or whole exactly as they pleased. It was the custom of the day and was accepted, for even the complaints of the dying Greene are of the inhumanity of the actors in leaving him to die lonely and destitute, rather than of any literary outrage. Shakespeare profited by this custom in his early days. He took over other men's plots, other men's drafts, other men's completed plays, and did to them what he was told, transmuting copper and silver into gold with an alchemy all his own. We applaud what he did, and invent fine phrases to glorify that which, in modern dramatists, we should regard as monstrous. I think at times it was a bit hard on the men whose work he used, and that from our latter-day point of view it is an act of piety, not only to them, but to Shakespeare, to give them credit for what we can trace of theirs. But it was the custom of the day thus to take over plots and ideas and rehandle and improve them. Shakespeare profited by it in his youth; he did not protest against it in his old age. He could have collected his own plays, expunged from

them all that was not his, and prepared them for the press. As far as we know, or have any reason to guess, he did nothing of the kind. He had sold his work to the actors, and it was theirs to do with it what they would. He had seen no harm in trying to better other men's work; let other men better his—if they could. Because he took this course in his prosperous old age the Ghost of Greene can have had no terrors for him. But the matter goes deeper than this. One dramatist of Shakespeare's day did collect his plays, and edit them himself and dignify his craft by calling them his Works—Ben Jonson. He, too, was consistent. As far as I know he borrowed no plot, took over no scene from any earlier writer. He was an original artist—and he did not forget it or let his audience forget it. He was in a marked degree a self-conscious artist, and his plays are full of his self-consciousness. Do we wish that Shakespeare's plays were more like Ben Jonson's? It has been contended that it is characteristic of the English race that its best work has always been done with a striking absence of any realization of what was being achieved. When we have builded our best, we have never quite understood what we were building. Surely in this Shakespeare was most characteristically one of his race. He was a self-conscious artist in his youthful Poems and Sonnets, and if these alone had survived he would have ranked high among his contemporaries but hardly have been heard of in lands where English is a foreign tongue. He was utterly unselfconscious in his plays, and his plays have penetrated to the very ends of the earth. It was part of the price of this greatness that he should be careless of them and their fate.

But what a price it might have been! what a Tragedy! And what a magnificent reversal of the ill-fortune which threatened their destruction when seven years after Shakespeare's death the Folio appeared with thirty-six plays in it, so many of which had never been in print before! The adventurers were seven, rather a motley little crowd. Two old friends of the theatre, Heminge and Condell, anxious 'to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive'; Edward Blount, the faithful friend of Marlowe; William Jaggard, who as early as 1599 had set so high a value on Shakespeare's name that he had taken part in setting it on the title-page of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which contained but five poems of his, and those stolen; Isaac Jaggard, his son; John Smethwick and William Aspley, who in 1623 represented the original publishers of several of the 'Good Quartos', which we are bound to believe were honestly come by. What brought this motley little crew together? Probably Ben Jonson's volume of 1616 put the idea of a Shakespeare volume into

men's minds. Shakespeare and Jonson were friends, but their friendship was compatible with a good deal of sparring, and their respective adherents doubtless sparred also. Jonson had collected his plays; why should not Shakespeare's be collected? But 1616, 1617, 1618 passed and to the best of our knowledge nothing was done. In 1619, when still nothing has happened, William Jaggard seems to have planned with Pavier and Arthur Johnson and Nathaniel Butter, men whose traffic in Shakespeare's plays had been a good deal less reputable than that of those whom Aspley and Smethwick represented, a miscellany of all the plays they could collect by or attributable to Shakespeare. Ten plays (one in two parts) were put into print, a curiously strange assortment: *2* and *3 Henry VI*, not as they appear in the Folio with Shakespeare's final revision, but as printed in 1594 and 1595, with how much or how little of Shakespeare's work in them is never likely to be settled; *Pericles*, in which he had a hand; *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, with which it is incredible that he had anything to do; then five genuine plays, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King Lear*, and *Henry V*, of which the first and last were reprints of the old piracies; then another play, *Sir John Oldcastle*, which Shakespeare can never have touched. *Henry V* was left anonymous as in the original piratical edition of 1600: on all the other plays, including *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Sir John Oldcastle*, Shakespeare's name was printed in full as that of the author. There is clear evidence in the continuous lettering of the sheets of the first three plays that it was originally intended to prefix some sort of collective title-page covering the whole miscellany. There is bibliographical evidence that by the time *A Yorkshire Tragedy* was in hand this intention was abandoned, and all the last five plays bear the dates of earlier editions (*Henry V* a wrong date, 1608 instead of 1602), a recognized trick in reprinting books liable to be censored. What does it all mean and what has it to do with the First Folio? It means—among other things—that William Jaggard the printer and the three publishers, Pavier, Johnson, and Butter, were convinced that Shakespeare's name would sell a miscellany even of this kind, and (as I view the evidence) that their unscrupulous faith convinced the honest men at the Globe theatre that they must at last get to work. When men are hesitating to take up a venture there is no greater spur to action than to see some one else trying to forestall them, and this spur, I think, the volume of 1619 supplied to the organizers of the Folio. In an adventurous article in *The Literary Supplement* to *The Times* (March 22, 1923) Mr. Crompton Rhodes has given reasons for believing that the players appealed to the Earl of

Pembroke, then Lord Chamberlain, and that the Earl addressed a letter to the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, advising them 'to take order for the stay of any further impression of any of the playes or interludes of his majesties servants without their consent'. But William Jaggard, Pavier, Johnson, and Butter were all men of some hardihood, difficult to suppress, and in the end Jaggard and his son, possibly after some arrangement with their friends, were given the printing of the Folio, and had the pleasure of superintending the setting up of the address 'To the great Variety of Readers, with its denunciation of the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors', which they could apply as they liked. We must thank Heminge and Condell for that touch of humour, and for much else besides. As the gatherers of the copy for the Folio they exercised considerable care. No use was made of any of the bad quartos. The sadly late editions of some of the good quartos used to save copying were read with prompt copies or other sources at the playhouse. Manuscripts of all the plays not already in print were hunted out. Ten years hence, I hope, we may know more than we do now as to what these manuscripts were. To-day we can only see that there were real difficulties to contend with and that in one way or another these difficulties were overcome. It was taken for granted that the stage-manager knew his business, and that the form in which each play had survived at the theatre was the form in which it should be preserved in print. There was some rough dividing into acts and scenes, but little other editing—a cause of thankfulness rather than regret. But somehow a text was produced which, however far short it falls of what specialists could wish, has yet been good enough to allow Shakespeare to become the most famous of Englishmen, and the delight of men and women all over the world. Surely these men also builded better than they knew.

ANNUAL LECTURE ON ASPECTS OF ART (INCLUDING MUSIC)

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

WILLIAM BYRD, 1623–1923

By Sir W. HENRY HADOW, C.B.E., D.Mus.

Read April 27, 1923

In the year 1516 Erasmus published his commentary on the New Testament. After the fashion of the time he illustrated many of his points by contemporary events, and so took the opportunity of a text in Corinthians[1] to censure in drastic terms the Church music of the early sixteenth century.

'St. Paul says that he would rather speak five words with a reasonable meaning than ten thousand in an unknown tongue. They chant nowadays in Churches in what is an unknown tongue and nothing else, while you will not hear a sermon once in six months telling people to amend their lives. Modern Church music is so constructed that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word. The Choristers themselves do not understand what they are singing, yet according to priests and monks it constitutes the whole of Religion. Why will they not listen to St. Paul? In Colleges and monasteries it is still the same: music and nothing but music. There was no music in St. Paul's time. Words were then pronounced plainly. Words nowadays mean nothing: they are mere sounds striking upon the ear, and men are to leave their work and go to Church to listen to worse noises than were ever heard in a Greek or Roman theatre. Money is raised to buy organs and train boys to squeal and to learn no other thing that is good for them. The laity are burdened to support miserable poisonous corybantes, while poor starving creatures might be fed at the cost of them.

'They have so much of it in England that the monks attend to nothing else. A set of creatures who ought to be lamenting their sins fancy they can please God by gurgling in their throats. Boys are kept in the English Benedictine Colleges solely and simply to sing hymns to the Virgin. If they want music let them sing Psalms like rational beings, and not too many of them.'

A good deal of this may be due to the longstanding quarrel—the παλαιά τις διαφορά—between scholar and musician; but two points stand out with special prominence, one the writer's condemnation of polyphonic music, second his selection of England as the chief culprit.

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 19. See Froude's *Erasmus*, pp. 130–1.

They constitute, indeed, evidence of the highest value. Words spoken to our praise may be empty or exaggerated compliments; we may at least take all the credit implied in words spoken to our blame.

Now whether or not it be true that all Arts converge on a common sensibility, and this is in any case extremely questionable, there can be no doubt that each has certain special qualities and modes of appeal which are not shared by any of the others. One of these distinctive qualities in Music is polyphony: the conjunction of different voices singing simultaneously different melodic parts. Literature has nothing comparable with this: a fugue expressed not in notes but in words would be only a succession of unmannerly interruptions throughout which the hearer could make nothing of what was said by any of the disputants. But the musical texture consists of these interwoven strands; they do not interrupt but enhance and corroborate; it is their concurrent variety which gives colour and substance and volume to the whole. Even the plainest harmony, note against note, which allows the meaning of the text to come through unimpaired—such harmony as Erasmus would have approved for the Psalms—derives the greater part of its musical beauty from the fact that the voices which are uttering the same words are setting them on different notes.

The world was slow to discover and adapt the loom at which this texture was woven. Greece knew nothing of it; only the redoubling of men's voices by women and boys at the octave, and Aristotle gives the most convincing reasons for holding that no other succession of intervals would be tolerable. The Early Mediaeval Church, driven perforce by the necessity of having tenors as well as basses in the choir, developed the crude system of organum and diaphony, the two voices singing the same melody a fifth apart, or one holding desperately to a single note while the other pursued the plain-chant. Then began a progress towards independent polyphony in which England was unquestionably a pioneer. We may doubt about our actual achievement in the twelfth century—the well-known descriptions of Giraldus Cambrensis are too vague to be conclusive, and it may well be, as Wooldridge suggests,[1] that so far we were working level with France—but there is no doubt at all about the *rota* 'Sumer is y-cumen in' which at the latest is dated about 1240. That the form in which it is written was already current we know from a punning epigram of Walter Map, that it presupposes a background of great skill and invention is obvious, and so far as our present evidence attests it outstrips the achievement of any continental nation by over

[1] *Oxford History of Music*, i. 161 seq.

a hundred years. Our record, woefully broken and imperfect, is resumed in the fifteenth century when we find John Dunstable acclaimed not only as the greatest of living composers, but as the Master to whom the most notable of musicians from overseas came for instruction. After Dunstable came a breathing-space in which we clearly yielded the palm to the Flemings: in the reign of Henry VII we began to recover our ground, and by the time of Erasmus' commentary we were once more resuming our position in the foremost rank.

But this gradual discovery of polyphonic resource brought its own danger. The device was so attractive that everything else was sacrificed to its display: the music became not only an end in itself but an end too often conceived in terms of mere skill and ingenuity. Three examples may be given. If the words of the sacred text were insufficient to last through a composition, the difficulty was often met by prolonging a syllable over tendrils and streams of melody until it had become inarticulate. Thus in the Conductus *Pater noster commiscrans*, quoted by Wooldridge,[1] the first syllable of *Pater* lasts for thirty-nine of what we should call bars, and the first syllable of *fragilitatis* for no less than eighty. Secondly it became customary to take as the staple melody of the Mass some popular or even profane song, and, for its better recognition, to let one of the choir sing it, while his fellow choristers were busy weaving it with descants and counterpoints on the text of the Kyrie or the Agnus Dei. The statement that the words of the secular song were used as well as the tune has been challenged, and it is probable that the first line alone was used, as a sort of title, and that the tune itself was taken in successive portions, as Palestrina, for example, divided that of the hymn 'Aeterna Christi munera'. But in any case the practice was indecorous and gave great offence to the more serious-minded of the worshippers. Thirdly, because composers in such an atmosphere came to have less and less reverence for the service, they took to filling the part-books with puzzles and enigmas which still further distracted the singers' attention. The tenor, for instance, who found that his part jarred at every note with the rest of the choir, was warned by the marginal note 'more Hebraeorum' that he was to sing it backwards. The inscription 'Iustitia et Pax osculatae sunt' showed, to those who could understand, that the same line of music served for two singers

[1] In the best of these examples the words of the popular song are not used, and the melody is contrapuntally distributed between the voices. It must be remembered in all fairness that there was less difference then than now between the idioms of secular and of sacred song.

beginning at opposite ends and meeting in the middle: βάτραχος ἐκ Σερίφου on a blank page signified not that the part had been mislaid but that, according to Aelian, the frogs in the island of Seriphos do not croak. The astonishing thing is that in spite of all this degradation some really fine music was written: there are Masses on 'L'homme armé' and 'Western Wynde' which show true inspiration, and Josquin des Prés, one of the most irreverent of humorists, could show on occasion a sense of tenderness and pathos which has still power to touch the heart: but of the majority, and especially of the rank and file, we may say, with Holophernes, 'Here are only numbers ratified'. Indeed, the condition of affairs grew so serious that the very existence of Church music was in Italy threatened by the Council of Trent; in England closely restricted by Cranmer's Preface to the Litany. In the one country it was saved by the genius of Palestrina, in the other by that constellation of Tudor composers in in which the brightest particular star was William Byrd.

The materials for his biography, despite the researches of Dr. Fellowes and Mr. Barclay Squire, are still very imperfect. But it may be taken as certain that the year of his birth was 1543, and as very probable that the place was the village of Epworth in Lincolnshire. There is a strong tradition that he was Lincolnshire-born: the surname Byrd was common at Epworth in the sixteenth century, and, as the parish registers attest, the most prevalent Christian names in the genealogy were those borne by himself and his children. By a piece of ill fortune the register for 1543, which would have settled the question, is missing from its place in the Church records.

He must have had some sound general education, for we find him in later life teaching mathematics to Morley and writing his dedicatory epistles in good fluent Latin. That he was 'bred up to music under Thomas Tallis' is definitely asserted by Wood (Bodleian MS. 19 D (4) no. 106) and corroborated by a laudatory poem prefixed to the *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1575:

> Tallisius, magno dignus honore senex,
> Et Birdus tantum natus decorare magistrum.

As Tallis was at that time organist of the Chapel Royal we may accept without undue misgiving the current view that Byrd had his schooling in London, probably at St. Paul's Choir School, of which he is said to have been head boy, and that he stayed on for a time as Tallis's pupil. Among the most recently discovered of his compositions is a Song on the death of Queen Mary, which took place when he was fifteen years old, and his growing reputation is attested not

only by his securing as teacher the doyen of Elizabethan Music, but by his appointment before he was twenty to the organistship of Lincoln Cathedral.

Of his first few years at Lincoln we have no record. Then came two events of great importance. In 1568 he married a Lincoln girl named Ellen or Julian Birley; in 1569, on the death of Robert Parsons, he was sworn in as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and so resumed a close personal relationship with his old master. At first he seems to have retained his post in the Cathedral and to have divided his time between his two spheres of duty; his eldest child Elizabeth was baptized at Lincoln in January 1571–2: but in December of the same year Mr. William Butler is appointed there as his successor: and from thenceforward he and his family resided first at Harlington in Middlesex, then at Stondon in Essex, within easy reach of his London work. For some years he seems to have had a prophet's chamber in the London house of that eminent Catholic peer the Earl of Worcester.

It is worth pausing here for a moment to comment on a rather remarkable fact. Byrd was continuously in the service of the Chapel Royal from 1569, when he was appointed at the age of twenty-six, until 1623, when he died at the age of eighty: first as joint-organist with Tallis, after Tallis's death as sole organist. Yet there can be no doubt that through all that time he was a convinced Roman Catholic, that he composed Masses and other services for the Roman Ritual, that he was fined for his wife's non-attendance at Stondon Parish Church, that he was frequently cited before the Archdeacon's Court as a 'Popish recusant', that he dedicated several of his works to well-known Romanist peers, and that he died, as is explicitly stated in his will, a loyal adherent of the faith in which he was born. Yet not only did he suffer no serious molestation—the fine was only a shilling—but he was retained for half a century as a Court official, and was granted in addition special marks of royal favour. No doubt Father Weston, the Jesuit, has left in his autobiography a pathetic account of Byrd's having 'sacrificed everything' for his religion[1]: but it would appear on investigation of the facts that Father Weston was

[1] 'We met there also Mr. Byrd, the most celebrated musician and organist of the English nation, who had been formerly in the Queen's Chapel, and held in the highest estimation; but for his religion he sacrificed everything, both his office and the Court and all those hopes which are nurtured by such persons as pretend to similar places in the dwellings of princes, as steps towards the increasing of their fortunes.' Quoted by Mr. W. B. Squire, *Grove's Dictionary*, i. 430. It is dated 1586.

misinformed. There is no reason to believe that Byrd ever sacrificed anything for this cause: the cheque-books of the Chapel Royal are conclusive evidence that he retained his appointment.

We are all familiar with the Abbé Migne's sentence, immortalized by Matthew Arnold, that 'the Religious persecutions, which defaced the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, ceased for a time under Mary to break out with renewed virulence under Elizabeth'. It is not the view customarily held by English historians, and indeed the whole question of religious persecution in the Tudor period is difficult, partly because heresy was so often entwined with political intrigue, partly because it was not always easy to determine what opinions were heretical. But one point at any rate is clear, that in the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth a special immunity was accorded to eminent composers. At first this may have been partly disdainful: Taverner, accused of Lollardry at Oxford, was acquitted because he was 'only a musitian'; but it soon became evidence of genuine favour and admiration. Marbeck was cited, with two other members of the Windsor Choir, for impiety towards the Mass: the other two were executed, Marbeck let off with a caution on the ground that he was too good an artist to be spared. Tye, 'a peevish and humoursome man', was allowed by the Queen freedoms on which very few of her subjects would have ventured: Sebastian Westcote, organist of St. Paul's was, although an open Papist, confirmed in his office because 'tam charus Elizabethae fuit'; Tallis himself, before his appointment at the Chapel Royal, was organist to the Roman Catholic community at Waltham Abbey. Byrd's security of tenure had plenty of precedent in an age when monarchs were themselves artists and allowed to genius its time-honoured privilege of revolt.

In 1575 the Queen gave her two organists a twenty-one years' patent for the printing of music and the ruling and selling of music-paper; part of which they sublet to Vautrollier and other publishers, the rest they kept in their own hands. Commercially speaking, their venture was not successful: musicians are seldom good men of business, and within two years we find Byrd complaining that the firm had already lost 200 marks in clear deficit. But it gave them the opportunity of publishing their own work, in the accustomed partbooks, and of this the firstfruits appeared forthwith in the collection of *Cantiones Sacrae* to which Tallis contributed sixteen motets and Byrd eighteen. Tallis, who was then about fifty years of age (the exact year of his birth is unknown), had already taken his place in the first rank of English composition: Byrd, who was thirty-two, had not yet published a note of music. The immediate effect of

this collaboration was to set the younger man by the side of the elder, whom in a few more years he surpassed as unquestionably as Mozart surpassed Haydn.

There follows another of the 'eremi et vastitates' which are too frequent in the chronology of Byrd's life; and the desert is not traversed until 1588 when he is made the recipient of a very notable honour. An amateur named Nicholas Yonge, whose house had long been the resort of madrigal singers, was in the habit of procuring from Italy the best examples of an art in which she particularly excelled. In 1588 he published, under the title of *Musica Transalpina*, a selection which included specimens of Ferrabosco, Marenzio, Palestrina, Filippo di Monte, and other masters, and among them, as the highest compliment that he could pay to our native art, two settings by Byrd of Ariosto's 'La Verginella'. Historians have incorrectly described these as the first English madrigals—Englishmen had been writing madrigals for over half a century [1]—but they were the first which publicly claimed equality with the best of Italian music.

In the same year Byrd published the first collection which consisted entirely of his own work. This was the book of 'Psalms, Sonets, and Songs of Sadnes and Pietie'—thirty-five miscellaneous compositions, sacred and secular, which range from penitential Psalms to the well-known 'Amaryllis' madrigal, and end with two elegies on the death of Sir Philip Sidney. They are dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton and prefaced by eight reasons 'to perswade euery one to learne to singe', which run as follows:

First it is a knowledge easely taught, and quickly learned where there is a good Master, and an apt Scoller.

2. The exercise of singing is delightfull to Nature & good to preserve the health of Man.

3. It doth strengthen all the parts of the brest, & doth open the pipes.

4. It is a singular good remedie for a stutting & stammering in the speech.

5. It is the best meanes to procure a perfect pronunciation & to make a good Orator.

6. It is the onely way to know where Nature hath bestowed the benefit of a good voyce: which guift is so rare, as there is not one among a thousand, that hath it: and in many, that excellent guift is lost, because they want Art to expresse Nature.

[1] Counting the set printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1530. Edwards's delightful 'In going to my naked bed', a true madrigal if ever there was one, can be dated with fair certainty at 1564. Whythorne's 'Songs of three fower and five voices' were published in 1571. See Fellowes, *English Madrigal Composers*, ch. iv, pp 33–4

7. There is not any Musicke of Instruments whatsoever, comparable to that which is made of the voyces of Men, where the voyces are good, and the same well sorted and ordered.

8. The better the voyce is, the meeter it is to honour and serve God there-with: and the voyce of man is chiefely to be imployed to that ende.

Since singing is so good a thing
I wish all men would learne to sing.

The period with which we are at present dealing was, indeed, one of the most prolific of Byrd's whole career. In 1589 he published *Songs of Sundry Natures*: forty-seven compositions for three, four, five, and six voices, and between then and 1591 produced the two volumes of *Cantiones Sacrae* which, if he had written nothing else, would suffice to rank him among the greatest of composers. Mr. Squire, who speaks in this matter with high authority, assigns the three Masses to the year 1588, though no doubt their composition spread over a longer period, and if the evidence for this is not entirely conclusive we may agree that they are not earlier than this stage in Byrd's career.[1] The problem of dating his work, with any exactitude, in cases where we have no external testimony to guide us, has not yet been completely solved. Scholars who remember the controversies that have ranged round the chronology of the Pauline Epistles or the Platonic dialogues or the works of Chaucer or Shakespeare will sympathize with the difficulty of accurate determination in compositions which fall within a comparatively narrow range of style, and many of which have been too recently discovered for an extended and systematic study. The future will no doubt bring its own answer: for the present we must be satisfied with general principles and flexible frontier-lines.

Meanwhile he was winning abundant laurels in another field of composition. As a player on the virginals he was by all repute unrivalled, as supreme among contemporaries as was Bach later on the organ or Beethoven on the pianoforte, and during these years of strength and maturity he wrote a vast number of pieces—dance-measures, airs, fantasies, variations—for his favourite instrument. Many manuscript collections of them are still extant,[2] among others

[1] Dr. Rimbault, in his edition of Byrd's 5-part Mass, suggested that they were written before 1558, a view which enables us to dispense with the rest of his criticisms. It is like saying that Shakespeare wrote *Macbeth* during his boyhood at Stratford. Mr. Collins believes that the 5-part Mass was published in 1590 and the other two in 1610. See Fellowes.

[2] Typical examples in all forms have been published under the very competent editorship of Mr. Fuller Maitland and Mr. Barclay Squire.

Lady Nevill's book (1591), transcribed by John Baldwin of Windsor, who at the seventeenth piece has broken out into a spontaneous cry of admiration, unusual in a copyist, 'Mr. W. Birde, homo memorabilis'. Some characteristics of the music will be considered later, but we may here draw attention to the amazing dexterity of hand to which these pieces attest. The exaggerated fame which rewards a virtuoso in his lifetime is usually compensated by undeserved oblivion after his death, and it is well therefore that we should have a permanent record of the skill which Byrd evidently possessed and some of which he must have transmitted to his pupils. It is the more astonishing because the virginal players and organists of the sixteenth century were required, by the position of the keyboard, to dispense almost entirely in rapid passages with the use of the thumb and the little finger. Praetorius, who wrote in 1619, has a significant passage:

'Many think it a matter of great importance and despise such organists as do not use this or that particular fingering, which in my opinion is not worth the talk: for let a player run up and down with either first, middle, or third finger, aye even with his nose if that could help him, provided everything is done clearly, correctly, and gracefully, it does not much matter how or in what manner it is accomplished.'

Praetorius, it will be seen, contemplates the clear, correct, and graceful use of the nose in clavier playing, but restricts the hand to the three middle fingers. And the system which continued in use as late as Purcell allows the thumb and little finger only at the beginning and end of a two-octave scale.[1] All the other notes are struck by the third and fourth fingers in ascending movement and in descending by the third and second. Even our masters of technical proficiency might look upon these restrictions with some misgiving.

Byrd was now forty-eight. Apart from the three Masses, he had published, in part-books, over a hundred and fifty concerted vocal compositions, both sacred and secular, and had written some scores of pieces for the virginals. Since the death of Tallis in 1585 he had become beyond all challenge the first composer in England, unrivalled even by the great Madrigalian school which grew up round him. He was in high favour with patrons, with colleagues, and with pupils, as much beloved for his character as revered for his genius; never, we may say, had any artist opened more widely the door of opportunity. Yet this was, so far as we know, the moment which he chose to retire from publication: no printed page of his can be dated between 1591 and 1605. And what is more surprising, it was within this period

[1] See the article on Fingering in *Grove's Dictionary*, vol. ii, pp. 43-5. Mr. Barclay Squire has found some exceptions in the clavier music of Bull.

that the *Triumphs of Oriana* appeared: the collection of madrigals in honour of Queen Elizabeth, prepared and edited by Byrd's pupil and lifelong friend Thomas Morley, as a monument of our native genius: and the name which we should most expect to find is absent from the list of contributors. No satisfactory explanation of this silence has yet been found. It is clear that during this period he continued to write, for he published at its close a volume of over sixty compositions: we do not know why, at the zenith of his reputation, he withdrew for fourteen years from the arena in which it had been won.

The chapter, otherwise uneventful, records a few facts of biographical interest. In 1593 Byrd removed with his wife and children from Harlington and took possession of Stondon Place, near Ongar: an estate sequestrated from the recusant family of the Shelleys, and in 1595 leased by the Crown to the equally recusant organist of the Chapel Royal. It has been suggested that the anxieties consequent upon this change of scene may have been in some degree accountable for his silence: that he may have been preoccupied with personal troubles or dangers and have thought it politic to lie for a time in concealment. But this is on the whole improbable. For one reason the policy would have defeated its own end: his light was too brilliant to be veiled without exciting remark; for another, although he was from the beginning involved in some disputes with the outgoing occupant—the circumstances lent themselves to controversy—yet the tedious litigation with the Shelleys, and the personal distractions which it entailed, came to a head only in later years.

In 1603 James I ascended the Protestant throne, and Byrd, who had been recently excommunicated by his Archdeacon, took part in the Coronation Service and celebrated the occasion by preparing for the press that magnificent collection of compositions for the Roman Liturgy which is known as the First Book of the *Gradualia*. This appeared in 1605 with a dedication to the Earl of Northampton 'in afflictis familiae meae rebus benignissimum patronum', from which we may gather that Byrd had benefited by the protection of a powerful house. A second set of *Gradualia*, equally beautiful, followed in 1607, making up the total of separate numbers to over 100. Assuredly Byrd had returned to public life bringing his sheaves with him.

Meantime he continued his instrumental work, collaborated with Bull and Gibbons in *Parthenia*, and wrote many of the pieces which were afterwards collected in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. This direction of his genius was yet more strikingly illustrated when in 1611 he included among his 'Psalmes, Songs, and Sonets' two

Fantasies, in six and four parts respectively, for viols alone: the earliest printed compositions for concerted strings which we possess. Three years later he contributed four anthems to Sir William Leighton's 'Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule': and these were his last published compositions. On 4 July, 1623, he died. Of his six children one son, Thomas, inherited some measure of his spirit; the others are no more to us than names in a genealogy.

With the exception of Mrs. Shelley, who complains of his 'bitter words', he seems to have had no personal enmities, and the contemporary references to his name indicate not only admiration but affection. Some of them have already been quoted: there are others not less significant. The record of his death, in the Chapel Royal, speaks of him as 'a father of Musicke'. Morley in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction* says that he is 'never without reverence to be named of the Musitians': Baldwin who copied out Lady Nevill's virginal pieces sets him above all other composers English or foreign; the anonymous possessor of a MS. of Cicero's *Letters*, now in the Christ Church Library, marks the passage (*ad Atticum*, iv. 16) which states that the Britons are devoid of letters or music with the indignant comment 'Unus Birdus omnes Anglos ab hoc convicio prorsus liberat'. But there is no need of any further witness. It is beyond question that at the time of his death he was regarded with a veneration hardly surpassed by that which was paid to Shakespeare.

> Expende Hannibalem: quot libros in duce summo
> Invenies?

What has become of all this music and this reputation? Why is it that a man who was acclaimed by his contemporaries as a supreme example of creative genius has left a name which sounds at the present day so faint and so unfamiliar? It was not slenderness of achievement, for more than five hundred of his compositions have now been discovered. It was not easy acceptance of a low standard: the Elizabethan age was the most musical in our history. Some very convincing explanation must be found before these contradictions can be reconciled.

We are celebrating this year a greater tercentenary than Byrd's: that of the First Folio. Imagine for a moment that there had been no First Folio: that there had been no Quartos: that no single play of Shakespeare's had survived otherwise than in separate parts, and that of these parts some were in manuscript copies at his death and the others in ill-printed scripts without division of acts or scenes and without cues. This is precisely the fate which befell the music of Byrd. Of his known compositions less than half were printed in any

form during his lifetime, and this moiety only in part-books restricted in use to the singer and easily mislaid. Shortly after his death about twenty of his services and anthems were reprinted by Barnard (1641), but these also were entrusted to the hazard of the part-books, and of Barnard's collection no complete copy is now in existence. There was nothing distinctive about this, it was the common usage of the time, but no better way could be devised of preparing 'alms for oblivion'.

Another equally powerful reason may be added. No doubt it is incorrect to say that the Puritans were hostile to music—Cromwell and Milton are examples to the contrary—but they were eminently hostile to certain kinds of music; and it was not to be expected that they would go far to honour a composer all of whose work was in a style which they disapproved, and more than half of it for a Church which they detested. Nor did the Restoration mend matters, for by the time that it came the whole course and current of musical taste had been deflected. The change wrought by the Monodic movement may roughly be compared with that which Caravaggio introduced into painting: instead of the old diffused light flowing equally through all parts of the picture came luminous concentration on a single point, and, as its natural result, the enhancement of romantic or dramatic effect. The parallel must not be pressed into detail, for the Monodic composers were far greater than Caravaggio, but it is true in principle. The growth of dramatic and romantic music largely depended on this method of concentration, and helped to render obsolete the old contrapuntal equality which it superseded.

The eighteenth century treated Byrd with neglect: it was reserved for the nineteenth to treat him with contumely. In 1840 the Musical Antiquarian Society was formed in London and proceeded to publish, for the first time in score, the five-part Mass, entrusted to Dr. Rimbault, and the first book of *Cantiones Sacrae*, entrusted to Mr. William Horsley. The results were lamentable. We may at any rate give Dr. Rimbault credit for good intentions; he seems to have admired Byrd after his fashion: but he knew nothing about the Elizabethan idiom and he was one of the most inaccurate and unscholarly of editors. Byrd's text is emended where it was obviously correct before, his style is smoothed out of recognition: worst of all, his beautiful luxuriant phrases, admirably suited to the declamation of the words, are crammed into a Procrustean bed of regular bars: a bed upon which Byrd never dreamed that he would be made to lie. This is distressing enough, but Mr. Horsley is worse. There is a pseudo-science called 'Strict Counterpoint' which is set forth in

the grammatical treatises of Fux and Marpurg and Cherubini and Rockstro: a set of rules and prohibitions, the latter predominating, illustrations of which may be found in the text-books but not in the works of the great composers.[1] As a discipline it may conceivably have some small use: as a basis for criticism it is an insolent pedantry. Mr. Horsley, whose musical exertions had raised him to the dignity of a Bachelor's degree, prefaces his reluctant edition with a diatribe censuring Byrd for disregard of regulations which have no inherent validity and of which he would never for a moment have recognized the jurisdiction. To match this example of assurance we must turn to the eighteenth-century critics who attacked Shakespeare's plays for not being regular.

Is it surprising that by the middle of the nineteenth century the name of Byrd had almost vanished from the memory of mankind? A few services and anthems—'Bow thine ear', for instance—still held place in our Cathedral services: an occasional madrigal might very rarely appear on the concert platform: the rest of the treasure lay hidden in its royal tomb unvalued, unexplored, and for the most part unknown. But towards the end of the century the work of excavation began. Dr. Nagel's excellent *Geschichte der Musik in England* aroused a general interest, and before it appeared some of our scholars were in the field, Mr. Fuller Maitland, Mr. Barclay Squire, Mr. Godfrey Arkwright, and others, to be followed later by the Tudor Music Committee and the independent researches of Dr. Fellowes and Mr. Collins. The world has often assigned to its great composers a period of oblivion: the interest in Palestrina was certainly revived by the nineteenth-century scholars at Ratisbon: the first performance of Bach's B minor Mass took place ninety-five years after its composition; when Sir George Grove paid his famous visit to Vienna, nine-tenths of Schubert's music was still unpublished. In the case of Byrd the period of neglect has been longer, but his time has at last arrived.

It remains to set forth briefly the grounds on which a place is claimed for him in the company of the 'di maiorum gentium': not only among the great composers but among the very few who stand at the summit of the art. And first we may observe that he not only covered but notably extended the whole range of musical composition. The bare catalogue of his work is astonishing: three Masses, over two hundred motets and gradualia, a setting of the Passion according

[1] Mr. Rockstro confesses that in despair of finding any examples from the Classics he has been obliged to write his own. See a complete exposure of the whole system in Mr. F. O. Morris's admirable book on contrapuntal technique.

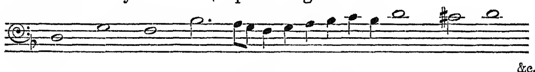
to St. John, a great number of Psalms and anthems, services for the Protestant ritual, one of which is on the largest scale ever attempted, madrigals, songs, instrumental pieces for strings and for virginals ; in any period of musical history this abundance would be exceptional, in these early years it was probably unparalleled. In some directions, too, he was an adventurous pioneer. He was one of the first composers to recognize the value of balance between voice and accompaniment, to write solos with independent organ-part, to divide his madrigals between singers and players, and so to enrich their texture with new combinations of colour and design. The variation-form in which he excelled was so supremely his own that historians have accredited him with its invention : most important of all, the string pieces of 1611 are not reduplications of madrigalian music, 'apt for viols or voyces', but genuine concerted works for instruments the structure of which clearly anticipates the cyclic forms of the symphony and the string quartet. To his complete mastery of polyphonic resource there is no need to draw attention: that is an achievement which he shares with lesser men, and it is enough to say that his draughtsmanship is worthy of his inspiration. It is of more moment to consider the character of his musical thought: the kind and degree of beauty which it embodies and expresses : premising always that in music more than in any other art, conception and expression are like the convex and concave 'two in word but one in reality'.

To deal exhaustively with this topic would involve a complete survey of all Byrd's compositions, and that for many reasons is here impossible. But three points may be selected for special elucidation. The first is the magnificent breadth and sweep of his melodic curve; not only in range of compass but in exact propriety of declamation. The latter aspect has been grievously obscured in later times by our habit of printing Elizabethan music in schemes of regular and uniform barring, a method which is entirely destructive of their true prosody. Byrd and his contemporaries wrote before the use of bars had come to supersede the old free rhythm, and their melody flows among triple and quadruple measures according to the requirements of the text. Indeed, one of the reasons why Byrd fell into neglect was because the critics applied to him the wrong metrical footrule and then complained that he would not scan. As a matter of fact his scansion is perfect but it is not that of Bach or Handel. The well-known madrigal 'Though Amaryllis dance in green' is a crucial instance: it was never intended to be performed with a single time-signature.

Secondly we may note the vividness and significance of his themes. The serene purity of style which was one of the beauties of vocal

music in the sixteenth century was sometimes protected by a comparatively narrow range of subject: the melodic phrases, admirably suited for contrapuntal treatment, were not always in themselves very fruitful or characteristic. But Byrd's phrases are often as vigorous as those of Bach or Beethoven or Wagner. Such, for instance, is the opening of the five-part 'Haec Dies':

or the bass entry in the three-part 'Regina Caeli':



or the Alleluias in the second of the *Gradualia*:

and instances as salient as these can be found over the whole range of his work. This force and vitality give him at the same time a wide and human sympathy with every true form of emotional expression. His Church music, always devout and dignified, can range from the sheer jubilation of 'Laetentur caeli'[1] to the deep and poignant grief of 'Civitas Sancti Tui'[2] or 'Plorans plorabit'[3]: his madrigals can be gay or humorous or pathetic; even in his instrumental music, with all the necessary limitations of its time, there is sincere feeling behind the courtly reticence of viols and virginals. And throughout it all there breathes an air of certainty and conviction which is one of the distinguishing marks of genius. 'If I were asked', says Mr. Steuart Wilson, 'why I believe that "the sea is His and He made it" I should answer "because Byrd tells me so".'

The third characteristic is the originality and audacity of his harmonic experiments. We may recall, without undue technicality, that a strict adherence to the modal system was incompatible either with change of tonal centres or with variety of harmonic colour and substance. But by the end of the sixteenth century the modes had been reduced, in practical currency, to two, and the balance of usage

[1] *Cantiones Sacrae*, i. 28. [2] *Cantiones Sacrae*, i. 21.
[3] *Gradualia*, i 27.

was gradually swinging towards the employment of the modern scale, for which the conventions of *musica ficta* had long been preparing.

In this matter the English composers had made the farthest advance. In Italy the modes were still in the ascendant and their supremacy was challenged only by rebels like the Prince of Venosa, who does not really come into the comparison. But the Englishmen were using the double idiom for systematic experiment in harmony and modulation: there are instances in some of Weelkes's madrigals which are surprisingly 'modern' in effect: and among them all Byrd's methods were the ripest and the most mature. Some of his devices, like the unprepared dominant seventh, are so familiar to us now that they need no comment: but it is difficult to believe that, even as late as 1611, a madrigalist of the old school could write as follows[1]:

(*a*)

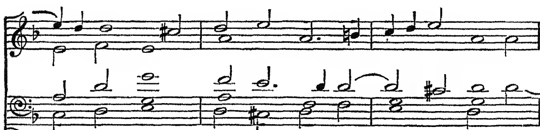
The whole scheme is perfectly clear and logical, but it was a 'new music' at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A striking

[1] From 'Come woeful Orpheus', from Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets. The words of this particular passage are 'Of sourest sharps and uncouth flats make choice'; so that the music is evidently intended to be partly descriptive: but even so it is sufficiently remarkable. Special attention is drawn to it by Mr. F. O. Morris, *Contrapuntal Technique*, p. 66, and also p. 43 of the illustrations.

instance of this harmonic freedom is to be found in Byrd's famous 'false relations': the device by which he uses the sharpened and natural form of the same note successively in different parts or even simultaneously in one clashing discord. It was evidently intentional, for Byrd in one passage warns the singers not to suppose that the parts are misprinted—a supposition which, two hundred years later, was attached on the same issue to one of Mozart's finest string quartets. It has been subjected to the most absurd criticism,[1] and even now there are some editors who are inclined to speak of it apologetically. There is not the least need for apology. Apart from an extended use of the *Tierce de Picardie*, which is too obvious for discussion, all the examples so far as I know fall into two categories and are covered by two explanations: the double form of what we should call the ascending and descending minor scale, and the fact that in the sixteenth century augmented intervals were not included in the vocabulary of music. Two examples may be given, one of the successive, one of the simultaneous employment of these notes:

(*b*) From the 'Gloria' of the Mass in four parts.

(*c*) From 'Aspice domine': *Cantiones Sacrae*, Bk. I, no. 13.



[1] See Horsley's edition of the *Cantiones*.

In the former of these it is clear that the exigencies of drawing require the alto to sing E natural and the tenor E flat. In the latter the dissonances of the first and sixth measures are very expressive, that of the fifth is extraordinarily beautiful as well. And we are not likely to quarrel at the present day with an artist who, on wholly intelligible grounds, extended the use of passing discords.

The technique of his composition for viols and for virginals is naturally affected by the particular qualities and limitations of the instruments. The virginals were incapable either of sustained tone or of graduation of touch; it followed that the music written for them made considerable use of grace notes, and arpeggios, and running passages which were often treated as constituent parts of the melody. The forms which Byrd most commonly used were those of dance measures: the Pavan and Galliard often in collocation, the others usually separate: or of 'ayres', with or without variations, or of 'fantasies' which first applied to the keyboard the fugal style which had been gradually elaborated for voices. In all alike, even to the point of elaborately ornamental melody, he was one of the earliest and worthiest forerunners of the clavier writing of J. S. Bach.

String music was still held by a self-imposed restriction. Though Andrea Amati was born in 1520, the modern stringed instruments had not yet found their way into favour: they were regarded as harsh and intrusive; in the middle of the seventeenth century Mace can still talk of the 'scoulding violins'. Hence all through Byrd's lifetime the 'Consort' was still composed of viols, treble, tenor, and bass, which had far less agility and resonance, but compensated for this, at least in part, by a reedy sweetness of tone which fitted their music and partly no doubt inspired it. As an example of Byrd's composition for strings we may take the sestet of 1611, to which allusion has already been made. It is in three movements: the first broad and dignified, treating in close imitation a series of short well-defined themes, the second a lilting allegro, with great variety of key, the third a charming and delicate minuet which shows already a remarkable sense of thematic development. The whole work has far more than an historic interest: it is a real and valuable contribution to the literature of chamber-music.

Yet in all this analysis we are but emulating the hero of the Greek story who, wishing to sell his house, carried round a brick by way of sample. No amount of illustration, short of a complete programme, can give any idea of Byrd's fertility of invention, of his strength and vigour, of his skill, his humanity, his high and noble seriousness of purpose. He has been compared to Palestrina, with whom indeed he had one curious point of contact,[1] but the comparison is not more fruitful than would be one between the abundance of Shakespeare and the faultless perfection of Dante. This at any rate may with confidence be maintained, that in him the music of our country achieved its highest and fullest expression, and that future ages will set him in the company of the greatest masters, and will grant him equality of renown.

NOTE

For the facts of Byrd's life, for the list of his compositions, and for the opportunity of studying those that are now extant, I am deeply indebted to Mr. W. Barclay Squire and Dr. E. H. Fellowes.

A catalogue of Byrd's compositions, so far as they have yet been discovered, is printed in Dr Fellowes's biography. It comprises:

For the Latin Service: 3 Masses and 219 Motets, Graduals, and other choral works.

For the English Service: 2 sets of Preces and Psalms, 1 of Preces and Responses, 1 Litany, 2 complete Services, 2 Evening Services, 1 Morning Service (fragment), and 85 anthems.

Madrigals and other Secular Songs: 112

Concerted pieces for Viols: 19.

Pieces for Virginals: 111.

Pieces for Lute: 3.

Miscellaneous instrumental pieces: 21.

[1] The Canon 'Non nobis Domine', a copy of which engraved on a golden plate is said to have been deposited in the Vatican, has been attributed to both composers. The theme is to be found in the first *Agnus* of Palestrina's *Missa Brevis*, but from this no argument can be drawn, and contemporary testimony is in favour of Byrd.

ANNUAL ITALIAN LECTURE

HISTORY AND ART IN THE QUATTROCENTO

By EDWARD ARMSTRONG

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read May 31, 1923

Mediaeval pictorial art was, in the well-worn phrase, the handmaid of religion. The phrase is true enough of the art of Duccio, Cimabue, and Giotto; it is true in the main, at a much later date, of Frà Angelico. But already in his day art was looking wistfully towards the temple door or the cloister gate. She was feeling her once willing work monotonous, was yearning for more liberty in secular, even in domestic, service. Henceforth, until the end of the fifteenth century and a little later, she served two mistresses, but the freshest of her work was perhaps given to the newer. Thus then she became the servant, the lady-help, if you will, of the Muse of History.

Centuries are even less satisfactory than reigns as lines of demarcation. A reign's beginning, or its end, may really cause or emphasize a change in national literature or art, whereas there is no personality in a year. Few artists have been, as was Cellini, considerately born in the first year of a century, and few have died in the last year. The trecento overlaps the quattrocento, and that, in compensation, poaches upon its successor. Masolino and Masaccio have been called the last of the Giottesques, and the pioneers of the quattrocento. In their subjects and their feeling towards them they were indeed successors of Giotto, but in science they might claim to be the first modernists, the founders of the new scientific school. Frà Angelico is deliberately trecentist in his devoted service to religion, but he is a realist in his landscape and his study of the most modern Renaissance architecture, as is shown, for instance, in the Preaching of S. Stephen. Perugino, whose character was as commercial as that of Angelico was spiritual, retained to the end, except in his landscape, the traditional conventions of the religious painters. There were, indeed, few of the quattrocentists who could wholly break away from these, because then and long after there was in churches and monasteries a constant conservative demand. At the other end several unquestioned quattrocentists lived well into the cinquecento,

while Leonardo and Michelangelo did no insignificant part of their work in its predecessor. Yet it is impossible not to feel that a strong difference exists, and it may be worth while to search for some guiding dates or personalities. Pintoricchio and Filippino Lippi have been, I think, justly called the last of the quattrocentists, while in political history there were events which did have a real influence upon the fortunes of art. The captivity of Ludovico Sforza in 1500 deprived Italy of one of her chief patrons. This was the more decisive because the death of Lorenzo de' Medici had led to the expulsion of his family in 1494 and to the predominance of Savonarola, who had denounced the secularization of art, and had drawn Botticelli, Lorenzo di Credi, and Frà Bartolommeo into the exclusive service of religion. Another determining factor was the accession of Julius II in 1503, because this involved the destruction of quattrocento masterpieces in favour of Rafael and Michelangelo.

In no other century has the connexion between Italian art and contemporary history been quite so close. This was the result of a change of feeling, almost unconscious, of more settled political conditions, of a higher standard of comfort or luxury. The home was becoming the rival of the Church, and, indeed, within the Church the family chapel was little more than an annexe of the home. This new direction is often attributed to the individualism of the Renaissance. I should ascribe it rather to the secularism, of which the political causes were more potent than the personal, and which gave free play to the pride of family and state, so marked a feature of Italian life.

The second half of the fifteenth century was a time of comparative peace. Even the invasion of Charles VIII, in 1494, hardly affected artistic life in general. The very divisions of Italy, so fatal to its future, were stimulants for its art. The monarchies of Naples and Milan, the elective rulers of the Papacy and Venice, the personal predominance of the Medici, found imitation, or even initiative, in the lesser dynasties of Ferrara and Mantua, Urbino and Rimini. All these were closely associated with each other, and vied in architecture, sculpture, and painting as they did in policy. The smaller republic of Siena had its own important school, while cities once free but now absorbed, such as Verona, Vicenza, and Brescia preserved their independent schools of art. Never had artists so wide a range of service; never was the association between artists and rulers, whether personal or communal, so intimate. Great works of art were intensely personal; each succeeding Pope and Doge must have his portrait and his monument. The chief buildings all recall important personalities,

the Certosa of Pavia, just before our century, that of Gian Galeazzo Visconti; the splendid hospital of Milan that of Francesco Sforza; the decoration of its castle Ludovico Moro; the Riccardi Palace testifies to the civic modesty of the Medici; the Triumphal Arch at Naples to the bravado of Alfonso the Magnanimous; Sixtus IV has left his name to the Sistine Chapel; Pius II to a Sanctuary of Renaissance architecture, the tiny city of Pienza, complete with its Cathedral, its family Palace of the Piccolomini, its Town Hall and Loggia, its graceful public well; even to Alexander VI we have to render gratitude for the Borgian Apartments. Unquestionably humanity, individual or corporate, was becoming more interesting to itself, and artists, who, after all, were tradesmen, were keen to encourage and supply the new demand

This interest in humanity and its immediate material atmosphere may, on its artistic side, be styled realism, but to it classicism is sometimes so closely related as to be almost interchangeable, the reason being that the artists of the early quattrocento rediscovered nature through the medium of such classical masterpieces as were known to them. Antiques were frequently brought to light, just as were the classical MSS. which were revolutionizing letters. These discoveries, it is true, were as yet confined to sculpture, but they speedily had influence on painting. Masolino and Masaccio are in a manner the counterparts of Poggio Bracciolini and Leonardo Bruni. Fortunately for the historian classicism and realism, though connected, are not conterminous; had they so been, the art of the fifteenth century would have been as uninstructive to him as is much of the corresponding Latinist literature, then so highly prized. The artists, with few exceptions, lagged behind the humanists; their classicism was nearly half a century in arrear; few of them were so highly educated as to have an intimate knowledge of classical history or archaeology. From the classical models they learnt much in technique and acquired a wider range of subjects, but they retained much of the simplicity of the primitives; they were not so noticeably affected by the artificiality of the Renaissance as were the writers. As soon as classical knowledge filtered through to their educational level, it might make painting as artificial in point of subject-matter as it had made literature in point of style. There was an early presage of this impending loss to the historians in the work of Mantegna. He had to paint to order several subjects of absolutely contemporary life, and here he furnishes illustrations most valuable for my purpose. His own bent, however, was towards an exaggerated classicism. He was himself an enthusiastic collector of antiques; he

would overload sacred subjects with classical detail. Consequently, in the works which he loved best, such as the Triumphs of Caesar or of Scipio, he interests the historian only as showing the stage which a knowledge of antiquity had reached. Very different are the Petrarchesque *Trionfi* of Filippino Lippi and others, which do, indeed, idealize, but modern Italian rather than old Latin life.

Apart from classicism the introduction even of realism might result in diverting art from contemporary history. The study of the nude would in time inevitably loosen their connexion, for the nude belongs to all nations and to all centuries. Its worship would dwarf, limit, or entirely alter the range of subjects. Thus, even in religious pictures, the Marriage of the Virgin and the Visitation of the Magi, so full of opportunities for illustrative art, would wane in popularity before Flagellations, Depositions, S. Sebastians, and the limb-twisting horrors of hell. The foremost example of this both in time and talent is the devotion of Signorelli to the undraped human figure, which allies him more closely to his successors than to his contemporaries.

The study of drapery for its own sake would have the same tendency as that of undrapery, since the short jackets and tunics and long, tight stockings of contemporary life, however picturesque to the historical eye, did not lend themselves to the treatment of drapery finely conceived as a work of art. This is true also of the well-fitting bodices and stiff, upstanding skirts of brocade, which Ghirlandaio exhibits in his fashion plates on Florentine church walls, to the despair of modern dressmakers and the delight of modern historians of both sexes. The Philistine historian can have no lively interest in the graceful folds by which Rafael, Correggio, or Andrea del Sarto represent the traditional conventions of religious costumes.

There was, however, a form of realism of which quattrocento art fortunately became enamoured; the realism of contemporary life in all its aspects; men, women, children and animals, natural scenery and flowers, armour and dress, architecture and furniture. A distinguished critic has complained that the fault of Florentine artists from Uccello to Michelangelo was a tendency to illustration; for the historian that is just their virtue. But this fault or virtue is quite as prominent in the Venetians or the Umbrians, in Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio, in Gentile da Fabriano and Pintoricchio. It is a question rather of period than of province. The quattrocento was the hey-day of Italy. In its latter half, at all events, she could enjoy herself, and, what is more, be proud of herself—of her civilization, her wealth, her independence. A very few years later the barbarian had trampled

pride and pleasure underfoot; there could be little joy in the illustration of contemporary life. Art must fall back on the glories of antiquity, the consolations of religion, or absorb herself in the elaboration of technique, or the presentation of mere physical beauty. In Venice alone does this illustration continue almost without a check down to Veronese and Tintoretto, because Venice, except for her short, sharp seven years' war from 1509 to 1516, was almost untouched by the cataclysm of barbarian invasion. Venice had certainly a full half-century more of self-esteem.

It would be wrong to regard quattrocento art as being illustrative of external events and material life alone. The literary taste, the poetic fancy, the theological doctrines, all find expression therein. We should not understand the more poetic side of the Medicean age without the Spring and the Venus of Botticelli, while his Assumption of the Virgin, if, as I still believe, his it is, gives an insight into its doctrinal fancies, and the embrace of the three friars with the angels in the Nativity illustrates the highly-strung, mystical phase not only of his own later days under Savonarola's influence, but of the tarnished years of Italy's golden age. Next in importance, perhaps, would come Piero di Cosimo with his romantic, unclassical rendering of classical legend, his Death of Procris and his Hylas, his idealization of Tuscan country life, his attempts to peer into the secrets of nature, of animal and plant life. It is enough, however, to call attention to this aspect of illustrative art, for my immediate purpose is its relation to history proper, and the external features of social life.

The art of the fifteenth century is a reflection of its history in several different ways, and, as an attempt to make this clearer, I am classifying the subject under five heads, though these several heads are apt to knock against each other. These are illustrations of (1) actual historical events, (2) actual family groups, professing to be such, (3) real individuals or groups appearing as characters in religious pictures, (4) individual portraits, (5) actual political or social life represented in religious, classical, or legendary subjects. The surviving pictures of actual historical events are not so very numerous, though probably more so than is often imagined, for public buildings have not been so carefully ransacked for their frescoes as have the churches. Some have been destroyed by fire, as the pictures of Gentile Bellini and others in the Great Hall of the Doge's Palace in 1577. These, it is true, represented scenes in early Venetian history, but Gentile's other pictures prove that they would have been true to quattrocento life, as, indeed, is evident from the

solitary sketch which still exists. At Rome Julius II sacrificed the frescoes of Signorelli and Bramantino or Melozzo to make room for those of Rafael. A yet more grievous loss for the historian was that of Pintoricchio's work in the Garden House of S. Angelo, relating to the meeting between Charles VIII and Alexander VI, and giving a large number of portraits of the chief participants in the fateful invasion of 1494. Ferrara once possessed frescoes of the council at which Eugenius IV met the Greek Emperor and the Patriarch. These have been destroyed, but the visit has left many traces of Oriental magnificence, especially in remarkable headgear. Examples of this are Frà Angelico's picture of S. Cosmas and S. Damianus pleading before Lysias, and, above all, the Finding of the True Cross, painted by Piero della Francesca at Arezzo. At Belluno a series of historical pictures were destroyed in the last century by a Town Council. Many others painted in the open or in half-open loggias have suffered from exposure. Such has been the fate of a fresco in the Castle of Bracciano showing the welcome given to its Orsini master on his return from a victorious campaign. The courtyard of the *condottiere* Colleone's castle of Malpaga near Bergamo is surrounded by similar pictures. These, indeed, were the work of Romanino, who is rather a cinquecento than a quattrocento artist, but faithfully represent incidents in the general's life, especially the visit of Christian I of Denmark. Here are seen not only Colleone himself and the king with the long white beard, which attracted much attention in clean-shaven Italy, but a view of Italian scenery, so very different then from now, and of a day's hunting and fowling in the golden times. Siena has been particularly fortunate in preserving treasures of this kind. The Piccolomini Library has the series setting forth the whole life of Æneas Sylvius, from his leaving Siena for the Council of Bâle to his death at Ancona, where the sick Pope had wearily waited for the Venetian fleet on which he was to have shipped for the Crusade. His reception by James of Scotland, his coronation as poet by the Emperor Frederick III, the Emperor's betrothal to his Portuguese bride, his own accession to the Papacy, the futile Diet of Mantua, which wrecked his Crusading hopes, all form, with other incidents, a pictorial biography which can scarcely have its equal. These paintings again are not quite contemporary, for they were a commission to Pintorrichio from the Pope's nephew, Pius III, in 1502, thirty-eight years after his uncle's death. Absolutely contemporary is the Defeat of the Florentines at Poggibonsi in 1479, a joint work of Giovanni di Cristoforo and Francesco d'Andrea (1480). Here the Dukes of Calabria and Urbino

are charging the Florentines, whose general, Costanzo Sforza, is in full flight, while along the ridge run the light-armed infantry, making for the Florentine tents. In the Pitti Palace is an allegorical picture by Botticelli of Pallas, wreathed with olive branches, taming a Centaur. This is believed to celebrate Lorenzo de' Medici's return from his hazardous visit to Naples which led to a reconciliation, and to signify the triumph of civilization and peace over anarchy and war. Of an earlier date, 1455, is a mystical treatment by Sano di Pietro of a military event, the protection of Siena from Piccinino's attack by the agency of Calixtus III. Beneath the figure of the Borgian Pope is seen the city, with mules laden with grain sent by him approaching its walls.

Of high importance are three out of four battle scenes by Uccello, one of which is in the National Gallery, another in the Louvre, and a third in the Uffizi. These portray a real Italian battle, either that of S. Egidio or another, in real Italian landscape, full of spirit and truth in spite of the rocking-horse action of the chargers, one of which has turned turtle. Here are seen the elaborate contemporary costumes, the clumsy, brittle, painted lances, criticized at a later date by Commines, and the tendency to run away to fight another day. There is far more force in these battle pictures than in the representation in the *Mer des Histoires* of Charles VIII's victory over Venetians and Milanese at Fornovo in 1495. On the other hand it is profitable to compare them with a cavalry skirmish in the National Gallery by an unknown artist of the early sixteenth century. The atmosphere of art has completely changed; no battle like this was ever fought in fifteenth-century Italy. The artistic essentials have become the human and equine figure, the drapery and armour, and for subject the mêlée of ideal classical heroes. A series of illustrations of combined military and naval operations exists in the MS. of Basinio Parmense's *Hesperides and Argonauts*. This celebrates the exploits of Sigismondo Malatesta, his troop of horse marching against Alfonso of Naples, the revictualling of the Neapolitan camp by galleys, the capitulation of Piombino, and Sigismondo's triumphal entrance into Rimini, the latter being celebrated by a horse-race, the course leading, as was usual, up to and through the city gates.

Interspersed with military events are diplomatic, religious, and pestilential incidents. A very interesting contemporary scene is the reception of a Venetian ambassador at Cairo, by Gentile Bellini, so exactly true to life that, in its care for detail, it is a document of Egyptian history of the highest value. Less striking, but of local interest, is the entrance of Charles VIII's embassy to Siena in 1496,

illuminated on the cover of one of the Sienese Exchequer Books. At Siena, indeed, history must be looked for underfoot as well as on the walls, for the Emperor Sigismund's visit to the city is immortalized on the Cathedral pavement among other narrative *graffiti.* Sigismund's head indeed is not his own, for, owing to forgetfulness of his features, it was copied from that of a Sienese gentleman who was traditionally believed to have resembled him. Siena also provides two pictures by Sano di Pietro of S. Bernadino's famous revivalist sermons, one of which inspired Æneas Sylvius with the somewhat transitory resolution to don the cowl. The Taylor Gallery has a very similar picture of a Dominican preaching, and an engraving, virtually contemporary, well displays the impassioned action of Savonarola. Strictly historical is the fresco by Francesco di Vito of Francesco Sforza opening his magnificent hospital at Milan with Pius II's Bull of Foundation.

Hospitals did not avert plagues, as Milan herself was to testify by that of 1630, made famous by Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi.* The large *lazzarretto* built to supplement the hospital has only been destroyed in quite recent times. On this subject Dr. Raymond Crawfurd's book, *Plague and Pestilence,* shows the importance of the quattrocento in this long and doleful story. The striking picture in S. Pietro in Vincoli at Rome, attributed to the Pollaiuoli, represents indeed the plague of 680 in a fifteenth-century setting, but other pictures or banners are contemporary historical documents. Foremost among these is Bonfigli's *Gonfalone* at Perugia, which is dated 1464, and gives a vivid picture of the town with a citizen, child, and wife on horseback escaping from the gates. Another of his banners records the plague of 1486, while several are found in neighbouring towns. Sinibaldo Ibi has also left a fine example, the Madonna del Soccorso at Mentone, dated 1482. Gozzoli, too, commemorates the plague years, 1464 and 1465, by frescoes in the Collegiata and S. Francesco at S. Gimignano. The plague indeed helped to make the fortune of hagiographical art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as being responsible for the figures of S. Sebastian and S. Rocco.

Among notable family groups must be mentioned in the forefront Melozzo's picture of Sixtus IV and four of his nipoti, representing the grant of the keys of the Vatican to Platina. The setting is a perfect specimen of the new Renaissance architecture, just at its hey-day, while the two great pilasters which enclose the foreground are arabesqued with the holm oak and its acorns, the emblem of the Della Rovere, to be seen also on the family tombs in S. Maria del

Popolo. Mantegna dropped for the moment his classical studies, and painted for the house of the Gonzaga the very naturalistic groups in the Camera de' Sposi at Mantua. The Marquis, his plain Hohenzollern wife, children, and dwarf appear in all their ugliness, the pages, horses, and dogs in all their beauty. Very similar is a larger and earlier series in the Schifanoia Palace at Ferrara, giving scenes from the Court life of Borso d' Este. In these the Duke renders justice or receives envoys, gives money to his dwarf, rides out hunting or watches the races of horses, donkeys, men, boys, and women, the very best representation of these universal races in Italian art.

These historical groups, not very common, may be said to have secularized themselves, to have broken loose from a type of religious picture usual in the century, or rather from two types. In the one, the donor and his family are professedly portraits, and they naturally enough step out of their subordinate and suppliant position in the religious picture into one of greater self-importance. Excellent examples of this type are the large and unlucky family, thirteen children and a wife, of Giovanni Bentivoglio, at Bologna, and the portraits of Ludovico Moro, Beatrice d'Este, and their two sons, afterwards Dukes of Milan. A votive picture commemorating an important historical event is the Madonna della Vittoria, where the Marquis of Mantua and Isabella d' Este kneel to return thanks for what was really not his victory but defeat at Fornovo by Charles VIII. Much less known is the admirable portrait of Louis XII in the little Cappella della Vittoria, built to commemorate his very real victory over Venice at Agnadello. Of a more private character is Ghirlandaio's lovely group of the Vespucci family beneath the sheltering arms of Mercy. But perhaps of more interest than all is the portrait of Alexander VI adoring the risen Saviour, by Pintorrichio, in the Borgian Apartments.

In the second type the religious subject is merely a peg for contemporary portrait groups. The Adoration of the Magi, the Marriage of the Virgin, or scenes from the Old Testament, lent themselves readily to this purpose. A brilliant specimen of the first in the Riccardi Palace is the procession of the Medici riding down a mountain path in the guise of the Three Kings, as they may often have ridden from their estates in the Mugello. Equally famous is Gozzoli's group, at Pisa, of the same family witnessing the building of the Tower of Babel, and Botticelli's later picture of the Adoration of the Magi, under the forms of Piero and his sons. But the most prolific source of all is Ghirlandaio. His Call of the First Disciples

in the Sistine Chapel introduces the leading members of the Florentine colony at Rome. The story of S. Francis in Santa Trinità presents the ladies and gentlemen of the wealthy banking family of Sassetti. Above all, the long series of frescoes in Santa Maria Novella contains group after group of the Tornabuoni, an unequalled representation of Florentine family life. Among them are the handsome young Lorenzo Tornabuoni, destined to a shameful death, and his beautiful bride, Giovanna Albizzi, the choicest flower of the city. In all Florence there were no such perfect subjects for the painter as this young couple. Botticelli characteristically used allegorical subjects to depict them in the decoration of their own new home, the so-called Villa Lemmi, whence the pictures have been removed to the Louvre. Not content with family portraits, Ghirlandaio painted in Santa Maria a group of the four chief humanists of the day, Landino, Ficino, Pico, and Gentile Becchi. Against this misuse of family chapels Savonarola thundered: 'Young men go about saying of this lady and that—"here is a Virgin, here is a Magdalen, here a S. John". Ye paint their faces in the Churches, a great profanation of things divine. Ye painters do very ill, ye fill the Churches with vain things. Think ye the Virgin should be painted as ye paint her? I tell ye, she went clothed as a beggar.' Pintoricchio is more excusable when he paints the lawyer Bufalini and his son as present at S. Bernardino's funeral, an excellent picture, by the way, as representing child life in all its stages, including a baby at the breast, and a *bambino* in a basket. In rural Italy within the last month I have seen two chubby children with heads projecting from the long basket carried on the back of a labouring woman. Of more historical interest is his *Disputa* of S. Catherine, where the young saint with fair long hair is believed to be Lucrezia Borgia, and the youth on horseback her bridegroom, Giovanni Sforza, while Andrea Paleologo, heir of the Eastern Empire, and Djem, the refugee brother of Sultan Bajazet, are among the audience. Even Frà Angelico did not shrink from portraiture, for in his fresco of S. Laurence in the Vatican, the Pope, nominally Sixtus II, is really Nicholas V, and his friend, the architect Michelozzo, is one of the figures in his Deposition. In many religious pictures bystanders are undoubtedly portraits. An example is the Marriage of the Virgin by Lorenzo di Viterbo, while comedy is touched by the brothers San Severini, who make a youthful Baptist in camel's hair preach to a congregation of fat, well clad citizens, while an elegant young noble riding by politely touches his cap to the Saint.

This secularization of religious art is usual in widely different

schools—Tuscan, Umbrian, and Venetian, but they have a common origin in Gentile da Fabriano, the teacher of Jacopo Bellini, father of Gentile and Giovanni and father-in-law of Mantegna. In Venice it was very permanent, passing through Bonifazio and the Bassani to Veronese and Tintoretto. Veronese's Marriage of Cana is merely a gorgeous Venetian banquet with all the accessories of decadent, voluptuous life. Yet it is the direct descendant of the refined and not unspiritual Adoration of the Magi by Gentile Fabriano, a century and a half before.

The development of the individual portrait is, perhaps, somewhat distinct from that of the portrait groups, which were a natural outcome of religious pictures. With extraordinary rapidity portraiture reached in the quattrocento a high stage in its history. Its sources were more than one. In the German, Netherland, and French Schools it may have been the product of the art of illumination, *miniatura*, as it was called in Italy, a name which has clung to one branch of the art In Italy, on the other hand, perhaps its chief source was the medal. This is of particular interest to my subject, because the medal is, of course, a glorified form of numismatics, and coins and medals are strictly historical documents. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the fifteenth century in the history of the medal It witnessed virtually its origin, it gave birth to the greatest medallists, Pisanello, Pasti, Sperandio, Filarete, Francia, and many others. Within the first half century of the cinquecento the decline of the art began. From the advent of the first and greatest of all medallists, the Veronese Pisanello, the fashion spread rapidly. Every ruling house had its series, nor were princes alone immortalized, for there are medals of friars and doctors, even of the chief of schoolmasters, Guarino and Vittorino. Wealthy people collected medals, much as in these days they specialize on postage stamps. In 1492 Lorenzo de' Medici's collection numbered 1,844 bronze medals and one of gold.

The popularity of the medal at once affected sculpture, producing a vogue for profile portraits in very low relief. Architecture became dotted with decorative medallions. Even the original della Robbia ware shows an application of this fashion. Illumination itself underwent its influence, for in Italian MSS. of the fifteenth century the faces are more frequently in profile, and in medallist form let into the arabesque framework of the page. Necessarily, then, the individual painted portrait favours profile. This may be noticed especially in those ascribed to Piero della Francesca and to Pisanello himself. They are largely, though not exclusively, followed by Botticelli,

whose profiles outnumber his full-face or three-quarter portraits. Ghirlandaio is eclectic; he has two pictures in which he consciously contrasts the full-face and the profile, the one of Sassetti and his son, the other of an old man, said to be himself, and a boy's head in profile. But perhaps Ghirlandaio's schoolmistress was not fashion but nature, for the story goes that, while still a goldsmith, he spent his time in drawing the faces of those who entered the shop or passed it.

Yet another important source of the portrait was sculpture. In 1400 sculpture was far in advance of painting, and the latter borrowed its forms. This may be seen in equestrian portraits. A fresco dating from 1328 of the Sienese captain, Guido Riccio Fogliani, is sculpturesque and admirably realistic; it might well belong to a much later date. The early fifteenth century exhibits those of Hawkwood and Niccolò da Tolentino, painted by Uccello and Castagno respectively on the walls of the Cathedral at Florence in professed imitation of sculpture. The fourteenth century had provided admirable models, the Scaliger Monuments at Verona, the figure of Bernabò Visconti at Milan, and that of Robert of Naples, earlier and still finer than this latter. To the first two decades of the quattrocento belongs the splendid figure of Ladislas of Naples. The profile type in the portraits above mentioned may have been partly due to the difficulty of foreshortening a horse, after which Uccello so gallantly strives in his battle pieces, but partly it was caused by the position of the sculptured statues as seen against a Church wall, and this would apply also to kneeling figures; the architecture did not admit of strong projections.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the more important monuments began to detach themselves from the lines of the architecture, becoming more individual, and therefore more obviously historical. This reaches its climax in the kneeling figure of the Emperor Maximilian in the very centre of the nave at Innsbruck, while its sides are lined by huge isolated figures of heroes of the house. The completion of the monument belongs indeed to the late sixteenth century, but the design was the Emperor's own, and is a natural development of the tendency of the fifteenth century. Sometimes sculpture left the Church for the piazza, and in so doing became yet more essentially historical, because then it was exclusively devoted to the greater heroes of the State. Such are those magnificent, martial horsemen—Donatello's Gattamelata at Padua and Verrocchio's Colleone at Venice. But there was no hard and fast line, for the statues erected by the State to the Count of Pitigliano and Frà Leonardo of Prato still ride along the interior

of Church walls. That of the faithful, dashing knight of Malta, Fra Leonardo, is a touching illustration of the close relation between Venetian art and history. This master of light horse, after many a time beating up the enemy was himself surprised and killed before he could don his helmet. So there he rides in full body armour, but with bare head, and his brave, kindly face turned towards us. Another Venetian general, Roberto San Severino, is to be seen in the porch of Trent Cathedral. He was killed by the Austrians in the Adige Valley, and was given stately burial by the enemy, but he is unmounted, and the Venetian banner which he grasps is sculptured flag downwards. Leonardo da Vinci's incapacity for finishing his tasks has deprived us of a statue of the greatest soldier-statesman of the century, Francesco Sforza, and only the studies for it in the Royal Library at Windsor give an idea of the loss A spirited statue in relief is that of Annibale Bentivoglio by Niccolò dell' Arca (1458) in S. Maria Maggiore at Bologna.

Before the middle of the quattrocento the rage set in for portrait busts, in marble, bronze, or more frequently clay. Masks were often taken from the face immediately after death. These terra-cotta busts were peculiarly common among great Florentine families, precisely as was the case in ancient Rome. To this custom we owe those of Niccolò Uzzano, Piero and Lorenzo de' Medici and many others. In this century oil and fresco, bronze and marble, wood, clay, and wax combine in forming a range of portraiture perhaps unequalled in any other age. In the following century there are pictures and monuments in abundance; in the Venetian and Ferrarese schools the realistic tradition survived; nor are the Florentine and Umbrian without examples. But to show how great is the change, it is enough to compare the *chef-d'œuvre* of the greatest Tuscan artist with the sculpture of his predecessors, the mock heroics of Michelangelo's second-rate Medici in the sacristy of San Lorenzo with the simple, dignified figures of the earlier age. In the fifteenth century we can be sure that we have the likeness. Nobody would have limned the strong, plain faces of Medici and Montefeltri, Sforza, and Gonzaga; unless they had been really as ugly as we see them. It was no want of art; the portraits of those who were painted for their beauty, men or women, would satisfy the most exacting taste. Moreover, the gallery is so complete. There is scarcely an Italian of note in the second half of the fifteenth century whom we cannot know by sight. The century produced no portrait painter as fine as Titian or Velasquez or Rembrandt, but Ghirlandaio, Piero della Francesca, Melozzo, Giovanni Bellini, Ambrogio de Predis, Botticelli, and

Lorenzo di Credi form a strong combination. I doubt if Ghirlandaio has ever received full justice; for the texture of skin and hair, and for mobility of expression his superiors would be few. Higher still must we rank the sculptors. No century since Athens fell can boast so powerful a group as Donatello, Verrocchio, Della Guercia, Benedetto da Maiano, Desiderio da Settignano, Mino da Fiesole, and Luca della Robbia, and to these may be added the first works of Michelangelo.

No age can claim a monopoly in the art of representing everyday life, for even the most artistic imagination has environment. The trecento contributes some lively examples of this art, and that too without the aid of scriptural or classical subject-matter. Almost at haphazard may be mentioned the scenes in the Corn-market and the Excise at the gates of Florence given by Guido Biagi in 'Men and Manners in Old Florence' from the MS. named the *Biadajolo* in the Laurentian Library, and the better-known frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Sala della Pace at Siena, representing good and bad government and their results. These closely touch my subject, because they were painted expressly to celebrate the accession of the bourgeois party, the *Monte de' Nove*, to political power, and contrast scenes in the streets of Siena under the previous government with those (as it was hoped) under its own sway. Both of these instances are Tuscan: on the other hand Mr. Heywood in his *History of Perugia* laments that no such aid is given by art to history in his own favourite mediaeval period, for 'unfortunately the Umbrian School is the product of the fifteenth century'.

This conclusion is in general true of Italian art and history at large. The illustrative character of quattrocento art is to the historian of inestimable value, and this on account of the simplicity or curiosity of the artists, of their resolve, whatever their subject, to paint life exactly as they saw it. The passion for old Roman architecture did indeed lead to an exaggeration of the actual. The background and wings of a picture are sometimes overloaded with classical temples and palaces, porticoes and triumphal arches, quays and bridges, which would be highly inconvenient for traffic. But the earlier Gothic and the later Romanesque are frequently depicted side by side as they actually existed. Bonfigli, as Mr. Heywood well points out, is invaluable in this respect in his fresco of the Siege of Perugia by Totila, and yet more in that of the funeral of S. Ercolano, showing the Churches of S. Ercolano, S. Domenico, and S. Pietro. In many cases we can learn the exact state in which many of the ancient monuments then were, the Colosseum, the Temple of Vesta, the Amphitheatre of Verona. In Carpaccio's picture of S. Ursula's

visit to Rome we see the Castle of S. Angelo in all its glory, just as it was when the *condottiere* Cardinal Vitelleschi was trapped on its bridge and hurried into its dungeons. So it is with mediaeval architecture. We turn again to Carpaccio for the Piazza of S. Marco, for the bridges, the canals, the stumpy gondolas, the very chimney-pots, resembling flower-pots, which are still to be seen. Contemporary engraving contributes the Piazzetta with the two columns, and the Campanile without its steeple, just as a well-known engraving in Florence, of the last decade of the century, represents the unfinished Pitti Palace. There are pictorial plans of Rome, Naples, Genoa, Verona, Rimini, though the views of the chief Italian cities painted by Pintoricchio in the Belvedere have unfortunately perished. Many a picture preserves the tall towers of the nobles still unshortened, and the city walls and gates. Mr. Langton rightly dwells on Frà Angelico's exquisite care in adapting the details of the newest Renaissance style to the setting of his religious frescoes, especially those in the Studio of Pope Nicholas V in the Vatican. Masolino and Masaccio must be thanked for the simple houses of Old Florence, with their small windows, projecting upper stories, and wide spaces of blind wall. The picture chronicle attributed to Finiguerra, which Sir Sidney Colvin has edited, is a treasure-house of mingled fantasy and reality The editor points out the peculiar Florentine tiles, flat and curved alternately, the lion as weather-cock, the brackets on which to hang rods for birdcages or the family wash or Oriental carpets, and the great rings to hold torches. Such naturalistic details are at times incongruous, as when Adam, Eve, and the Serpent, have as their background a highly elaborate castle, which would exact from its inmates a lofty standard of dress. This was realized by the Magi, who in Gozzoli's picture are visiting the self-same castle, still in excellent repair. Adam, to judge by the square-headed battlements, was a Guelf, and so too Athens, according to Finiguerra, was Guelfic, probably as being a republic, while Nineveh, as the seat of monarchy, had battlements decisively swallow-tailed.

Interiors are as familiar as exteriors, bedrooms as sitting-rooms. If we would see a literary man at work in a really comfortable study we visit the S. Jerome of Ghirlandaio or Carpaccio. He has every object needed for the *ars scribendi*, down to paste and scissors, sand and markers. The hour-glass is there, but he has not watched it, and his little dog, with ears set back, is hinting that the time for his constitutional has long since come. Daniel does justice to the Elders and Susannah in his dining-room, where connoisseurs may envy the majolica jugs and dishes on the sideboard. S. Ursula's father was

a king, but his bedroom was simple, with quite a modern French bed. Her own room was spacious and airy, with a carnation in the window and all arrangements for reading and devotion. With this may be compared the humble cottage room of Santa Fina, which has no furniture beyond bare necessities, a kitchen table and a plank bed. Both these saints remind us that tidiness is next to saintliness: there is not one object out of place, not even S. Ursula's slippers or her crown. A simple tent bedstead is represented in Piero della Francesca's beautiful Dream of Constantine, at Arezzo. In contrast to this Finiguerra places Sandanapalus in a luxurious bed-sitting-room, in which the elegant border of the bedspread is well worth copying. Two lady companions are busy with dress-making, presumably for their lord's own toilette, while a *bambino* rests in a cradle behind them. It is fair to add that, since this lecture was delivered, the character of Sandanapalus has been completely cleared from the traditional charge of feminism in a paper read to the Academy by Mr. Gadd.

Contemporary fashions reach their height with Finiguerra's Queen of Sheba. She wears a two-horned head-dress and a long train held up by maids of honour, while she shakes both hands of an immaculately dressed Solomon. Helen of Troy runs the Queen very hard in fashion, especially on the day of her elopement with Paris. The train here also is long, while the back of the dress is cut low, and is of an exquisite fit. The sermons of S. Bernardino had clearly no permanent effect, though he had explained that only beasts wore tails, and that these feminine tails only accumulated dust in summer and mud in winter, causing bad language among ladies' maids against their dirty mistresses. He preferred the simple, uniform skirt and shawl of the Roman woman, gentle or simple, which is, indeed, to be seen in fifteenth-century pictures, especially among ladies listening to sermons. The two-horned head-dress, as Sir Sidney Colvin has shown, has some importance in the chronology of art. It disappears, together with the long stiff train about 1460, being replaced by the light, floating robes, with the head uncovered or slightly veiled, a fashion which gives such grace and ease of movement to the ladies of Botticelli and his fellows.

From birth to death the whole life of an Italian can be studied in contemporary art. For the birth Ghirlandaio in Santa Maria Novella gives pretty details of the baby, its mother, and its nurses. Much earlier, however, Giotto showed the little nose being pinched into proper shape. For childhood Gozzoli may be studied at San Gimignano. The little Augustine is taken to school and caressed

by the apparently genial master. But hard by is a naughty boy hoisted for the birch, a penalty which S. Augustine, according to his *Confessions*, often suffered. Others are working with their books and pens and slates and compasses. The same series affords one of the best examples of a lecture on Theology, from which dogs were not excluded, while a Law lecture may be seen in an illustration in Frati's *Vita privata di Bologna*, and one on Classics delivered by Cristoforo Landino in an engraving in the British Museum. After college comes matrimony. Betrothal may be witnessed in pictures of the Virgin and Joseph. An actual marriage feast of 1427 occurs in an illumination which shows the groomsmen and bridesmaids walking arm-in-arm. Two illustrations from the story of Nostagio degli Onesti celebrate a wedding breakfast in which from the shields, the negro's head, and the *Palle*, the Pucci and Medici were concerned. It may be noticed here that gentlemen and ladies sat on opposite sides of the table. Shopping occupies a natural place; an Italian may be seen being measured for his shoes, visiting the drapers' booths for which Bologna was famous, buying silver plate at Florence; almost every trade, indeed, has its representation. Concerts are, of course, numerous, and every kind of musical instrument is familiar. Dancing, however, is not so common, and I know of no really good picture of games at ball, though reference may be made to figures in the background of Perugino's Delivery of the Keys to S. Peter. Pintoricchio in the Return of Ulysses shows the process of weaving and the humbler art of knitting.

Accidents often happened. A child is knocked over by a horse: a municipal employé is overcome by gases, and is with difficulty drawn from a well by two workmen and a pulley. This picture is, of course, named Joseph rescued from the well. Hospital scenes are also provided by Piero della Francesca, and by the frescoes of Domenico di Bartolo and Vecchietta, showing life in the great hospital at Siena. Finiguerra has Æsculapius with a box of assorted pills, from which a brother practitioner or a patient makes a selection with a forceps. Apollo Medicus examines a medicine jar; the sick man watches him from his pillow, and the maid brings in a hot-water jug and basin. Even the result of a successful operation may be seen in an illumination by Mantegna, the victim's leg lying placidly by itself at the end of the room, while the surgeon wields a huge chopper. Cases did not always terminate favourably; death-bed scenes, humble and gentle, are found in abundance, with every detail of elaborate funeral obsequies. Gozzoli, Ghirlandaio, and Pintoricchio alone furnish ample material for the death-bed and rites which follow.

People did not always die in their beds. In the background of one of his most gorgeous scenes Pisanello depicts two poor wretches hanging. At Florence the cheapest way to have your portrait painted was to be hung, or, better still, to be condemned and run away, for then you were painted hanging from one foot, which displayed the figure in a striking pose. Castagno won his name of Andrew of the Gallow-birds (*degli impiccati*) for effigies of the fallen Albizzi, while one of Leonardo's earliest drawings represents a Pazzi conspirator hanging by the leg. Botticelli himself was at the head of what may be called the Hanging Committee.

Quattrocento art naturally teems with animal life. We know the contemporary war-horses, race-horses, and cart-horses, with their trappings and harness, their curvettings, prancings, and ploddings. Pisanello could draw an admirable mule. Cattle and donkeys, goats and sheep, are all familiar; among the latter Piero di Cosimo has given immortality to a new breed with tails touching the ground, which Lorenzo de' Medici had recently imported into his model farm. The pigs of S. Anthony, which were a constant trouble to every mediaeval Sanitary Board, inevitably intrude. Pictorial rabbits, if brought to life, would have been in sufficient numbers to have stocked the New World. Dogs, of course, appear, of every breed and shape, from mastiffs and greyhounds, through spaniels and shaggy high-legged poodles, by what may by courtesy be classed as Aberdeens and Pomeranians. They have not all the patient virtue of S. Jerome's pet, still less the active philanthropy of the little early sixteenth-century dog, who in Ambrogio Borgognone's picture in the Brera trots through the middle distance, holding in his mouth the daily loaf, obtained from mysterious source, which saved the life of S. Rocco, when cast out to die of plague from the gates of Piacenza. Others, less amiable, fly at children, gnaw ladies' limbs, fight with cats, and steal joints on the sly. Esau, a careful master, kept his dogs muzzled, and gave them elaborate collars to facilitate identification. Mantegna noticed that a couple of dogs in leash lie usually head to tail. Pintoricchio, a student of cat life, realized the irresistible temptation of a ball of wool.

Curiosity for strange creatures is typical of an age intensely interested in the East. Menageries of elephants, camels, dromedaries, bears, leopards, and monkeys wind down the mountain roads, while above them all towers that miraculous beast, the giraffe, introduced to Florence under Lorenzo de' Medici. For this, Louis XI's acquisitive daughter, Anne of Beaujeu, begged in vain, but it could not be kept alive in spite of mountains of straw and generous fires. Among

hagiological animals S. Jerome's lion is perhaps the most popular; it attended its master's funeral, but thenceforth vanished from artistic sight.

Favoured by subjects from sacred or classical history, the art of the century became an aviary and aquarium for birds and fishes known to Italy, and a haunt for real or imaginary reptiles; insects, attractive or revolting, fly or crawl across the picture. The butterflies among columbines and pinks in Pisanello's picture of an Este princess in the Louvre deserve a special mention. Few painters surpass or equal the birds and animals in the *intarsia* of Frà Giovanni in S. Maria in Organo at Verona. The subject is a large one, but reference may be made to an excellent account of it in Mr. W. N. Howe's *Animal Life in Italian Painting*.

I have dwelt solely upon the illustrative character of quattrocento art, and not upon its technique, upon its weakness, perhaps, from a purely æsthetic point of view, rather than on its strength. After the close of the century art was feeling its service to history narrowing, as she had sometimes wearied of her subjection to religion at its opening. She had become conscious of her knowledge and her skill; she craved to lead her own life, to escape from external control. Art for Art's sake became her manifesto. The historian, however, is thankful that its publication was so long delayed, that the life of a peculiarly attractive age had been represented as it appeared to sympathetic eyes, idealized or exaggerated perhaps, but not mythologized or classicized. If anatomy was being perfected, linear and aerial perspective formulated, chiaroscuro foreshadowed, so much the better; but these were not to the historian the essentials. He still goes to the quattrocento artists for the story which they tell, and for their way of telling it. And so, just for once, the historian feels at home in art. The art-critic may poke fun at our Gozzolis and Ghirlandaios, the 'artist-journalists' of Italy, but we historians owe much gratitude to those who have left us volume upon volume of the Fifteenth-Century Illustrated Italian News.

ANNUAL MASTER MIND LECTURE
HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

ADAM SMITH

By W. R. SCOTT
FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read June 6, 1923

A GREAT man has a double relation to the world. On the one side we may study his work and its consequences upon the advancement of knowledge and, it may be, of human happiness: or on the other an attempt may be made to analyse the peculiar characteristics of mind and character which enabled him to deliver his message to mankind. These are both important in the case of Adam Smith, and it is difficult to decide between them. The first is concerned mainly with effects, though these in their turn have become the impelling principles of many events which have changed the surroundings of multitudes. Still, the second—the essential genius of the man—is the main motive power in the whole series of happenings. At the same time, no matter how original the mind of any man is, its working is linked with a whole series of previous achievements of thought and inquiry.

There are several reasons which perhaps make it more appropriate to endeavour to discover the type and the method of Adam Smith's mind. It is the more fundamental inquiry. It is strange, too, that although just two hundred years have elapsed since his birth and one hundred and thirty-three years since his death, it is only within the present generation that some of the data required for an investigation of this kind have been discovered or collected.[1] It raises several interesting psychological and biographical problems, the solutions of which may have important reactions on the future development of what was Adam Smith's chief work, namely the foundations of Political Economy as a special study.

The great constructive intellects of history stand in a special relation to time. They are moulded by their own age, yet there is something in them which enables them to fashion the ways of thinking of the years that come after them. This 'something' is what we call genius,

[1] e. g. the discovery of the 'Glasgow Lectures' in 1895 printed by Professor Cannan in 1896 (*Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms*, by Adam Smith), and the biographical material in *The Life of Adam Smith*, by John Rae, 1895. G. Weulersse, *Manuscrits Économiques de F. Quesnay*, 1910.

and it shows itself in varied forms, yet perhaps under all these there is a unity—a quality which has a creative element transforming the material on which it works, whether in art, literature, philosophy, scholarship, political or social institutions. Thus all that has gone before does much, but the man himself, if he be truly great, does more. Accordingly, in order to separate these distinct but related elements, the first step is to isolate, in general terms, the character of the aid that Adam Smith received from the store of knowledge which had come down to him. Here it seems to me there were two streams of tendency which eventually united, and there was in addition a special personal relation. The eighteenth century has been termed an age of criticism or of enlightenment. Authority had passed or was passing, and systems of thought and venerable institutions were compelled to produce their credentials—and some of them were supplied with spurious title-deeds. Criticism usually endeavoured to be constructive, and that construction was largely determined by the sources from which its origin was derived. The Renaissance and Protestantism together were responsible for the ultimate questioning, and also for the greater part of the answers that were given to it. Ideas and institutions had to explain themselves or to have an explanation found for them. The right of private judgement became keenly focused on the life of man, and particularly on moral questions, the constitution and power of the State and the social problems of the time. There was a widespread feeling that many of the ideas and institutions of the eighteenth century had survived their usefulness, and the trend of thought was to subject the whole field of political and social life to scrutiny and criticism. It was the wide scope of this criticism and the power which it exerted over many minds throughout Western Europe that made the movement an important and in some respects a sinister portent.

The prevailing *motif* of the whole movement was towards moral, political, and social justification, but a justification which must be established to reason, not by faith or authority. In that form of statement the question at once emerges as to what criterion would be accepted as reasonable. Hitherto existing institutions could appeal to authority, to custom, or 'to use and wont'. What arbiter was to be accepted in place of these? The answer is a complex one which links this period of the awakening of Western Europe with the past and makes it, in some respects, the culmination of the humanistic movement of the Renaissance by popularizing it and at the same time applying its stimulus to political and social life.

The problem of discovering a touchstone with which to test both

moral conduct and political institutions was found in the experience of Greek culture. But the impulse did not come directly, but through the writings of Cicero and other Romans who held similar views. When custom, education, and social changes were to be examined, it followed from this point of view that they could only be defended if it could be shown in each case that they rested upon something permanent which was founded in the nature of man or the constitution of things. There were two chief tests of what was fixed in the apparent endless mutability of human affairs, namely what was accepted by the common consent of men or what was original in the impulses, desires or thoughts of men as distinguished from accretions to these by education or by other influences. The universal or the original was regarded as determined by a power above and independent of human agency. The first of these—the element of common assent—was Cicero's *ius naturale*, which became prominent through the work of writers on Roman Law such as Grotius and Pufendorf. Thence it passed into the political writings of Locke and from him to France through Montesquieu and Voltaire. Natural Theology too had its effect in identifying the law of Nature with the law of God, and thus giving the former a religious sanction. From the idea of Nature in this sense came the conceptions of the light of Nature and a state of Nature. In a movement so widespread and which soon united moral and political speculation with many forms of literary activity, it would be idle to expect that there would be an exact agreement amongst all who used the term Nature as a criterion in moral and social criticism. In general, however, there was a unity in the appeal to Nature of the eighteenth century in so far as this term represented something which was accepted as being independent of the caprice or the power of man. 'Nature' thus meant not only the world of things, that which we now call Nature, but in addition those powers of man's mind and spirit which constituted his original mental endowment, and which are still sometimes vaguely described as 'human nature'. Beyond this point differences of interpretation become inevitable, and it will be convenient to consider the special form in which this doctrine of the appeal to Nature reached Adam Smith when his mind was most impressionable.

In the lives of many men there is one important decision which once it is made determines their whole career. Such a decision had to be made by Adam Smith while he was still a very young man, though it is quite possible that he never fully realized the consequences. This happened in the following way. In the year 1737, at the age of fourteen, he matriculated at the University of Glasgow, where he remained till 1740, when he went to Oxford. While at

Glasgow he attracted the notice of Francis Hutcheson, who was then Professor of Moral Philosophy. In a letter written by David Hume in 1740 there is mention of a 'Mr. Smith' who had prepared an abstract of the *Treatise on Human Nature* which had just been published. Hume sent the student a copy of the book in acknowledgement. It is generally accepted that the recipient was Adam Smith. In any case he and Hume were soon friends, and they corresponded and met as opportunity offered. In this way Adam Smith had the exceptional advantage of being in the closest contact with Hume, of being able to ask his meaning in any places where his writings left it in doubt, and of seeing many of Hume's opinions in process of growth. Thus he enjoyed privileges far in advance of those open to Kant, and though he had his own answer (which appeared later in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*) to the scepticism of Hume, it was almost wholly lacking in a metaphysical background. The deeper questionings of Hume evoked no response from Adam Smith. If reliance were placed on a passage in *The Wealth of Nations* it would seem that Smith had little interest in the more fundamental problems of Philosophy. He says there: 'If subtleties and sophisms composed the greater part of the Metaphysics or Pneumatics of the schools, they composed the whole of this cobweb science of Ontology, which was likewise sometimes called Metaphysics.'[1] It has to be kept in view, however, that this passage was written in all probability upwards of twenty years after the choice had to be made as between Pure Philosophy and some of its applications. It is quite possible that as a young man he was prejudiced against the teaching of Metaphysics. John Loudon—the Professor of the subject while he was a student at Glasgow—seems to have been admirably fitted to encourage such a prejudice, and the Oxford of his day contributed nothing to remove it. Thus, while Hume wakened Kant from that dogmatic slumber which has been so often referred to, he was unable to make his friend a metaphysician, though he undoubtedly stimulated his concrete inquiries. In this connexion it may be noted that in 1751 Smith was recalled to Glasgow to succeed his teacher John Loudon, as Professor of Logic and Rhetoric, and he seems to have availed himself gladly of the opportunity to transfer to Moral Philosophy when that Chair became vacant in the following year.[2] Certainly when he came

[1] *Wealth of Nations* (ed. Cannan), ii, p. 258.

[2] This preference is not so decisive as it appears on the surface. Smith was exceedingly anxious to get Hume as his colleague in Glasgow. But Hume's views on religion would have made it impossible for him to succeed as a candidate for the Chair of Moral Philosophy, since that class was always more closely connected

to write his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* he displayed no deep philosophical acumen. That book has its own place in the development of British Ethics, and it shows the kindly heart of the man, but its greatest importance consists in aiding us to understand some obscure parts of Smith's growth as an Economist.

Whether Adam Smith had the capacity of becoming a Metaphysician of importance, it is quite clear that long before he was thirty his mind was moving in other directions. It is at this point that the more specialized conception of 'the natural' or of Nature which he learnt from Hutcheson becomes a determining factor in his development. Since Adam Smith was not to be a Philosopher in the modern sense, it will only be necessary to emphasize such parts of Hutcheson's teaching as become leading principles to Smith. Shaftesbury and his follower Hutcheson came closer to Greek culture than most of the others who took Nature as a starting-point. With Hutcheson Nature was not a general, but rather a specific principle. In the Greek sense what is φύσει is sharply opposed to what is νόμῳ. It was the permanent element in the Cosmos in contrast to the more fluctuating elements in life which resulted from the changing impulses of men.[1] As against the contention that the recognition of Virtue depends upon the current opinion of men, he contends that we have 'by Nature' a moral sense of goodness. This leads the idea of Nature as that which is 'fixed' or 'real', to the Law of Nature, natural liberty, and the conception of an 'Author of Nature' in the sense, not so much of a supreme Architect, as the First Cause of order and permanence. In a more detailed reference Nature to Hutcheson means original propensions of the mind and is connected with his special doctrine of the moral sense.[2] This meaning survives in several passages in Adam Smith, in which he speaks of original 'propensities or principles of human nature of which no further account can be given'. Further, Hutcheson's optimism, his view of the world as a system in which each part contributed its share to the general good of the whole, the

with the teaching of students preparing for the Scottish ministry. Therefore the only way in which Hume would have any chance would be for Smith to transfer to the Moral Philosophy Chair, leaving that in Logic vacant so that Hume could apply for it. The contest for the Chair was carried on during the whole winter of 1751-2 and was most keenly fought. Fortune was against Hume, it is said owing to the opposition to him by the Duke of Argyle. In addition, though from all we know of Adam Smith the consideration would not have been an important one to him, the emoluments of the Chair of Moral Philosophy were somewhat greater than those of the Logic Chair.

[1] Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 1908, p. 13; Hasbach, *Untersuchungen über Adam Smith*, pp. 33, 43; Scott, *Francis Hutcheson*, pp 249, 250.

[2] Hutcheson, *Inquiry*, pp 79, 128, 218, 228, *System*, pp. 95, 367.

principle that the best action is that 'which procures the greatest happiness of the greatest numbers', all exercised a very powerful influence upon the political and economic inquiries of Adam Smith.

The first great achievement of Adam Smith was to apply the conception of Nature in the sense in which the term was used by Hutcheson, to economic affairs. From the point of view of the larger historical purpose this meant the contention that the economic life was subject to scientific law. From the point of view of the eighteenth century it involved much more than this, and effected what was no less than a revolution in the universally accepted view of economic relationships. If it be accepted that there is a natural order, independent of man and wholly or at least largely outside his control which affords permanence in the moral world; it follows that the same will hold good in other forms of human activity. In the field of the world's work no one had seriously thought of this in Great Britain, indeed, such a conception was altogether alien to the mind of the seventeenth century. Industry had suffered from an exceedingly protracted minority, it was never permitted to grow up and it passed from the hands of one guardian to those of another. The economy of the Middle Ages was founded on small productive units, each independent and to a large extent mutually exclusive. It was a species of economic monadology. On the emergence of Europe from the Middle Ages an attempt was made to collate the economic with the political unit, in other words to make economic activity co-extensive with that of the State. This found expression in the movement which Adam Smith described as the Mercantile System. Schmoller says that the innermost kernel of that system was State making. I think, if his view is not wholly erroneous, it is at best only a half-truth. It is clear that until the Mercantile system had developed, there had been a growth of economic freedom, not indeed as a continuous and well-defined movement, but one moving irregularly and on the whole towards it, though with uncertain steps. But that was not, and could not be, the end of the movement. It was a process which would inevitably continue. That was what Adam Smith meant by the system of Natural Liberty.

As things were in the first half of the eighteenth century Mercantilism was accepted almost without question. It was adopted by statesmen and men of affairs as the only possible method by which the business of the nation could be carried on. It involved a highly complex system of the control of industry by a number of agencies, such as skilled trades, the towns, boards of guardians, justices of the peace, and the central government. Every one—the labourer, the artificer, the

tradesman, the merchant, the manufacturer—was very far from being free to work as seemed best to him: he was controlled in numberless directions. It was true that the system of regulation was breaking down, but this was not observed. It was Adam Smith who first questioned it with effect. The pervasive regulation of industry and commerce was in his phraseology 'unnatural', and therefore should cease. It was not in the general interest of the community. The State, in trying to secure employment for the people, was depressing labour: in endeavouring to encourage industry, it was in reality restricting it. So far from there being no alternative to the system of regulation, there was the ideal, which should never have been abandoned, of 'natural liberty'. No better testimony to the influence of Adam Smith can be found than the fact that his ideas which, whether accepted or not, are a commonplace now, represent a reversal of the ways of thinking of his contemporaries as complete as the substitution of the Copernican, for the Ptolemaic system.

The transforming of everyday life by the ideal of natural liberty was reinforced by many converging influences. The ferment of political principles in France, with the constant appeal to Nature, the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau, all tended to confirm Adam Smith in the view which it had seemed to him he had maintained almost alone. Then, when he became aware of the opinions of the Physiocrats and met the leaders of this group in Paris, he found a type of thought which agreed in many respects with his own and to which he was indebted in the rounding off of his system of Economics.[1]

The application of the principle of natural liberty to economic life was adapted to commend Adam Smith's views to his own age, which flourished on natural rights, the state of Nature, and found a somewhat barren comfort in Natural Theology. According to his own account, which can be confirmed, in 1750, when he was twenty-six, Adam Smith had reached his chief conclusions and had begun to expound them in his public lectures at Edinburgh. So far he was applying the principles he had been taught by Hutcheson to a new field, and in addition he had begun to receive stimulus from his intercourse with Hume. At this stage of his life he had made no more than a first start. When a new Philosophy displaced the Naturalism of the eighteenth century there was the probability that with the change, the whole foundation of the early form of his argument

[1] As already mentioned it is only within recent years that the full originality of Adam Smith has been established. The older view represented him as very greatly indebted to the Physiocrats The extent of his independence, in the light of recent evidence, is discussed in the Appendix.

would disappear. Accordingly it remained for him to supplement the system deduced from the Philosophy of his time by an inductive treatment founded on fact. He had to show that Mercantilism was not merely contrary to Nature, but that it failed in actual practice to secure the material welfare of the nation at which it professed to aim. Also he had to demonstrate inductively that the vast and confused mass of economic happenings were susceptible of explanation as related by cause and effect. This was an immense task, and one which was altogether new in the dispassionate, objective, and comprehensive spirit in which Adam Smith approached it. The work occupied a period of about twenty-six years.

Before endeavouring to trace the special powers of mind and character which were required for this great enterprise, there are two questions that require brief notice. One is a matter of consistency, and the other a biographical problem. It has been stated by Buckle, and the remark has been adopted by others in various forms,[1] that there is an inconsistency between *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* which was published in 1759 and *The Wealth of Nations* issued seventeen years later, in so far as in the former sympathy is made the premise and egoistic motives are rather condemned, while in the latter sympathy is scarcely mentioned and self-interest seems to be accepted as the dominant motive quite without question. Not much consideration is required to see that there is no real contradiction in Smith's point of view. In the first book he was concerned with the principle of Morals, in the second he was dealing with the external side of action as directed to economic purposes. He takes quite a Stoic view of the ease with which all the real necessities of life can be obtained by any and by every man. All beyond these is sought from the wish to be distinguished, the desire people have to be marked off from their fellows. It is for this reason he says that we pursue riches and avoid poverty. Since, moreover, others have the same desire, they sympathize with the result, whether it be success or failure. So 'the pleasures of wealth and greatness strike the imagination as something grand, and beautiful and noble, of which the attainment is well worth all the toil and anxiety we are so apt to bestow upon it. . . . It rouses and keeps in continual motion the industry of mankind. It is this

[1] For instance, Skarżyński (*Adam Smith als Moralphilosoph*, 1878, p. 95) makes the naive suggestion that as long as Adam Smith remained in Great Britain he was an Idealist and still under the influence of Hutcheson: when he went to France he became a Materialist, and this explains the difference between *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *The Wealth of Nations*. Horace was wiser when he wrote 'Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt'.

which first prompted mankind to cultivate the ground, to build houses, to found cities and commonwealths, and to invent and improve all the sciences and arts which ennoble and embellish human life, which have entirely changed the whole face of the globe, have turned the rude forests of nature into agreeable and fertile plains and made the trackless and barren ocean a new fund of subsistence and the great highroad of commerce to the different nations of the earth.'[1]

The second question is a more personal one. It is concerned with Adam Smith's fitness to explain and interpret the work of the world, not only to his own age but to those that succeeded it. No one seemed less adapted to succeed in the task which he undertook. There was a prevalent impression that he was helpless as a child in matters of business, and people wondered how he could write on barter and exchange, when he avoided buying corn for his horse and induced a friend to attend to this small transaction for him. This arose from his well-known absence of mind of which several amusing anecdotes have been preserved. Such a habit has been more common than not amongst men who had become accustomed to prolonged and concentrated thought. That, being in the midst of an interesting conversation, he put a slice of bread and butter in the teapot and said the resulting 'tea' was the worst he had ever met with, or strongly condemned at a dinner at Dalkeith House the policy of a leading statesman in the presence of his nearest relative, or when as Commissioner of Customs he had a document to sign he laboriously copied the signature of another Commissioner instead of adding his own—all this proves nothing. With every thinker it is the mental act, and not the physical one, which is important. In truth Adam Smith had quite unique qualities which account for the character of his work. Often a Philosophy is the true inner life of a man. In that of Adam Smith qualities of mind which he possessed in an unique degree, can be clearly traced. It will be recalled that the judgement of the impartial spectator depends upon sympathy, and the latter again upon an imaginative act by which one person enters into the thought, the situation, and the feelings of another. There can be no doubt that Smith himself possessed this power to an altogether exceptional extent. His description is so vivid that it is clear he is describing what he experienced every day all through his life. 'By the imagination we place ourselves in another's situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body and become in some measure the same person with him and thence form some idea of his sensations and even feel some thing which, though weaker in

[1] *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 1892, pp. 70, 71, 261, 263, 264.

degree, is not altogether unlike them.' 'In imagination we become the very person whose actions are represented to us: we transport ourselves in fancy to the scenes of those distant and forgotten adventures and imagine ourselves acting the part of a Scipio or Camillus, a Timoleon or an Aristides.' This imaginative transposition depends not merely upon a representation of the chief features in the position of another but upon the whole environment in so far as it is relevant. In this sense it is stated that 'the propriety of a person's behaviour depends not upon its suitableness to any one circumstance but to all the circumstances which, when we bring his case home to ourselves, we feel should naturally call upon his attention.' Finally, not only are all the surroundings imagined, but Adam Smith speaks of such a complete transference of interest and attention as to enter into the very character of the person whose case is under consideration. And so he describes his attitude when condoling with a friend on the loss of an only son, saying, 'I consider what I should suffer if I was really you, and I not only change circumstances with you, but persons and characters'.[1] It was the weakness of Smith's Ethics that he attributed to others the high degree of imaginative power which he himself possessed. On the other hand, when he came to use this power in order to enter into the lives of many different orders of men as they performed their work in the world, it became a great part of his strength.

There was no rank or condition of the people whom he did not understand, and what was more he saw their aims, not from the outside, but as nearly as possible as these appeared to themselves. It was this quality which enabled him to assimilate the meaning of industry and commerce as it was during his residence in Glasgow, and to add to that a comparative study of conditions in France when he travelled there with the Duke of Buccleuch. Further, he held the opinion expressed by Lord Bryce that 'every thing that has power to win the obedience of men must have its roots deep in the past', and he usually amplified his analysis by tracing it back through history. Thus he not only shows us, but makes us see, the point of view of all sorts and conditions of men—statesmen, politicians, churchmen, soldiers, lawyers, doctors, architects, landowners, farmers, bankers, brokers, merchants, retail traders, craftsmen of all kinds, and labourers in the town or on the farm. His method is extraordinarily varied Sometimes he expresses all that he wants to convey in one illuminating phrase, elsewhere he gets his effect by just the right touch of intimate detail. On other occasions he builds up his picture

[1] *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, pp. 4, 105, 293, 466.

with all the minute elaboration of the Dutch painter of the seventeenth century. To give examples is to run the risk of doing some injustice to Adam Smith, for the success of his method depends not so much on a few illustrations of it as in the completeness of his representation of everyday life as a whole. Therefore to quote within any reasonable compass is to attempt to show the character of an organic whole by arbitrary selection of minute and isolated parts. If, however, that limitation be kept in view, the following may be recalled as instances where a phrase or a sentence is the epitome of a whole complex situation. Thus he speaks of the sacred and inviolable property which every man has in his own labour, of man as of all sorts of luggage the most difficult to be transported, of the lottery of the law which is very far from being a perfectly fair lottery, of the inventor whose business it is to do nothing but to observe everything, of the unprosperous race of men of letters, of the rich man as surrounded by unknown enemies, whom he has never provoked, but whom he can never appease.[1] The power to call up a whole scene by a few deft touches is shown in the picture of the country weaver who at the same time cultivates a small farm, and 'commonly saunters a little' in passing from one occupation to the other. At each change of work 'his mind, as they say, does not go to it, and for some time he rather trifles than applies to good purpose'.[2] When the subject calls for more detailed treatment he works it out with the minutest care. The same comparison between a Red Indian chief and a day-labourer in England is made by Locke and Adam Smith. The former discusses it as follows: 'a King of a large and fruitful territory there feeds, lodges and is worse clad than a day-labourer in England'.[3] In Smith's Glasgow *Lectures* it is pointed out that opulence comes from division of labour 'and', he continues, 'it is for this reason that a common day labourer in Britain has more luxury in his way of living than an Indian sovereign. The woollen coat he wears requires very considerable preparations—the wool-gatherer, the dresser, the spinster, the dyer, the weaver, the tailor, and many more, must all be employed before the labourer is clothed. The tools by which all this is effectuated employ a still greater number of artists—the loom-maker, miln-wright, rope-maker, not to mention the bricklayer, the tree-feller, the miner, the smelter, the forger, the smith, &c. Besides his dress, consider all his household furniture, his coarse linens, his shoes, his coals dug out of the earth or brought by sea; his kitchen utensils and different plates:

[1] *Wealth of Nations* (ed Cannan), i, pp. 77, 108, 123, 133; ii. 203; *Lectures*, p. 166.
[2] *Wealth of Nations*, i, p. 10.
[3] *Essay on Civil Government*, p. 41.

those that are employed in providing his bread and beer, the sower, the brewer, the reaper, the baker, his glass windows and the art required in preparing [them] without which our northern climate could hardly be inhabited.'[1] In a different vein may be compared with this two different pictures. The first is that of the man who has risen to a great position by crime. 'The honour of his exalted station appears, both in his own eyes and in those of other people, polluted and defiled by the baseness of the means through which he rose to it. Though by the profusion of every liberal expense; though by excessive indulgence in every profligate pleasure, the wretched but usual resource of ruined characters; though by the hurry of public business, or by the prouder and more dazzling tumult of war he may endeavour to efface both from his own memory and from that of other people the remembrance of what he has done; that remembrance never fails to pursue him. He invokes in vain the dark and dismal powers of forgetfulness and oblivion. He remembers himself what he has done, and that remembrance tells him that other people must likewise remember it. Amidst all the gaudy pomp of the most ostentatious greatness, amidst the venal and vile adulation of the great and the learned, amidst the more innocent though more foolish acclamations of the common people, amidst all the pride of conquest and the triumph of successful war he is secretly pursued by the avenging furies of shame and remorse.'[2] Against this may be set as a companion picture the attitude of the man who is disposed to avoid, rather than to seek public responsibility. 'He is not willing to subject himself to any responsibility which his duty does not impose upon him. He is not a hustler in business where he has no concern, he is not a meddler in other people's affairs, is not a professed counsellor or adviser who obtrudes his advice where nobody is asking it: he confines himself as much as his duty will permit to his own affairs and has no taste for that foolish importance which many people seem to derive from appearing to have some influence in the management of those of other people: he is averse to entĕr into any party disputes, hates faction and is not always very forward to listen to the voice even of noble and great ambition. When distinctly called upon he will not decline the service of his country, but he will not cabal to force himself into it and would be much better pleased that the public business were well managed by some other person, than that he himself should have the trouble and responsibility of managing it. In the bottom of his heart he would prefer the undisturbed enjoyment of secure tran-

[1] *Lectures*, p. 161. [2] *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1892), pp. 89, 90.

quillity, not only to all the vain splendour of successful ambition, but to the real and solid glory of performing the greatest and most magnanimous actions'[1]

It was this unique power of seeing and understanding the actions of men, both in their daily life and in public affairs, not merely from the external point of view, but in their inner meaning, that made Adam Smith the great interpreter of the confused and almost baffling conduct of the factory and the market-place. In addition, he understood not only for his own time, but for other ages as well. There is one type of understanding which presents a convincing picture of an age in all its variety of effort. There is another, that is as accurate, and at the same time concentrates on what is universal, and so is the same always. This quality, which is the mark of all the greatest artists, Adam Smith possessed in a supreme degree. In every description of his, all the essential parts remain the same, even though the details may have changed. It is remarkable, in reading large parts of his work, how difficult it is to conceive the immense difference there is between the technical details of life in his day as compared with those of the present time. The picture of the prudent man, just quoted, is that of many who were called from commerce and industry to serve the State during the recent war. It is the exact description of men we know, and we feel it must have been truer of them than of those Adam Smith had before his mind when he wrote.[2] Or to take a more technical illustration, the process of pin-making and button-making has been completely changed, so that the worker at the first does not now produce 'the seventeenth part of a pin' nor that at the second 'the eighteenth part of a button', but the description in *The Wealth of Nations* of the effect on the mind of the concentration of effort is as true, or if anything more true, than when Adam Smith wrote it more than a hundred and fifty years ago. 'In the progress of the division of labour, the employment of the far greater part of those who live by labour, that is of the great body of the people, comes to be confined to a few very simple operations, frequently to one or two. But the understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few

[1] *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1892), p. 315

[2] One is inclined to think that the picture of the prudent man of Adam Smith may be a portrait of Andrew Cochrane (1693–1777), one of the foremost merchants of the day and who has been described as Glasgow's 'greatest provost'. His management of the affairs of the City during the Rebellion of 1745 was characterized on all hands as admirable (cf. a forthcoming book by Dr. D. Murray on *Early Burgh Organisation in Scotland*, chapter xviii, on Foreign Trade).

simple operations, of which the effects are perhaps always the same or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur.'[1]

That Adam Smith excelled in understanding and making real the actual life of the people, when engaged in their daily work, was the necessary foundation of his pre-eminent position. It was far from being the whole of it. Instead of seeing each activity in isolation, he was never content until he had related it to the complete life of the nation of which it formed a part, but a part which only acquired meaning when it was fitted into its proper place. In a vastly wider sense than any one before his time, he conceived the general welfare of the people as the governing condition of all economic and social activity. This wider attitude introduced a completely new standard of values in the consideration of practical affairs. Instead of constraint, it led to the fullest conception of economic freedom consistent with the existence of a State which could maintain itself both against internal disorder and external aggression. Thus Adam Smith stands as one of the greatest liberators of the eighteenth century, showing that, both in principle and in fact, the way of freedom was the road to progress. Liberty in industry for him was conceived in no narrow sense. It applied not only to what was a pressing question in his day, namely the relations of Great Britain with the Colonies, but to every aspect of economic life where the bonds of custom or the regulations of Government had restricted and restrained the free exercise of a man's labour or of his talents. His condemnation of the restraint of the workman or the artisan, whether by the ill-advised customs of gilds or by the folly of legislation, of the prejudice to the community by combinations of traders, either acting by secret agreement or under the protection of a charter from the Crown, is as unsparing as the bitter words with which he assails 'the mean and malignant expedients' of the mercantile system in overseas trade. His great preoccupation was to open men's eyes to see economic life as a whole and in the general interest, to show them that work of all kinds consisted of mutual service, that this life realized itself best and most completely when freedom of opportunity as far as possible was opened to all. That freedom brought duties with its rights, and so he favoured universal education and compulsory military training.[2] Conceived in this way, the world's work becomes transformed and inspired with high purpose.

[1] *Lectures*, p. 255; *Wealth of Nations*, ii, p. 267.
[2] *Wealth of Nations*, ii, pp. 269–73.

As he expresses it, 'The perfection of police, the extension of trade and manufactures are noble and magnificent objects. The contemplation of them pleases us, and we are interested in whatever can tend to advance them. They make part of the great system of government, and the wheels of the political machine seem to move with more harmony and ease by means of them. We take pleasure in beholding the perfection of so beautiful and grand a system, and we are uneasy till we remove any obstruction that can in the least disturb or encumber the regularity of its motions.'[1]

Adam Smith possessed that type of genius which had the power to transfigure what was thought to be commonplace by showing that, when it was understood, it was in reality noble and even magnificent. It was his good fortune that he was able, in addition, to add immensely to human happiness. No result could have been more gratifying to him, for he was one of those who 'did not desire to be great, but to be beloved'. To him the affectionate gratitude of generations long after his own time is most justly due. The rare qualities of mind which enabled him to effect such great things would doubtless have aroused in him that surprise and wonder which he describes with considerable care.[2] He was essentially a modest man, with the simplicity of true greatness. Lord Buchan, who had studied under him, said there were three ways to his heart—his mother, his books, and his political opinions. Yet the mastery of his intellect was such that he has controlled the economic thought which he directed into useful channels, and has influenced the destiny of nations towards their well-being and towards the prevention of international strife. His was in truth not only greatness, but a good greatness. All his influence was towards the broad and humane interpretation of the economic life, not as a pious aspiration, but worked out with the patience and the care of the scientist. Industry in investigation is fortunately not uncommon, but the power to gather up all the results and on the basis of these to enter into the future is precious, because it comes only at such very distant intervals. As one of the liberators of men's minds, Adam Smith has an acknowledged place amongst the remarkable intellects of the world, which is all his own, and which is confirmed to him in an increasing degree by the passing years.

[1] *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1892), pp 265, 266.
[2] *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (1795), pp. 1–25.

APPENDIX

THE relation of Adam Smith to the Physiocrats has been the subject of a certain amount of discussion, and even of controversy. On chronological grounds it seemed at one time that the French thinkers had a distinct priority, and it was long accepted that Adam Smith owed to them a great part of his most important principles. But comparatively recent discoveries have had the effect of modifying this opinion. While there can be no finality as to points of detail, certain broad conclusions as to this relationship have emerged. There is first the main question of similarity in thought; and, when this is considered in relation to the chief currents of opinion in the eighteenth century, it will be found that it was not so much a question of the indebtedness of Smith to the Physiocrats as of both types of thought having a common source in the Nature-cult of the time. There was in fact a roughly simultaneous, but independent, application of the same principle. While that application presented many points of similarity, there were essential differences. The Physiocrats envisaged Nature under somewhat different aspects from those in which it was viewed by Adam Smith, and their use of this principle, in relation to economic affairs, often diverged from his. As to the first, they not only understood Nature in another sense but they developed from it other conceptions which are at most only in embryo in the work of Adam Smith. For instance, with them natural rights, a state of Nature, and natural society are prominent ideas. Then they differed from Adam Smith in that he used Nature as a starting-point in his investigations, continuing by an extended inductive inquiry so that in the end Nature with him becomes little more than a working hypothesis.[1] With the Physiocrats, Nature was the fundamental principle from which everything was deduced. Natural right, natural order, the state of Nature constituted a rigid standard by which all human institutions were measured. Therefore, being so largely deductive, their chain of ideas formed a logical system depending altogether upon the fundamental premise from which they were all derived. This logical method enabled a system to be constructed, and it was at once the strength and the weakness of the school—its strength in giving economic phenomena not only a scientific treatment but a scientific form, its weakness in the absolute dependence of the latter upon the Nature-cult as they defined it. Their

[1] W. Hasbach, *Untersuchungen uber Adam Smith*, 1891, pp. 393–408.

extreme reliance on such deductions goes to the root of the criticism by Adam Smith of their doctrine. It made their system one for the middle of the eighteenth century; while that of Adam Smith had a broader basis through which it became the inspiration of statesmen in the nineteenth century.[1]

Keeping these main affiliations of ideas in view it becomes possible to treat the chronological confusion with more profit than would otherwise be the case. This may be traced backwards from the appearance of *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776. Prior to that date many works emanating either from the Physiocratic group or from others in sympathy with them had been printed. Turgot's *Réflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses* appeared in instalments in the *Éphémérides du Citoyen* in 1770 and in book form in 1771, *La Physiocratie* in 1767–8, and in the same years articles of Quesnay in the *Éphémérides*, and in 1767 Mercier de la Riviere's *L'Ordre Naturel.* Adam Smith was in Paris for about ten months from December 1765 and he then met Turgot, Morellet, Quesnay, and du Pont. The meetings of the Économistes, as the Physiocrats described themselves, had begun in 1757, and Smith was sometimes present in 1766, so that du Pont spoke of him as a fellow disciple of Quesnay to whom Smith had intended to dedicate *The Wealth of Nations*, a pious aspiration which was frustrated by the death of Quesnay in 1774. Morellet states that at these meetings mention was made of the great work which Adam Smith was contemplating and adds: 'véritablement je le regarde encore aujourd'hui comme un des hommes qui ont fait les observations et les analyses les plus complètes dans toutes les questions qu'il a traitées'.[2]

These facts constitute the basis for the ascription to the Physiocrats of a determining influence upon the economic work of Adam Smith. There are several considerations which should have made critics hesitate to be misled by dates, but the identification of the notes taken by a student at Adam Smith's lectures of the Session 1762–3 affords even more concrete evidence. From these notes it becomes clear that at that time the fundamental and characteristic principles, which were later embodied in a more detailed form in *The Wealth of Nations*, were being taught in the class room at Glasgow. This was the same year in which Mirabeau's *Philosophie Rurale* had been issued. Prior to that date there had appeared the *Théorie de l'Impôt* by the same writer in 1760 and Turgot's *Éloge de Gournay* in the

[1] G. Weulersse, *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, 1910, p. 674, 718.

[2] Morellet, *Mémoires*, 1821, i, p. 244.

previous year. The *Tableau Économique* of Quesnay had been printed in a severely limited edition de luxe at Versailles in 1758, but was not available for the public till 1760. His articles on 'Fermiers' and 'Grains' were printed in the *Encyclopédie* in 1756–7, while in 1755 Mirabeau's *L'Ami des Hommes* was published. It might be expected that Adam Smith would have known of some of these books before his visit to France, but it is highly improbable. The fact that, even in the case of books in English dealing with matters of economic opinion, there was something extraordinarily accidental in those he acquired, while there are many of which he was altogether ignorant,[1] makes it reasonable to conclude that he had no knowledge before 1766 of the writings of the Physiocrats, the majority of which had appeared somewhat obscurely.

The question at issue can be carried a stage further back. Long before the formation of the society of the Économistes, a club for the discussion of economic questions had been founded at Glasgow. It was in existence as early as 1743. Adam Smith became a member on his coming to Glasgow in 1751 and soon acquired a great influence amongst those who belonged to it. His opinions not only excited discussion, but were gaining adherents. So much was this the case that in 1755 he found there was some risk of others claiming as their own principles which he believed he had discovered. He read a paper in 1755 in which he gave 'a pretty long enumeration of leading principles, both political and literary, to which he was anxious to establish his exclusive right'. Dugald Stewart had this paper in his possession and, as he says, in order 'to prevent the revival of private differences', he only gives two instances of the principles which Adam Smith enumerated, adding that 'many of the more important opinions of *The Wealth of Nations* are there detailed'.[2] It is interesting to observe that in one of these extracts what might be described as an English rendering of the maxim *laissez-faire* is given—'it requires no more than to let her (Nature) alone, and give her fair play in the pursuit of her own ends, that she may establish her own designs'.[3] Further, he states that 'all these principles were contained in the manuscript of lectures which he had given in Edinburgh the last winter he was there (1750–1), and which he had taught in his classes at Glasgow without any considerable variation since his first session

[1] W. R. Scott, *Introduction to Wealth of Nations*, 1921, pp. xxv, xxvi.

[2] Dugald Stewart, *Life of Adam Smith*, 1811, pp. 99, 100.

[3] Cf. A. Oncken, *Die Maxime Laissez Faire et Laissez Passez*, 1886, pp. 57–65. It is interesting to note that the same ideas are contained in Turgot's *Éloge de Gournay* printed in 1759; Daire, *Turgot*, pp. 269, 274, 276.

there'.[1] This brings us back to 1750: and it was about that year that du Pont de Nemours states that Quesnay and Gournay were considering whether a science of political economy was not indicated by the nature of things and what ought to be the principles of such a science.[2] This would indicate that in 1750 Quesnay was still searching for economic principles, while Adam Smith had already reached them. Without seeking faint traces of the coming light in the views of Cantillon, Melon, Boisguillebert, and Vauban, there is scarcely anything else to be discerned. In 1747 Madame de Graffigny had published her *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* in which she makes Zilia appeal to the light of Nature, the sacred rights of Nature, and suggest free access to land. Turgot commented on these views in 1751 and indicated the principle of the division of labour.[3] In 1748 there had been published Quesnay's *Essai Physique sur l'Économie Animale* in the third volume of which there are lengthy passages devoted to a discussion of Free Will and political freedom in which there is mention of natural order, natural rights, and natural liberty, but as yet without any explicit economic reference.[4] Thus the stream of tendency is traced back to the first faint rills issuing in the one case from literary criticism and in the other from a medical treatise. In the scientific consideration of economic phenomena the available evidence points to Adam Smith being earlier than both Quesnay and Turgot.

[1] Dugald Stewart, *Life of Adam Smith*, 1811, p. 101.
[2] Daire, *Turgot*, p. 258. [3] Ibid., p. xxxiv.
[4] A. Oncken, *Œuvres de F. Quesnay*, 1888, pp. 754–8.

INTRODUCTION OF THE OBSERVANT FRIARS INTO ENGLAND

By A. G. LITTLE

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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The earliest reference to the Observant Friars in connexion with England is contained in a letter of Friar John of Capistrano to King Henry VI, dated October 24, 1454, and evidently written at Frankfurt whither the Imperial Diet had been summoned to devise means of checking the Turkish advance in Europe. The letter[1] may be summarized as follows:—

'The Margrave of Baden[2] has recently told me that your Majesty desires me to come to England to assist in founding some new Observant houses. I regret that I cannot come as I am about to go to Hungary. In case your Majesty decides to build the Observant houses I am writing to the Provincial Vicar of France, who will give you all assistance. At the request of the Margrave I am sending you a few of the relics of St. Bernardino of Siena which I have with me, in the hope that with faith they may help to restore you to health. But remember that faith without works is dead. And I earnestly pray you to join the holy war against the Turks with all the might of your kingdom.'

Henry VI was incapacitated by illness from the summer of 1453 to the end of 1454. The communication to the Margrave of Baden was therefore probably sent not by him personally but by the queen in his name. The king recovered suddenly at Christmas 1454 (whether the relics of St. Bernardino had anything to do with this I have not been

[1] Wadding, *Ann. Min.* xii. 210.

[2] Among those present at the Diet of Frankfurt was Charles I, Margrave of Baden, who had succeeded on the death of his father, James I, Oct. 13, 1453. James had been a staunch supporter of the Observant friars; he had reformed the Franciscan convent of Pforzheim, and on his death-bed commended the convent to the care of his sons, Charles and Bernard: *Regesten der Markgrafen von Baden*, vol. iii. (ed. Witte), p. 319; vol. iv. (ed. Krieger), pp. 16–17.

able to discover), but his recovery was followed almost immediately by the Wars of the Roses. The outbreak of civil war is a sufficient explanation of Henry VI's failure to found Observant houses, but it does not altogether account for the postponement of the introduction of the Observant Friars into England for more than a quarter of a century.

In spite of disturbed political conditions, Observant houses were springing up all over the Continent. The Observants were introduced into Scotland in 1447,[1] and papal permission to found Observant houses in Ireland was granted in 1449.[2] Historians belonging to the Order have made strenuous though unavailing efforts to prove that England did not lag behind. In the second quarter of the seventeenth century a number of Observant friars were employed to ransack records and other historical materials with a view to supplementing or refuting the *Annales Minorum* which the Conventual Wadding had begun to issue in 1625. Their compilations, so far as they exist, are for the most part still in manuscript.[3] A fragment of what appears to be an official *résumé* of these compilations, probably written if not composed in the Low Countries soon after 1630, was recently found in Ireland:[4] part of it consists of notes on the English province. The passage which concerns us here is as follows: 'In the year 1467 from the decree of the General Chapter of Mont Luçon in the list of provinces of the Ultramontane family the province of England is made seventeenth in the Order.'[5] There were certainly not seventeen Ultramontane Observant provinces in 1467: but another General Chapter was held at Mont Luçon in 1481, when, according to Friar Nicholas Glassberger (who entered the Order in 1472), the provinces of the Ultramontane family numbered sixteen.[6] These can all be identified, and England was not among them. What more natural than that

[1] Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 53.

[2] *Franciscan Province of Ireland*, ed. Fitzmaurice and Little (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies), 203; cf. ibid., pp. xxxii, 186.

[3] Cf. P. Schlager, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Köln. Franziskaner-Ordensprovinz* (Köln, 1904), p. v.

[4] Described in *Franciscan Province of Ireland* (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies), pp. 213–14.

[5] This is perhaps taken from the list given in Wadding's *Annales*, xiii, p. 461. Wadding's lists of provinces are notoriously unreliable: e.g. that which he ascribes to 1260 was drawn up about 1390 (Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa*, ii. 256); that which he ascribes to 1506 probably dates from 1517 (*Arch. Franc. Hist.* xv. 558). [In this paper Ultramontane means north of the Alps, Cismontane south of the Alps.]

[6] *Chronica Fr. Nic. Glassberger* (*Analecta Franciscana*, ii), p. 478. [This is henceforth referred to as Glassberger.]

the list drawn up in the Chapter of Mont Luçon in 1481 should have been continued as new provinces were added, and the whole list with the additions attributed to the Chapter of Mont Luçon in 1467?

Another statement is more difficult to explain. It occurs in the *Historia Minor* of Franciscus à S. Clara or Christopher Davenport. Davenport was born in 1598, became a Franciscan in 1617, and was provincial minister of England. He was a man of learning and intelligence and liberal views. He published his *Fragmenta seu Historia Minor Almae Provinciae Anglię FF. Minorum* in 1658, and a new and improved edition in 1661. The passage in question runs:—'As stated in the forty-second General Chapter, the King of England, namely [*nempe*] Edward IV, with a certain lady in 1469 wrote a strong letter to Sixtus IV, formerly general minister of the Order, threatening to withdraw from his obedience and rise in arms against him, if he subjected the Friars of the Observance to the Conventual Friars.'[1] And he goes on to argue that there must have been Observant Friars in England as early as 1460, though they probably did not have an independent organization till 1461.

On the face of it the statement is incredible, and the details do not fit in. Sixtus IV was not pope in 1469; he was elected on August 9, 1471. It is difficult to know what Davenport meant by the forty-second General Chapter. He calls 'capitulum generale Burgense' in 1523 the fifty-first General Chapter: this must be the Chapter at Burgos which was held in 1523: and if one counts back in the list of Chapters General of the Friars Minor, the forty-second would be the Chapter at Terni in 1500: but elsewhere he calls this the forty-fourth Chapter, and according to this reckoning the forty-second would be the Chapter at Bologna in 1495. Neither of these dates helps us. Both the Chapters mentioned were Conventual. And probably Davenport meant an Observant Chapter. Working back on the same principle from 1523 along the line of Chapters General of the Ultramontane Observants we come to Barcelona in 1508 as the forty-second Chapter. This is more hopeful. The attempt of Julius II in

[1] Vol. i, p. 135 (ed. 1661). Cf. Wadding's statement, *sub anno* 1472, that Marco of Bologna, vicar general of the Observants, directed the provincial vicars to solicit the help of princes against the proposal of Sixtus IV to subject Observant to Conventual Friars; among many princes who wrote to the Pope were the Duke of Milan and the King of England, who threatened that if the Observants suffered any harm they would expel the Conventuals from their dominions: the Pope said, 'I thought I had to deal with a set of lousy friars not with all the princes', and gave up the attempt; *Ann. Minorum*, xiv. 2. Glassberger (p. 463) gives a less highly coloured account apparently of the same events *sub anno* 1477.

1506 to effect a union of the whole Order aroused much alarm among the Observants, who induced many princes to write to the pope on their behalf. The letter which the king of Scotland wrote on this occasion is extant and is dated 1 February 1506–7.[1] Henry VII is reported by the contemporary Glassberger to have written to the pope that rather than lose the five reformed convents in his kingdom he would expel from his kingdom all the Conventuals from fifty convents.[2] There would naturally be much talk about the contents of these royal letters at the next General Chapter of the Ultramontane Observants which met at Barcelona in 1508. It is possible that Davenport's incredible statement about Edward IV in 1469 is based on a distorted reminiscence of the contemporary gossip about Henry VII in 1508.

The attempts to adduce historical evidence of the existence of Observants in England before 1480 have failed. And indeed their late appearance in this country may be regarded as a testimonial to the character of the English Franciscan Province. The conditions which favoured the growth of the Observant movement in other countries either did not exist in England or existed in a very modified form. Abroad two main causes of this growth stand out prominently. One was the revolt of conscientious Franciscans against the practical disregard of the vow of poverty:[3] the other was indignation among the people against 'the incorrigible evil life' of the Conventual friars.[4] In England the vow of poverty was far more strictly kept: few Franciscan friaries derived an income from annual rents or possessed any landed property besides the few acres surrounding their house.[5] And though isolated instances of immorality occur,[6] there is no evidence of any popular movement against the friars in this country. The introduction of the Observants into England was due neither to a demand for reform among the friars of the province nor to protests of the laity against their moral conduct, but to the king acting under suggestion from abroad and moved by a well-founded anxiety for the safety of his soul.

The story of the coming of the Observant Friars to England is contained in a copy of two documents relating to the foundation of the friary at Greenwich preserved in the letter-book of Nicholas Collys,

[1] *Moir Bryce*, ii. 276–9. [2] Glassberger, 542.

[3] See e.g. the reply of the Observants to the accusations of the Conventuals in the council of Bâle, 1435: Glassberger, 294 *et seq.*; and 360–1.

[4] See esp. Glassberger, 355–8.

[5] For details see my *Studies in English Franciscan History*, 18–27.

[6] See e.g. *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, ed. Stevenson, iii. 74 (A. D. 1500) and 355 (A. D. 1522).

notary, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 170. The letter-book appears to have been written at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but Nicholas Collys was already practising as a notary in 1481, his mark appearing on an original deed of that date in C.C.C., Cambridge, MS. 108:[1] the writing is extremely small and cramped, and contractions of a peculiar character are freely used, long words being often represented by two or three letters joined by dashes. One of the documents is a notarial instrument[2] drawn up partly by E. Grimely, 'public notary by apostolic and imperial authority,' partly by an assistant ('me aliis occupato negotiis'), possibly Nicholas Collys, as a record of the foundation of the friary at East Greenwich on July 2, 1482, at which ceremony the notary was present. The other is an open letter issued by Edmund Audley, Bishop of Rochester, as papal commissary, setting forth the same event. Both were drawn up at the request of the friars.

From these documents it appears that some time before January 4, 1481, Edward IV sent for the vicar general of the Ultramontane Family of the Friars Minor of the Observance and offered him a site in Greenwich for the establishment of a house of the Order. The vicar general was probably William Bertho, a Breton by birth, who had been elected to the office by the general chapter at Châteauroux on May 10, 1478, and died at Ingolstadt on February 6, 1481.[3] During his term of office he made arrangements for the establishing the Observantine province of 'Dacia' (or Denmark), but he refused to accept the king of England's offer without a licence from the pope. Accordingly Edward IV applied to the pope and obtained the bull 'Probatae fidei', dated at St. Peter's, Rome, 'MCCCC octuagesimo pridie non. Januar. p. n. anno x^{mo},' i. e. January 4, 1481.

It is natural to connect the king's decision with the visit of his sister, Margaret of Burgundy, to the English court in July, August, and September 1480.[4] Her father-in-law, Philip, had been a strong supporter of the Observant Friars, and she herself was buried (in 1503) in the church of the Observants at Malines. In conjunction with some English nobles she obtained from the pope a bull dated September 24, 1481, authorizing the foundation of three Observant

[1] For another mention of him see Bodl. MS. Ashm. 191, f. 45^{v}. As 'clerk of the Lincoln Diocese, public notary by apostolic authority, and proctor general of the Court of Canterbury', he was present at the installation of Thomas Savage, bishop of Rochester, in 1493. Epis. Reg. Rochester, T. Savage, fol. 4^{v}.

[2] Printed in Appendix I.

[3] Glassberger, 464, 476. On his tomb, see *Archiv. Franc. Hist.* xvi. 267: (H. Koegerl, *Die Epitaphien der Garnisonkirche in Ingolstadt*, 1917).

[4] PRO. E. 101 412/11. She came to Greenwich on 6th July.

houses in England[1]; though the plan does not appear to have materialized, it is evidence that she was interested in the introduction of the Observants into England.[2] She may well have persuaded her brother that his soul was in jeopardy and in sore need of the prayers of holy men.

In his Bull Sixtus IV recites the motives which the king had alleged in his petition: they are —the affection which he had for the Friars Observant, their exemplary life, the great results of their preaching, the increase of divine worship, the salvation of his soul and the souls of his ancestors, and the refusal of the vicar general to act without papal authorization. The pope goes on to grant to the king licence to build a house with church, low bell-tower, bell, cloister, refectory, dormitory, gardens, and other necessary offices for the perpetual use and habitation of the friars in Greenwich or some other suitable place in the kingdom, and to the friars licence to accept the same, saving the rights of the parish church.

Under the same date the pope wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Bourchier), the Bishop of Lincoln (John Russell), and the Bishop of Rochester (Edmund Audley) instructing them to protect the friars and ensure them peaceful possession of the house 'dum constructa fuerit et illam inhabitare ceperint'.

The king thereupon communicated with the vicar general and requested him to send friars to receive the site and found the new convent at Greenwich. John Philippi, formerly provincial vicar of Burgundy, was re-elected for the third time vicar general by the General Chapter at Mont Luçon on June 10, 1481, and on him devolved the duty of providing for the new foundation. He appointed Friar Bernard of Lochen or Blochen[3] as his commissary, and sent with him Friars Vincent of Ostend, Cornelius W . . . , Arnold of Ostend, and other friars from beyond seas—probably to the number of twelve. On July 2, 1482, these friars met the king's representative, James Goldwell, Bishop of Norwich, at East Greenwich, and the formal transfer of the site took place.

The site is described in the notarial Instrument as a certain flat piece of ground surrounded by walls, in which the game of ball (*ludus pile*) used to be played, adjacent to the house or manor of the king, together with certain buildings and a plot of land which adjoin the

[1] Wadding, *Ann. Min.* xiv. 274.

[2] One leaf of an illuminated gradual which she presented to the Greenwich friars is extant in Brit. Mus. Burney 71, f. 9.

[3] Guardian of Kampen; visitor of Ireland; one of the friars sent to found the Observant province of 'Dacia' in 1481; died in 'Dacia' before 1484; Glassberger, 479, 490; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* IV. 606.

said piece of ground and have been bought with the king's money. In 1485 [1] the site is described as a parcel of ground with certain old houses built thereon, measuring twelve virgates in breadth and sixty-three virgates in length. If a virgate meant a rod or pole, the site would measure 66 × 346½ yards. An expectation—'hope and even promise'—of future increase was held out. This site the Bishop of Norwich in the king's name gave to the friars there present for the perpetual use and habitation of Friars Minor of the Observance to the honour of God, Mary, the most blessed mother of God, and St. Francis, and after putting the friars in corporal real and actual possession of the land and buildings, he laid the first foundation stone of the future convent with due solemnity. The friars in token of true and real possession first chanted the Te Deum and then solemnly sang Mass. They further requested the Bishop of Rochester and the public notary to draw up the formal records of the proceedings which are copied in the Corpus manuscript. In both documents the presence of various witnesses is mentioned, but the only name given in full is that of Edmund Russell, vicar of the church of East Greenwich.

The friars proceeded 'at their own cost, labour, and exertion, to rebuild divers poor little dwellings, with the assistance of certain devout and faithful people, to the glory of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Francis, and All Saints, and to pray for ever for the health and prosperity of the whole kingdom'. Henry VII, on December 11 or 14, 1485,[2] gave them his approval, 'bearing in mind Edward IV's pious intention, the good disposition, devotion, expenses, and labours of the said brethren, by day and by night, in orisons, prayers and fastings, and that chief and above everything else amongst works of mercy and piety is the canonical celebration of divine service by priests and true vicars of God, and that it is a meritorious thing to support a ministry through whom the miserable souls of sinners purged from stains can receive calm and pardon, and the frail wanderers amongst sinful pleasures can be led back to the ways of grace'.[3]

John Rous, who died in 1491, notes that they 'had a place temporarily by the king's benevolence in a chantry with a chapel of the Holy Cross at Greenwich'.[4] According to William Lambarde 'they obtained by the means of Sir William Corbrige (as some think) a Chauntrie with a little chapel of the holy crosse, a place

[1] In Henry VII's charter (see note 2).

[2] Writ of Privy Seal is dated Dec. 11, with memorandum that it was delivered to the Chancellor Dec. 14 (PRO. Chancery Warr. Ser. ii, file 5). Charter is dated Dec 14, printed in *Archaeol. Journal*, xxiii. 57.

[3] *Materials Hen. VII*, i, pp. 216–17.

[4] *Hist. Reg. Angliae* (ed. Hearne), p. 211.

yet extant in the towne'.[1] The friars probably used this chapel till their church was built. The date of the consecration is unknown. It was before April 8, 1494, when Thomas Savage, bishop of Rochester, authorized any Catholic bishop to consecrate 'the cemetery and cloister of the religious men friars Donald Gilbert (or Gilberti) guardian of the house of Greenwich and the convent of the same place recently built there'. The earliest bequests that have been found contain references to building. Richard Tilley left the friars here 100*s.* for building in 1485:[2] Elliott Alfons in 1493 left them 20*s.* for their 'vitaille' or for the building of their church;[3] Thomas Ustwayte of East Greenwich, esquire, left to the blessed house of St. Francis 6*s.* 8*d.* and 3*s.* 4*d.* to the repair of All Hallows Chapel there and the light in the chapel in 1496.[4]

Meantime the General Chapter at Bruges on June 6, 1484, had incorporated the English Province in the Ultramontane Family, leaving it to be governed by a commissary of the vicar general until the increase in the number of convents justified its erection into a province.[5] Bernard Lochen, the first commissary, had already died in Dacia.[6]

The next two commissaries were Leo Leonis, whose death was reported at the General Chapter of Toulouse, June 3, 1487,[7] and Vincent of Ostend. Vincent was one of the friars who took part in the foundation of the Greenwich house in July 1482: he is described under the name of Vinantius de Ostendis in a (late) necrology of Liège as 'primus fundator, Guardianus huius loci'.[8] Permission to found the Observant house at Liège was granted by Sixtus IV on November 8, 1481, but the house did not come into existence until 1487.[9] Vincent is said to have acted as definitor in the provincial chapters of the province of France at Boulogne in 1485, Metz 1487, and Séez 1490. In the chapter at Dunkerque 1492 he was appointed discretus to attend the General Chapter of the Ultramontane Observants at Florensac May 26, 1493.[10] On his return from this chapter he was elected Provincial Vicar of France at 'Ranovi'—probably Raon-l'Étape (Vosges).[11] The year is unknown; it may have been 1493 or 1494.

[1] *Perambulation of Kent* (ed. 1826), p. 389.

[2] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 384.

[3] PCC. 27 Vox.

[4] Hasted, *Kent: Hundred of Blackheath*, ed. Drake, 110.

[5] Glassberger, p. 484. Wadding, xiv. 382, says: 'Donec duo vel tria Coenobia pacifice in illo Regno possiderent'; cf. *Orbis Seraph.* iii. 130.

[6] Glassberger, p. 490.

[7] Ibid., 503.

[8] *Anal. Franc.* vi. 351.

[9] Ibid., 309–10. *Arch. Franc. Hist.* vii. 706–9, where the foundation bull of Innocent VIII, dated Oct. 19, 1487, is given.

[10] *Anal. Franc.* vi. 351, note.

[11] Ibid.

His death was reported in the General Chapter of Toulouse May 22, 1496, and as he is described then by Glassberger as 'electus',[1] he may have died before his election was confirmed by the Provincial Minister. The Liège Necrology puts his obit on July 20, and states that he had been 'commissarius familiae nostrae Observantiae Anglicanae'.[2] At what period he held this office is unknown.

After this the names of the Commissaries are lacking. The Chapter General of Toulouse (1487) placed the English Observants under the immediate rule of the provincial vicar of Cologne, who had to visit them in person or by deputy, and provide for the friars; the English 'convents', however, had the right to send one 'discretus' to represent them at the General Chapter.[3] (The use of the plural 'convents' should be noticed; but it can at this time only have been an intelligent anticipation). Such seems to have been the constitutional position until 1499.

The friars increased slowly. At each triennal General Chapter the number of deaths, which had occured in each province since the last General Chapter was reported. The following table gives the number of deaths for England, Scotland, and Ireland, as recorded by Glassberger and the totals for the whole Ultramontane Family as given by Glassberger and the *Orbis Seraphicus*[4]:—

	Ireland	Scotland	England	Totals Glassberger	Totals Orbis Seraph.
1484	30	7	—	800	800
1487	15	3	7	?	542
1490	18	0	—	?	549
1493	24	1	4	537	140[5]
1496	28	2	4	?	607
1499	28	6	4	?	505

The only new Observant house established in the fifteenth century was Richmond, in Surrey, and this, like Greenwich, was a royal foundation, and attached to a royal palace. Its origin is obscure, but it was probably founded in 1500, when Henry VII rebuilt his 'lodging' at Shene, and changed its name to Richmond.[6] The Observant house in Guernsey was founded in 1486, but this was incorporated in the

[1] Glassberger, 514.

[2] *Anal. Franc.* vi. 351.

[3] Wadding, *Ann. Min.* xiv. 422.

[4] Compiled by Friar Dominicus de Gubernatis a Sospitello, Romae, 1684.

[5] *Orbis Seraph.* iii. 136 (perhaps a misprint for 540?).

[6] *Mon. Franc.* ii. 182, 183. *Cal. S P., Milan,* i, p. 341, 'The night before Christmas Eve a fire broke out in the palace where his Majesty was staying Jan. 30 [1498] with the queen and the whole court. . . . It did a great deal of harm and burned the chapel except two large towers recently erected by his Majesty. . . . He proposes to rebuild the chapel all in stone and much finer than before.'

province of France and never formed part of the English province. Newark was not founded till 1507: and the proposal in 1527 to found a house at Wakefield was not carried out.[1]

Henry VII, however, used his influence to induce the Conventuals to transfer three of their houses to the Observants. Of the circumstances we are ill-informed. The author of the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London writes: 'And the same yere [1498] in August was the ii^{de} prouincialle chapter of the Freer Minores in London. And there beganne the Observanttes, and came with the kynges letteres and commandment for sertayne placis, and so beganne with Newcastelle, Caunterbery, and Sowth-hamton.'[2] This was evidently a chapter of Conventuals at which some Observants were present. Many provincial chapters are known to have been held in London, and the description 'second provincial chapter' must imply that there had recently been a first chapter in London dealing with the same subject, and probably deciding on the choice of houses. There is some evidence to suggest that there had been previous negotiations and that some steps had been taken to reform these houses, all of which were in close touch with the continent. On March 23, 1498 (N S.) orders were conferred on four friars minor of Newcastle, and Friars John and Francis 'de Macklinia' of the Order of Friars Minor of the Observance were ordained acolytes.[3] It is certain that two young Observants from Malines would not have been sent to a conventual house in another province by themselves: they must have been in the company of older friars in holy orders. Their presence at Newcastle at this time is proof that a group of Observants had been sent from the Low Countries to prepare for the transfer of the house. And the same probably happened at Canterbury and Southampton, though as yet the evidence is not forthcoming.

There is nothing to show that there was any difficulty about the transfer of the houses at Canterbury and Newcastle. Neither of these seems to have possessed property the holding of which was inconsistent with Observant principles. Probably most of the friars remained under the new conditions. The story of Southampton is peculiar. The Ministers' Accounts after the Dissolution prove the existence of two Franciscan houses in the town—one of Friars Minor with 2 acres 37 perches—the other of Friars Observant with 1 acre and 'a washing yard'.[4] The bishop of the diocese, Thomas Langton, supported the

[1] *Materials Hen. VII,* ii. 289. *Cal. Pat. R. Hen. VII,* ii. p. 567. Will of Thomas Ryther, *Test. Ebor.* v. 229.

[2] *Mon. Franc.* ii. 182. [3] Brand, Newcastle, i. 335. But see note p. 471.

[4] PRO. Mins. Accts. Hen. VIII, 7407.

Observants.[1] But it looks as if they had not been able to agree with their conventual brethren, and the two parties, either at the time of foundation or subsequently, had separated. The presence at Southampton in January 1514 of Simon of Prussia, commissary of the vicar general of the Friars Observant in England and Scotland, may have been connected with this problem.[2]

There being now four Observant houses in England with the immediate expectation of a fifth, the General Chapter at Malines on May 19, 1499, constituted England a province of the ultramontane Family, with two votes in the General Chapter, and the rights of holding provincial chapters annually and of electing a provincial vicar.[3]

The slow increase of Observant houses at the end of the fifteenth century is in marked contrast with the rapid spread of the Franciscans when they first came to England in 1224. In the sixteen years from 1224 to 1240 some thirty-six Franciscan houses were founded in England. For the sixteen years from 1482 to 1498 Greenwich stood alone as the only Observant house in England. Then three Conventual houses were transferred to the Observants, not by any spontaneous movement in the Order, but by 'the king's commandment', and the next Observant house was purely a royal foundation.

No instance has yet been found of any Conventual friar in England voluntarily joining the reformed branch of the Order: nor was there any widespread enthusiasm among the laity for the Strict Observance. We hear of a Bridgewater man at the end of the fifteenth century joining an Observant convent in the south-east corner of Italy. A letter from his mother is preserved and is worth quoting:—

'Sone, I am verey gladde that God hath called you to be hys seruant. Contynue soo yor lyfe that he may be pleased with all', and goddes blessyng and mine ye haue, sone. The most comforte that I covde haue were to hyre fro you: write me what case ye be yn, and Criste blesse you. Yo^r fader ys deed, god haue mercy in hys sovle. Wryten at Briggewater a missomer day the yere of our lord godde m^l cccc lxxxxiij

yor Moder Johan' Boldey.'

Endorsed:—'To my sone Joh'n Boldey
beyng at Seynt Kateryns
in Galantyne, a frere
Obseruant

In the Region of Nap..l..'.[4]

[1] *Sede Vacante Wills* (Kent Archaeol. Soc.), p. 105.

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 1 no. 4678.

[3] Glassberger, 521.

[4] PRO Anc. Corresp. li. 135

The convent of St. Catherine at Galatina (the redundant *n* in 'Galantyne' must have crept in from the kitchen) was a famous Observant house in the heel of Italy, originally founded by Bosnian Friars in 1391,[1] but the letter can never have reached its destination, for in that case it would hardly have found its way into the 'Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and Exchequer'.

If there were many mothers in England like Johanna Boldey, there must have been many sons eager to embrace the austere life of the Friars of the Strict Observance. It was about this time (*c.* 1494) that John Forest, at the age of twenty, entered the Order, presumably at Greenwich; and a few other Englishmen joined the Greenwich community about the same time. But the recruits came mostly from abroad. Probably all the original Greenwich friars were foreigners; and the ordination lists[2] show that during the second and third decades of the Convent's existence the foreign element far exceeded the native. In England the Strict Observance was a plant of foreign origin; it required much artificial stimulation, and took long to strike its roots in the soil.

APPENDIX I.

The following is the text of the notarial instrument referred to above. The letter of the Bishop of Rochester is not printed, but any additional facts which it contains are added in notes. Mr. Alfred Rogers made me a transcript of both documents many years ago and solved most of the difficulties: the rest I have been able to make out from a rotograph which Sir Geoffrey Butler kindly procured for me; and I desire to thank the College for permission to print the document.

C. C. C. C. MS. 170

[p. 72] In nomine domini Amen, per hoc presens publicum Instrumentum cunctis appareat euidenter. Quod cum sanctissimus in christo pater et dominus noster dominus Sixtus diuina prouidencia papa iiij^{tus} per suas apostolicas literas Illustrissimo et excellentissimo domino nostro domino Edwardo iiij^{o} Regi Anglie ad hoc instanti et petenti licenciam concesserit et indulserit domum vnam in villa de G. Roffensis diocesis seu alio loco Regni Anglie predicti de quo sibi visum foret ad hoc tamen accommodo et honesto, cum ecclesia Cimiterio humili Campanili Campana Claustro refectorio dormitorio ortis ortaliciis et aliis necessariis officinis pro perpetuis vsu et habitacione Fratrum minorum de obseruancia, alicuius licencia[3] vel consensu super hoc

[1] See the review of P. Coco, O.F.M., *I Francescani nel Salento*, in *Arch. Franc. Hist.* xvi. 237–41.

[2] Printed in Appendix II.

[3] MS. licencie.

minime requisitis, construendi et edificandi seu construi et edificari faciendi, Ipsisque fratribus domum ipsam recipiendi ac perpetuo inhabitandi, Certis eciam circa hoc executoribus seu conseruatoribus deputatis, prout in ipsius[1] domini pape apostolicis literis plenius continetur; Quarum tenor sequitur et est talis:—Sixtus episcopus seruus seruorum dei venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et Lincolniensi ac Roffensi Episcopis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Hodie a nobis emanauerunt litere tenoris subsequentis:—Sixtus Episcopus seruus seruorum dei carissimo in christo filio Edwardo Anglie Regi illustri salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Probate fidei constancia quam ad nos et Romanam geris ecclesiam non indigne meretur vt votis tuis illis presertim que diuini cultus augmentum et animarum salutem ac Religionis propagacionem conspiciunt, quantum cum deo possumus, fauorabiliter annuamus. Sane pro parte tua nobis nuper exhibita peticio continebat Quod tu ob singularem deuocionis affectum quem ad ordinem fratrum minorum de obseruancia nuncupatorum et fratres eosdem gerere dinosceris, ac eciam propter eorum exemplarem vitam et fructus uberes, quos suis predicacionibus in dei ecclesiam attulerunt et indies afferunt, Necnon pro diuini cultus augmento Religionis ampliacionis tueque ac tuorum progenitorum animarum salute et populi Regni edificacione, summopere desideras vnam domum pro vsu et habitacione Fratrum ordinis et obseruancie predictorum in aliquo loco eiusdem Regni ad hoc apto et congruo construi et edificari, Ac vt tuum in hac parte desiderium adimplere posses, dilectum filium vicarium vltramontanum ordinis et obseruancie eorundem nuper ad te vocari fecisti, ac sibi quendam locum in villa tua de G. Roffensis diocesis, pro huiusmodi domus constructione assignasti, set ipse locum ipsum absque apostolice sedis licencia acceptare recusauit; Quare pro parte tua nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, Vt tibi in dicta villa seu alio loco Regni predicti ad hoc conuenienti et congruo vnam domum cum ecclesia Cimiterio humili Campanili Campana Claustro Refectorio dormitorio ortis ortaliciis et aliis necessariis officinis pro vsu et habitacione perpetúis Fratrum de obseruancia huiusmodi construi et edificari faciendi, Ac eisdem Fratribus domum ipsam recipiendi et inhabitandi licenciam concedere, Aliasque in premissis oportune prouidere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur: Nos igitur qui diuini cultus augmentum et religionis ampliacionem ac animarum salutem, supremis desideriis affectamus, tuum pium et laudabile propositum huiusmodi plurimum in domino commendantes huiusmodi supplicacionibus inclinati, Tibi vnam domum in dicta villa seu alio loco Regni predicti de quo tibi visum fuerit ad hoc tamen accommodo et honesto cum ecclesia cimiterio humili campanili Campana Claustro refectorio dormitorio ortis ortaliciis et aliis necessariis officinis pro perpetuis usu et habitacione dictorum Fratrum, alicuius licencia vel consensu super hoc minime requisitis, construendi et edificandi seu construi et edificari faciendi, Ipsisque Fratribus domum ipsam recipiendi ac perpetue inhabitandi licenciam auctoritate apostolica tenore presencium elargimur. Iure parochialis ecclesie et cuius-

[1] *Or* ipsis.

libet alterius in omnibus semper saluo. Et insuper Fratribus predictis in eadem domo pro tempore commorantibus vt omnibus et singulis priuilegiis Immunitatibus exempcionibus graciis et libertatibus dicto ordini et illius fratribus pro tempore in genere concessis vt et gaudere libere et licite valeant auctoritate et tenore predictis de speciali gratia indulgemus. Non obstante fel. rec. Bonifacii octaui predecessoris nostri [*prohibitione*][1] qua prohibetur ne quis [*vel aliqui*] ordinum mendicantium fratres in aliqua Ciuitate Castro vel villa seu alio loco quocunque ad habitandum loca de nouo recipere presumant absque sedis predicte licencia speciali faciente plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de huiusmodi prohibicione mencionem, Ac aliis constitucionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis contrariis quibuscunque. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre elargacionis et concessionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hec attemptare etc. Dat' Rome apud sanctum petrum Anno Incarnacionis dominice M. CCCC. octuagesimo pridie non' Ianuarii pontificatus nostri Anno x^mo^.—Cupientes igitur vt litere predicte suum debitum consequantur effectum Fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, Quatinus vos vel duo aut vnus vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios Fratribus in dicta domo pro tempore commorantibus efficaciter defensionis presidio assistentes, faciatis ipsos eiusdem domus dum constructa fuerit et illam inhabitare ceperint pacifica possessione gaudere, non permittentes illos super dicta domo vel alias contra predictarum literarum tenorem per quoscunque quomodolibet impediri seu eciam molestari, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam et alia Iuris remedia, appellacione postposita, compescendo, [p. 73] Inuocato eciam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii secularis, non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis ac omnibus illis que in dictis literis voluimus non obstare, Aut si aliquibus communiter vel diuisim a sede apostolica indultum existat, Quod interdici suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mencionem. Dat' Rome apud sanctum petrum anno Incarnacionis dominice M^o^ CCCC. octagesimo pridie non' Ianuarii pontificatus nostri Anno x^mo^.

Hinc est quod anno domini M. CCCC. octagesimo Secundo Indiccione xv. die vero secunda mensis Iulii pontificatus dicti sanctissimi domini nostri Sixti iiij^ti^ anno vndecimo, et regni dicti domini Edwardi regis xxij^o^, comparentibus et personaliter constitutis Reuerendo in christo patre domino Iacobo Episcopo Norwicensi dicti Illustrissimi domini Regis consiliario a sua regia maiestate ad infrascripta destinato [2] ex vna, ac honorabilibus et religiosis viris Fratribus Bernardo de L. commissario Reuerendi domini vicarii generalis familie citramontane dicti ordinis Vincencio de O., Cornelio W., Arnoldo eciam de O. Et certis aliis Religiosis dicti ordinis professis ad hec que subsequuntur per eundem dominum Regem seu de mandato de

[1] 6 Decr. lib. 5. tit. 6, De excessibus prelatorum, c. Cum ex eo.

[2] MS. destinata.

vltramarinis partibus illuc demandatis[1] ex altera partibus, Idem Reverendus dominus Episcopus N. nomine ex parte ipsius domini Regis antedicti, licencia sibi vt supra per prefatum dominum nostrum papam concessa, vt volentis certam planiciem muris circumdatam que ludus pile appellabatur contiguam domui seu manerio dicti domini Regis[2] in dicto loco de G. Roffensis diocesis in comitatu Kancie, vnacum certis edificiis et terre Fundo de pecunia ipsius dicti domini Regis emptis eidem adiacen' ad ecclesiam Cimiterium claustrum refectorium dormitorium ortos et alias officinas ad conuenientiam dicti ordinis requisitas adoptandam, dictis Fratribus ibidem prestantibus, sub spe eciam et pollicitacione augmentacionis loci Imposterum successiue fiende, pro perpetuis usu et habitacione Fratrum minorum de obseruancia ad laudem et honorem dei, beatissime dei genitricis marie, ac sancti Francisci, dedit contulit et assignauit; Ac ipsos de illis per terre quam de ipso Fundo sumpsit tradicionem inuestiuit eosque nomine et ad opus quorum supra in Fundi et edificiorum huiusmodi ibidem iam tunc existenciuin corporalem realem et actualem possessionem posuit, ac vice et nomine dicti domini Regis primum lapidem fundacionis futuri conuentus cum speciali et debita solempnitate in pretacta planicie posuit. Dicti vero Fratres possessionem huiusmodi dicto nomine acceptantes In signum vere et realis possessionis adepte primo Te deum laudamus Et deinde missam solempniter ibidem decantauerunt. Preterea memoratus dominus Episcopus Roffensis, executor et conseruator apostolicus supradictus, ad dictorum Fratrum requestum, de et super literis apostolicis superius insertis processus executoriales cum invocacionibus censurarum euentuali fulminacione et subdelegacione in forma debita et oportuna decreuit et concessit. De et super quibus premissis sepedicti Fratres pro se et posteris suis pecierunt sibi a me Notario infrascripto confici et dari vnum vel plura publicum vel publica Instrumentum vel Instrumenta. Acta sunt hec omnia prout suprascribuntur et recitantur Anno domini Indictione pontificatu Regno mense die et loco predictis, presentibus tunc ibidem honestis viris E. R.[3] vicario Ecclesie de Estgrenewich, G. p, R. W., Io. l. et nonnullis aliis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et Rogatis.

Et Ego E. Grimeleus clericus E. diocesis publicus apostolica et Imperiali auctoritatibus Notarius Quia predictis omnibus et singulis, dum [?], sic vt premittitur, agerentur et fierent, vnacum prenominatis testibus presens interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audiui, Ideo hoc presens publicum Instrumentum per alium, me aliis occupato negociis, fideliter scriptum exinde confeci etc.

[1] The Bishop of Rochester's letter reads: 'necnon religiosis viris Fratribus Bernardo de L Vincencio de Ostendis, Cornelio W , Arnoldo de O. et nonnullis aliis ordinis minorum de obseruancia nuncupatorum a prelibato Fratre Iohanne Philippi vicario generali ad infrascripta peragenda specialiter deputatis'

[2] Bishop of Rochester's letter reads. 'certum locum prefati domini Regis palacio contiguum in quo ludus pile fieri et exerceri consueuit'.

[3] Edmundo Russell in Bishop of Rochester's letter.

APPENDIX II

Names of Greenwich Friars from London Episcopal Registers.

THE Register of Edmund Audley, Bishop of Rochester (1480 to 1492), is missing from the Rochester Episcopal Registers: and those of Thomas Savage (1493–6) and Richard Fitz-James (1497–1504) contain few ordination lists and no ordinations of Greenwich friars. The Registers of Archbishops Bourchier and Morton also throw no light on the subject. On the other hand the London Episcopal Registers record in their ordination lists the names of a number of Observant friars of Greenwich. The following list is drawn up from the Registers of Richard Hille (1489 to 1496), and Thomas Savage (1496 to 1501), and the earlier part of Warham's Register.

The names are given in the order of their first appearance in the Registers; the variations in spelling are added: the orders conferred—acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, priest—are indicated by the initials a., sd., d., p., followed by the year of ordination. Modern place names in square brackets are suggested where necessary and possible.[1]

Dionisius Lowyr, sd., 1491. [Lierre ?]
Richardus Calys, de Calys, sd., 1491, d., 1492. [Calais.]
Bernardus de Maclenia, p. 1491. [Malines.]
Christianus Borrom, p. 1491. [Borne ?]
Raphael Antelernes, Antlernes, a., 1493, sd., 1493. [?]
Willelmus Eliothis, Elliottis, a., 1493. sd., 1493, d., 1494.
Andreas Zantis, d., 1493, p., 1495. [Xanten ?]
Gabriel Plakinode, sd., 1493. [?]
Thomas Garnett, d., 1494.
Henricus de Eboraco, d., 1494, p., 1495.
Ricardus Morcrofte, p., 1494.
Iohannes Cartelage, Cardlage, Carthage, sd., 1495, d., 1496, p., 1497.
Ricardus Ceton, Coton, sd., 1495, d., 1496, p., 1496.
Leonardus Bendissh, Bendyssh, Blendishe, sd., 1495, d., 1496, p., 1499.
Iohannes Scryvener, sd., 1495, d., 1496, p., 1496.
Raphael Garnett,[2] p., 1496.
Robertus Bruer, Brewes, Bunce (?), a., 1497, sd., 1497, p., 1498.
Ricardus Gamme, Gam, a., 1497, sd., 1498, d., 1498, p., 1499.
Iohannes Fizmark, Fimark, sd., 1497, d., 1498.
Thomas Domet, Domete, sd., 1498, d., 1501, p., 1501.
Bernardinus Zin'a mu'da, p., 1499. [Genemuiden ?]
Florencius de Herndals p., 1499. [Herenthals.]
Andreas Zutphanie, de Suffania, d., 1500, p., 1500. [Zutphen.]
Egidius de Veris, p., 1500. [Wiers ?]
Willelmus de Mekelinia, sd., 1500. [Malines.]

[1] I take this opportunity of protesting against the high and arbitrary fees demanded by the Bishop of London's Registrar from historical students for the privilege of consulting the London Episcopal Registers.

[2] Perhaps the same as Raphael Antlernes (?).

Bonaventura 'Sar dioc. ord. minorum de Obseruancia', sd., 1500.
Bonaventura Richardson 'ordinis Obseruancie' d., 1500.
Bonaventura de Grenewiche, p., 1501.

Arnoldus de Mekelinia, Mechalinea, Machilinie, sd., 1500, d., 1500, p., 1501. [Malines.]
Willelmus Wilkinson, sd., 1501.
Ludowicus Williamson, d., 1501, p., 1501.
Hubertus Aquis, sd., 1501. [Aachen.]
Gwilhelmus Languith, Langwich, sd., 1501, d., 1501.
Ricardus Campis, de Campis, sd., 1501, d., 1501, p., 1502. [Kampen.]
Franciscus Campis, sd., 1501, d., 1501. [Kampen.]
Franciscus Emd, Emdis, sd., 1501, d., 1501, p., 1504. [Emden.]
Iohannes Otmerzon, Otmarson, Otemerson, sd., d., p., 1501. [Ootmarsun.]
Fridericus Wricht, Fredericus Weche, de Werchia, sd., d., 1501, p., 1502. [Brecht?]
Cornelius Wuringie, Wiringie, de Wirengia sd., d., 1501, p., 1502 [Waereghem.]
Iohannes de Monte, sd., 1501, p., 1502. [?]
Iohannes Guthuou', Grethorn, Guthorn, sd., d., 1501, p., 1504. [Zuidhorn?]
Nicolaus Wormatie, sd., 1501. [Worms.]
Iohannes Calkar, Kalkar, sd., 1501, p., 1504.
Bernardinus Campis, sd., 1501. [Kampen.]
Iohannes Worengie, sd., 1501. [Waereghem.]
Petrus Magoncie, sd., 1501. [Mayence.]
Thomas Walkar, p., 1502.
Antonius Bolzuerdie, Bolzwerdie, Antoneus de Bolliswarde, sd., d., 1502, p., 1503. [Bolsward.]
Ricardus Wild, Wilde, sd., d., 1502.
Thomas Jus, d., 1504.
Iohannes Spencer., d., 1504.
Robertus Aquis, p., 1504. [Aachen.]
Willelmus Agargelynye, p., 1504. [?]
Iohannes Leodie, p., 1504. [Lèige.]
Laurentius Zethamtonie, p., 1504. [possibly = Southampton?]
Nicolaus Wormacie, p., 1504. [Worms.]
Iohannes Wiringie, p., 1504. [Waereghem.]

Note to p. 464, n. 3.

The Rev. H. D. Hughes at my request has kindly verified Brand's statement in Fox's Durham Register, and finds it erroneous. The two Newcastle Observants from Malines were ordained acolytes not on March 23, 1498, but on March 27, 1501. The argument in the text based on Brand's error must be deleted. The correction unfortunately arrived too late to allow of the necessary alterations being made.—A. G. L.

THE FALL OF NINEVEH

By C. J. GADD

Read July 11, 1923

As the rise and domination of Assyria was a fact of unique significance in ancient history, in that it concentrated the matchless energy of a virile people upon the creation of the first organized imperial system which the world had known, so the destruction of that system was hailed as the beginning of a new age by those who had learned to fear and detest the despotic arts and unsparing violence by which it was supported. The fall of the empire ended an epoch; the circumstances suggested a poetic justice of the kind which never loses its appeal. It is no wonder that the hearts of prophets were stirred, and that tradition or legend soon busied itself about the great final scene. The ruin of Nineveh is imperishably commemorated in the fierce triumphing of Nahum, and in the dramatic legend of Sardanapallus, the cynical voluptuary, who would not die in aught but the flames of his pleasures, and who proclaimed even in death

> These things I had that I drank, and all that I greedily gorged,
> As for those many goodly matters left I for other.

Tradition, then, has nobly celebrated this event, but what had history to tell of it? Singularly little, after all, and that of a sort which left many of the first questions unanswered. Some unkind accident has robbed us of the account which Herodotus wrote, or intended to write, and the same is true of Berossus, whose general Babylonian history has almost entirely perished. In default of these the best account is now preserved in the work of Diodorus, dependent as it is upon the earlier history of Ktesias, who in turn heard the story of Nineveh at the Persian court of Artaxerxes II. The records of Assyria fail completely about twenty-five years before the end, for Eastern monarchs are not in the habit of proclaiming their reverses, and Assyria had had little else to record since that time. Among all those who were present as besiegers there was only one people capable of preserving the tradition in writing. The Medes and Scythians were little better than barbarians, and it is therefore to the Babylonians that all the sources eventually lead back. Berossus

himself was a native Babylonian priest; Herodotus and Ktesias were alike dependent upon what their informants had read upon clay tablets or heard from the mouths of those who were learned in the scribal art.

A fortunate chance has now enabled us to look back beyond the earliest of these traditions, and has given us one of the original documents upon which they were based. A clay tablet, now in the British Museum, is inscribed with a chronicle which summarizes in order of years, months, and days the chief events during eight years of the reign of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, and leader of the Babylonian forces in the siege of Nineveh. Welcome as this wealth of completely new information would be in any case for the light it sheds upon a period otherwise totally obscure, it is doubly so in that it happens to include the year in which Nineveh was captured and destroyed, and thereby furnishes the exact date of that event which has hitherto been a matter of conjecture. The chronology of this period is well established, and therefore, when the chronicle tells us that Nineveh fell in the fourteenth year of Nabopolassar, we can say at once that, in our system, this is 612 B.C., and that in consequence the generally accepted date (606 B.C.) is six years too late. But this is by no means the full extent of the revelations which this document has for us. Beginning with the tenth year of Nabopolassar (616 B.C.) it reveals Assyria beset on all sides by enemies, and gradually sinking under their convergent attacks in a series of battles and sieges even while she is yet capable of shrewd blows in her own defence. The southern provinces are the first to go, and her enemies close in upon the home cities. Then comes the end, or what should have been the end; Nineveh is captured and destroyed. But even when death was thus at the heart of the great Assyrian Empire, its strongest limb was still vigorous, and the most astonishing fact of all is that the kingdom did not perish with the king, but was simply transferred to the western provincial capital at Harran, where a new king ascended what was still known as the throne of Assyria. How he endeavoured to defend his title and city by the aid of an Egyptian alliance, and how Harran also fell to the attack of the Scythians and Babylonians in the year 610 may all be read in the subsequent passages of this chronicle. Here, however, it will not be possible to touch upon more than one or two points.

First of all, who were the destroyers of Nineveh? The answer of the chronicle, which is precise, completely confirms tradition upon this point, for it brings upon the scene Nabopolassar of Babylon, Kyaxares the Mede, and the king of the Umman-Manda, or Scythians.

Being the work of a Babylonian scribe, it naturally attributes the chief importance to Nabopolassar, but we are inclined to discount this as patriotic rather than candid, when we read that the Babylonian had already suffered one or two serious reverses at the hands of Assyria. There can be little doubt that Kyaxares, in spite of the chronicle, was the leading figure among the besiegers. It is worth while to point out that the Medes and Babylonians are the protagonists also in the account of Diodorus, while the Scythians are there represented by a so-called 'Bactrian' army which the rebels seduce from its allegiance to Sardanapallus. The version of Herodotus also introduces the same nations, though their mutual relations are somewhat different. Here it is the Scythians who rescue Nineveh from Kyaxares by a sudden and overwhelming attack which brings the siege to a disastrous end. Not until twenty-eight years later, during which the Scythians held undisputed sway, was Kyaxares able to return to the attack, which was at last successful. Such is the version of Herodotus. But what were the facts? The chronicle gives decisive information. It was in 614 that Kyaxares first attacked, or at least began his final operations against Nineveh. In that year he was unsuccessful against the capital, but gained signal advantages in the capture of the cities of Tarbis and of Ashur. A very curious position is revealed in the following year, 613, when the chronicle makes no mention of the Medes, but records some minor operations by the Babylonian king against the Assyrian provinces about 'Anah on the Euphrates. Most significant of all, the Assyrian king is actually able to march down and oppose him, not unsuccessfully, in these regions. It is obvious that the siege of Nineveh is for the time completely in abeyance, and we can only ascribe this respite to the Scythian attack upon the Medes mentioned by Herodotus. But in the next year, 612, Babylonians, Medes, and Scythians all combine for the last and successful assault upon the city. The truth, therefore, lies somewhere between Herodotus and Diodorus. The latter is perfectly right in assigning a three years' duration to the siege, but he misunderstands the part played by the Scythian, or, as he calls it, the Bactrian army. Herodotus, on the other hand, greatly exaggerates the interval between Kyaxares' first defeat and the final success of his attack. Twenty-eight years before 612 Nineveh was still at the height of her power, in the greatest days of Ashurbanipal.

Some other details of the final scenes which are preserved in the chronicle are of remarkable interest, both in themselves and for comparison with the classical tradition. The siege lasted in 612

from the month of Sivan to the month of Ab, i.e. from early in June to some time in August. During this period three battles took place before the walls, in which we are to infer that the Assyrians were defeated. These battles duly appear in Diodorus, the first being a night attack upon the defenders, caught for a moment off their guard during a merry-making, and the second two are conflicts on the plain, which end in the total rout of the Assyrians under Galaemenes, the brother-in-law of Sardanapallus. Naturally, however, we are especially curious to see what the chronicle has to say about the fiery end of the profligate king. But here good fortune deserts us for a moment; the text is broken away at the very point where the fate of the monarch was to be recounted. 'At that time,' says the chronicle, 'Sin-shar-ishkun, King of Assyria——' and there breaks off. Even in this, however, there is some consolation. It is no small gain to have confirmed that the last Ninevite king was actually Sin-shar-ishkun, or Sarakos, as a later Greek historian calls him, not Sardanapallus, which is, of course, only a corrupted version of the name of Ashurbanipal. And, whatever may have been the latter days of that monarch, as to which we know nothing, at least the fame of Sin-shar-ishkun is cleared from the reproach of degeneracy. The last Ninevite king was no besotted sybarite, but a soldier who long and successfully withstood a world of enemies, and a statesman who knew how to convert formerly implacable opponents into faithful allies; a claim substantiated in full by other passages in this chronicle which cannot here be discussed.

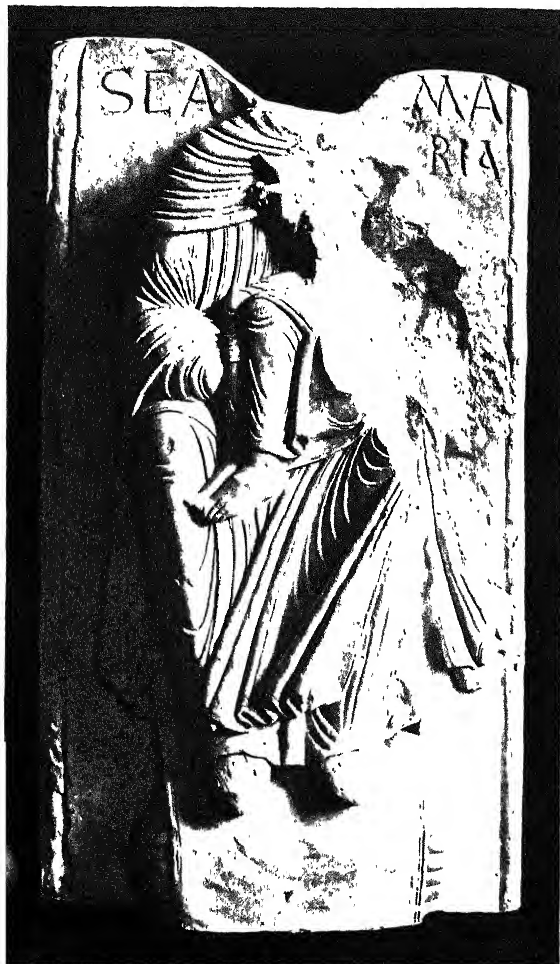
That the end of Nineveh and of Assyria were synonymous terms would formerly have been considered self-evident. Our chronicle has nothing more astonishing to reveal than that it was not so after all. The account which it gave concerning the capture of Nineveh is somewhat obscured by damage to the text, but it is clear that, in the last encounter, a sortie was made by a body of the defenders, who succeeded in breaking through the ring of the besiegers. A month or two later, while Nabopolassar was still harrying the home provinces of Assyria, we hear that a certain Ashur-uballit 'in the city of Harran sat upon the throne as King of Assyria'. Evidently, the remnant which had escaped from Nineveh did not even yet despair of their fortunes.

Throughout the long history of Assyria connexion with the western lands had been almost a barometer of the political conditions of the state, and the city of Harran, which lay upon the main route to the Mediterranean, had long been a sort of provincial capital. Here was the residence of the Turtan of the Right, or commander-in-chief

of the army, a dignitary second only to the king himself, and the appropriation of the province of Harran to this office was a mark of its pre-eminent position among the other parts of the Assyrian Empire. Given, then, that the kingdom could survive the loss of Nineveh and all the old Assyrian homeland, it was to Harran that the seat of power naturally devolved. But Ashur-uballit, who may well have held the office of Turtan himself, was guided in his choice of a new capital by considerations even more weighty than those of association and prestige. At Harran he was most favourably situated to receive the help of the most powerful allies upon whom the ruined fortunes of Assyria could count. For the chronicle had already revealed, so far back as the year 616, that Egypt, under Psammetichus I, who had so decisively shaken off the yoke of Ashurbanipal, had now actually sent an army to co-operate with the King of Assyria in a campaign on the Euphrates. Thus it was that Ashur-uballit, four years later, founded his kingdom in Harran. He realized that the only hope of his precarious throne depended on Egyptian support. How soon he would have need of it, and how far it might avail him, events were soon to show. But it is timely to remark that in this respect, as in others, the evidence of the chronicle will necessitate a complete change of views previously held with respect to Egyptian policy at this period. So far from being merely anxious to secure a due share of the Assyrian spoils, Egypt has no preoccupation in these years but that of supporting at any cost the tottering empire. Nor need we seek far to find the explanation of this complete change of front. 'The Scythians', says Herodotus, 'gained supremacy over the whole of Asia, and then went on to Egypt. But when they came to Palestine of Syria, Psammetichus, the King of Egypt met them, and with bribes and supplications dissuaded them from advancing farther.' So profound was the terror caused to Egypt by this irruption of the barbarians, that the only resource seemed to be an alliance with some power that could help to withstand a second attack, and that power could be none but Assyria, so recently at the height of her fortunes, and with a prestige still but little dimmed by the calamities which had begun to descend upon her. But now the position was again reversed; Ashur-uballit settled at Harran so as to be near Egyptian help. It was given too late to save the new capital, which fell to the Scythians in 610, and a strenuous siege by Ashur-uballit and his mixed army failed to recover it in the next year.

In this paper it has been possible to touch only upon the central event which the chronicle records, and upon one or two of the subsequent passages which introduce circumstances of the most

outstanding novelty and interest. But the picture which it gives of the closing years of Assyria, the stirring incidents which it connects with particular localities, the details concerning the reign and acts of Nabopolassar, hitherto almost completely unknown, as well as the context it supplies for many isolated facts and references which could not in its absence be correctly interpreted—all of these combine to form a document of peculiar interest, relating as it does to one of the most crucial periods in the history of the world.


SCA MA
RIA

A ROMANESQUE RELIEF IN YORK MINSTER

By ERIC MACLAGAN

Read July 11th, 1923

In the year 1829, on the vigil of Candlemas, a crazy incendiary named Jonathan Martin secreted himself in York Minster and set fire to it. Much of the eastern half of the building was destroyed or seriously damaged, and extensive repairs had to be put in hand. In the course of these repairs a mutilated relief in stone was discovered, buried at some depth in the east wall of the Cathedral underneath the vast window which is its peculiar glory. This relief seems never to have been removed since its discovery. It remains at the bottom of a recess in the wall, a little to the north side of the altar of the Lady Chapel, among the seventeenth and eighteenth-century tombs and monuments that have been erected there. Except by artificial light it is hardly possible to see it at all satisfactorily, and its secluded position has hitherto prevented it from receiving the attention that its artistic importance would warrant.

Not that it is in any sense unknown or unpublished. In 1850 an admirably drawn and very accurate lithograph was published in Poole and Hugall's *An Historical and Descriptive Guide to York Cathedral* (G. A. Poole and J. W. Hugall, York, 1850, pl. xxxi), without accompanying comment. In 1899 a less accurate drawing was reproduced, again without comment, in Mr. Clutton Brock's *The Cathedral Church of York* (in Bell's *Cathedrals*, 1899, p. 119). Finally, in 1912, an actual photograph, by no means unsuccessful when the extreme difficulty of throwing any adequate light on the relief is considered, was published by Professor Prior and Mr. Gardiner in their great book on *Mediaeval Figure Sculpture in England* (p. 135, fig. 116).

Nearly ten years ago the late Dean Purey Cust very kindly gave me permission to have a cast made of this relief for the Victoria and Albert Museum. This cast has made it easier to study the composition, and it is from it, and not from the original, that the photograph here reproduced was made.

The relief itself is carved with extreme delicacy from a slab of what is apparently a fine-grained, yellowish limestone, 22¾ inches wide and in its present condition 31½ inches high. The complete relief must have been at least 40 inches high. The stone was of no great thickness, and the sculptor has made the fullest possible use of his material; the highest points of the relief are all arranged in one plane, no doubt representing the original surface of the slab.

It is unnecessary to describe the composition, but there are one or two peculiar points to which attention may be called. The Virgin is seated on a bolster-shaped cushion of a type familiar enough in Carolingian and Byzantine art, with another cushion of the same shape under her feet; a long, narrow strip of stuff hangs over both cushions. Her right arm (the hand of which has been cut away) passed behind the knees of the Child, so that He was sitting with His legs across her wrist, a rather unusual position, of which it would be difficult to find another example in Western art of this date. The same attitude does occur, however, in some of the traditional compositions of the Eastern Church.[1] And an early example of it is to be seen in an ivory figured by Dr. Aus'm Weerth, which appears to have gone astray since he illustrated it; to judge from the very inadequate drawing he published, it seems to have been a Coptic carving, perhaps of about the seventh century.[2] The Child is blessing sideways with His right hand, and may be supposed to have held a book or scroll in His left, but His body has been entirely cut away. So have both the heads, and it is not easy to reconstruct their position; they must have been very close together. On each side of the Virgin's head the inscription SANCTA MARIA is carved in beautiful incised letters; it may be noticed that the C is a square one, and that there are two different forms of A used—one of these, the diagonal with a semicircular loop, is somewhat unusual. Near the right edge of the slab are two holes, which suggest that it was attached by dowels to some kind of framework. From its position in the east wall of the Cathedral it is natural to suppose that the relief originally stood over or near the

[1] N. Kondakov, *Iconography of the Mother of God* (1910—in Russian), fig. 124, p. 177.

[2] *Fundgraben der Kunst und Ikonographie in der Elfenbein-Arbeiten* (1912), pl. 16.

Lady altar. But I have been unable to trace any document that could give information as to this altar. The whole question of the original position of the Lady Chapel at York Minster has been the subject of considerable dispute. The first Romanesque Cathedral built towards the end of the eleventh century by Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux, the Conqueror's chaplain, was burned in 1137 [1]; when it was restored or rebuilt Archbishop Roger, who died in 1181, built a chapel of St. Mary and the Angels, the site of which is uncertain. Then, in the fourteenth century, Archbishop John de Thoresby, who ruled from 1352 to 1373, completed a chapel dedicated to the Virgin; in 1361 we are told that there was no place where the daily Mass of Our Lady could be decently celebrated,[2] though there seems to have been another Lady altar in the crypt. As to an image, the only reference that I know of is in a will dated 1493, where Robert Este gives 20 marks to gild the image of Blessed Mary standing at the end of the great altar at the south side of the said high altar.[3] But though I suppose this may conceivably refer to our relief there is no particular reason for believing that it does.

The mutilation of the relief is obviously deliberate, and was probably carried out under the violently Protestant Archbishop Holgate, whose injunctions of 1552 to the Dean order that the monuments and the tabernacles where the images did stand are to be taken down.[4] But why it was embedded in the wall, and whether nearly a hundred years ago it was found exactly in the position which it now occupies, seems a matter for conjecture alone.

In the absence of documentary history, any discussion of the date and place of origin of the relief must be based upon stylistic considerations. As to date, it may be taken for granted that it is not later than the twelfth century. And of existing twelfth or late eleventh-century reliefs perhaps the most obvious for comparison are those which begin the continuous history of Romanesque sculpture in south-western France. In the ambulatory of St. Sernin at Toulouse [5] and in the cloister of Moissac [6] there are a number of carved slabs of the local Pyrenean marble with a seated figure of Christ in majesty and full-length figures of angels, apostles, and abbots. The Toulouse and Moissac reliefs are clearly from the same workshop; and those at

[1] John Browne, *History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York* (1847), p. 14.

[2] Ib., p. 148. [3] Ib., p. 263. [4] Ib., p. 297.

[5] A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (1923), pll. 296-304.

[6] Ib., pll. 262-73.

Moissac can be dated as having been carved under Abbot Ansquitil about the year 1100. Now these reliefs do show some analogy in technique to the relief at York. In particular, the folds of the drapery are represented by a similar rounded ridge; though it would be well to remember that a similar convention may be seen in ivories of an earlier date and that the apparent resemblance may merely be due to the imitation of the same models. It has accordingly been suggested that the York relief belongs to the school of Toulouse, and is either itself an imported work or else was carved by an imported workman.

This suggestion had the weighty support of Monsieur de Lasteyrie, to whom students of French Romanesque sculpture and architecture owe perhaps their largest debt. Mr. Bilson has very kindly given me a copy of a letter which Monsieur de Lasteyrie wrote to him some ten years ago on the subject. It is only fair to say, however, that his opinion was based on a photograph, and that he suggested that the relief might be in Pyrenean marble, which it certainly is not.

It is not difficult to cite actual reliefs of the Virgin and Child in the south of France (they are to be found rather to the east of Toulouse and Moissac) which show a certain iconographical similarity. Perhaps the finest of these, though unfortunately both the heads have been knocked off and very inadequately restored, is a relief in the priest's house at Beaucaire,[1] just across the Rhone from Tarascon. There is the same sort of attitude, with the knees held wider apart than the feet; and the Child is sitting in something of the same way, though He is not supported, as at York, on the Virgin's right hand. Another relief of very similar character, from the ruined abbey of Fontfroide[2] in the Aude, is preserved in the University of Montpellier. In both of these cases the Virgin was originally the centre of a group with the Magi making their offering on one side and on the other Joseph asleep listening to the message of the Angel. The same composition appears more or less complete in the lunette of the left doorway of the façade of St. Gilles[3]; and from there it was copied with remarkable fidelity by Benedetto Antelani towards the end of the twelfth century over one of the doors of the baptistery at Parma.

These southern French Virgins, seated full face but with the Child in profile, follow quite a different tradition from the rigidly frontal type that prevailed in Auvergne and in the Ile de France, perhaps

[1] A. Kingsley Porter, pl. 1299, cf. text, p. 246; there is a beautiful lithograph showing the relief without the restorations in H. Revoil, *Architecture Romane du Midi de al France* (1867), vol. iii, pl. lxi.

[2] Ib., pl. 1301. [3] Ib., pl. 1386.

deriving in the latter instance from the world-famous Virgin of Chartres. But the York relief, so far as one can judge from its style, seems earlier in date than any of them and yet of a graver and more accomplished beauty; and apart from general resemblances of position the arrangement of the figures is by no means identical. Such resemblance as there is is more apparent in photographs than in the originals; and looking at these southern French sculptures with the York relief fresh in my mind I must admit that I found it difficult to persuade myself that they had anything much in common.

Indeed, an iconographical parallel which is at least as close, if not closer, may be found at York itself. In the Museum of the Philosophical Society there is a tiny bronze relief, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high (illustrated on page 485), which was dug up many years ago in York.[1] The figures of the Virgin and Child are treated with a ruthless stylization which makes it hard at first glance to disentangle them; the folds of the drapery are actually allowed to form a plaited pattern below the knee. But the general outline of the group, with the sideways swing of the folds above the feet (which in all the southern French reliefs fall in parallel lines towards the ground), does certainly recall the stone relief in the Minster.

This curious little bronze, which so far as I know has never been published or discussed, seems to suggest a late Anglo-Saxon origin; very likely a definite date could be assigned to it by some one competent to speak on such matters. But I imagine that this date could not be far, one way or another, from the eleventh century. It is perhaps unfortunate that in English archaeology the year 1066 should assume such an extraordinary importance, for in the minor arts at any rate the Conquest may not have caused quite such a complete break as we are sometimes tempted to believe. But whether the bronze Virgin and Child was made before or after the battle of Hastings, there would seem no reason to doubt that it was made in England.

Professor Prior has suggested a certain kinship in style between the stone relief in the Minster and a much mutilated stone relief of a standing saint which is now preserved in the cloisters of Lincoln (*Mediaeval Figure Sculpture in England*, p. 141, fig. 125); and this saint does also, in its own way, suggest a relationship with sculpture of the school of Toulouse, though rather with the stone apostles by Gilabertus and his colleagues in the Museum than with the marble

[1] A bronze figure of an Apostle exhibited beside it is labelled as having been found in digging the foundations for a house (No. 30) in Collergate in July, 1853, at a depth of six feet.

reliefs in St. Sernin and at Moissac. Perhaps the only other piece of Romanesque stone sculpture in England that might be mentioned in connexion with the York relief (and that for the subject only) is a roughly carved and much damaged slab at Inglesham Church near Lechlade which does also represent, though in a very different manner, the Virgin and Child enthroned with the word MARIA in large, bold, incised letters above.

The lettering of the short inscription on the York relief does not give much help in placing it. The square C would seem to have gone out of ordinary use before the middle of the twelfth century in most places. The rather odd final A with the diagonal and loop is more common before the year 1000 than after it. There is an excellent example of it on the marvellous ivory diptych from Genoels Elderen,[1] dating from about the year 800, which is at this moment exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club on loan from the Brussels Museum. I have not been able to find it in any eleventh or twelfth-century inscription in the south of France, and though it very likely does occur there it is certainly not characteristic. There is one example on a piece of late twelfth-century sculpture of a not dissimilar school in a convent at Santiago de Compostela [2] in Galicia; and I believe it also occurs in Lombardy at the same date. But the York relief is not likely to have been imported either from Galicia or from Lombardy.

On the whole, until some far more definite resemblance to a foreign school of sculpture can be made out, I think we shall be justified in considering the York relief as English work. We surely need not hesitate to do so on account of its beauty and its distinction. There is not very much English Romanesque sculpture of the greatest kind that has survived, but what there is—the reliefs built into the west front of Lincoln, the slabs from Selsey in Chichester Cathedral, the south porch of Malmesbury, the west door of Rochester, the Resurrection reliefs in the Library at Durham—has enough accomplishment and splendour to make it likely that much more must have perished. The French archaeologist has God's plenty in his own country, and he need not grudge to other and less favoured lands the crumbs that fell from that incomparable table of French twelfth-century art.

Among these scanty remains the York relief, if we are to date it by analogy with the technically not dissimilar marble reliefs at Toulouse and Moissac, would take a very high and a very early place.

[1] A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, i, 1 and 2.

[2] A. Kingsley Porter, op. cit., pl. 705.

If it belongs to a period not later than the first quarter of the twelfth century we may suppose that it adorned the great church built by Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux and that it was saved when that church was burned in 1137. Its mutilation in the sixteenth century has robbed it of much of its beauty, but it is still worthy of a more distinguished position than that which it now occupies, and it may be hoped that the Dean and Chapter will one day find an opportunity for removing it from the hole in the wall where it is hidden and re-erecting it in a place where it will receive the admiration that it surely deserves.

RALEIGH LECTURE ON HISTORY

THE BEGINNINGS OF A MODERN CAPITAL: LONDON AND WESTMINSTER IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By T. F. TOUT

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read November 14, 1923

The first Raleigh lectures have not unnaturally been devoted to the period when Raleigh flourished, and to the aspects of activity which the hero had chiefly at heart or in which he won personal distinction. But the broad trust under which they are delivered makes no such limitation of subject, and the time must come when it will be the turn of periods and aspects of history which have no essential relation to Raleigh's name. A medievalist, when honoured with an invitation to give this lecture, has no choice but to make the plunge in this new direction. But in asking you to-day to devote your attention to the period of history to which I am mainly devoted, I am emboldened to remember that the donor of the Raleigh benefaction is himself an alderman of the City of London and has been its Lord Mayor. Knowing, therefore, the keenness of his interest in the history of the great city with which he is so honourably associated, I have ventured to speak about London in the fourteenth century, and I have looked at this subject from the particular administrative angle from which I am at present compelled to contemplate all history. But the administration of the City of London is a well-worn subject, and municipal history, in either its political or economic aspects, is not very much in my line. Yet, in working painfully through the administrative developments of the English state in the fourteenth century one fact, which was quite new to me, gradually forced itself upon my notice. It is that the second half of the fourteenth century showed such a concentration of national and administrative machinery in and near London that the London of Edward III

and Richard II became for the first time what one may call a modern political capital. Moreover, side by side with this development, and even preceding it, London was becoming for the first time an economic, a social, and a literary centre such as it has always been in more recent history. My task to-day is to show how London, already the economic centre of England, became under Edward III and Richard II its political centre also.

I make this statement lest the ambiguousness of my title should give rise to false hopes. And I have another confession to make that may perhaps be disappointing to an alderman of the ancient city. To most historians the history of London is the history of the city, and necessarily so. But the history of the capital is seldom or never the history of the city, but the history of its suburbs. It is the history of Westminster above all things; and only less the history of that 'suburb of London', between the walls and the bars, and of the more remote suburb between the bars and Westminster in the more restricted sense. It is, to a minor extent, even the history of Southwark, and the history of the eastern fortress of the Tower and its precincts. Behind all this doubtless the city still stood, for the existence of the great city attracted the capital to its neighbourhood. Yet the history of the capital is very seldom the history of the city itself. It is rather the history of the beginnings of that wider London, which has become the greatest urban agglomeration in the world. It will tax all your patience to bear with me in suggesting the outline of even this limited field. London city in the fourteenth century is too big a subject for the short hour to which modern impatience has reduced the longest of lectures. The more patient men of the Middle Ages thought two hours and a half the normal time to allow a lecturer. A medievalist may admire and envy their endurance, but he would be a bold man to imitate their example.

My theme then is London as a capital, and I must begin with a warning against a common error of the modern world. One of those present presuppositions which we all more or less take to the study of the past is the conviction that every state must have a city which is its capital. We read in widely circulated books how Winchester, the sometime capital of Wessex, became the Anglo-Saxon capital of England, and how, after the Norman conquest, London replaced Winchester, and has been the capital ever since. Nay, we read of London as having been the capital of the 'heptarchic' kingdom of Essex, at a time when nothing serious is known about either that city or that kingdom. In the same way books tell us that Clovis made Paris his capital and that Charlemagne placed

his capital at Aachen, leaving it to the Capetians to bring back Paris to its natural place.

Such doctrines in their cruder form can only excite a smile. But more insidiously expressed they do not a little to confuse the course of historical development. To get nearer the point, we must ask what we mean when we speak of the capital of a state. To the plain man it means the seat of the central government. In the past it has often signified the residence of the sovereign. To many it simply suggests the biggest and most important town. To those who are nowadays chiefly interested in the economic interpretation of history, it indicates the commercial and financial centre. As this may, or may not, be coincident with the political centre, the economic historian uses the word 'metropolis' in preference to that of capital, though historically metropolis was, of course, originally the Greek city in its relation to its colonies, and in the Middle Ages the seat of an archbishop. But now so sound a historian as Professor Gras of Minnesota tells us that economic history, having gone through the collectional, the nomadic, the village, and the town stages, has attained, notably in England and America, the 'metropolitan stage'. The centralization of trade and finance in the 'metropolis' will, in the long run, make the financial centre the administrative centre. The rest of the country will be the contributory 'hinterland', and we shall, I suppose, at last get back to the Roman Empire or the domination of Athens or Sparta over its subject cities. Indeed, one enthusiast for London history has anticipated Professor Gras by laying down that London, the capital of the Empire, has always been a 'city state' throughout its history, and looks forward with hope to the time when government for and by the capital city will be the note of the future. Fortunately, we have not quite got to that stage yet, though recent history has shown certain well-marked tendencies in that direction.

The medievalist has the good fortune of dealing with a period when no such developments have as yet made themselves felt. He is little interested in the times of the city state, when it was natural for the town to govern the country. He is not much concerned with the Roman Empire, which never quite shook off the tradition of the city state from which it arose, and which, when that city had become a world, still needed central and local capitals as the seats of the wonderful system of administration and law which kept the civilized world together under a single government for some four or five centuries. But in the early Middle Ages the Roman tradition, though strong, was an ideal and not a reality. From the fifth to the

eleventh century the western world in general, and Britain in particular, had no use for capital cities. There was no need of a capital in the sense of a permanent seat for a central government, because there was a very minimum of central control, and what centralized authority there was was not located in a single spot, but constantly on the move from place to place. This central authority belonged to the ruler, who, with his little court of household ministers and servants, strove to carry out his ungrateful task of keeping up public order. The only practical way in which this could be done was through the personal presence of the monarch, who was therefore condemned to a life of constant wandering from one of his estates to another. There could hardly be a capital in the sense of a residence, any more than a capital in the sense of a collection of government offices. Still less could there be a capital in the sense of a great town, since economic conditions made town life very difficult. If men lived together in towns, it was not to make money, or to take their ease, but to obtain the protection of strong walls from the dangers that made life in the country precarious, except to the lords who could fortify their own houses. And most unthinkable of all was the 'economic metropolis' of modern Europe or America, for trading was local and on a small scale. If in those days we read vaguely of a *caput regni*, it only means a favourite abode of the sovereign, a place where he liked to live when he had a chance of a quiet life for a brief space. It was only in this sense that Aachen was Charlemagne's capital and Winchester Alfred's.

With the end of the Dark Ages government became more settled, and the possibilities of town life became greater. Even before the Norman Conquest England had a nearer approach to civilized administration than most states, for it had a government strong enough to impose a land-tax. But under the Norman kings a really effective administrative system grew up, centring round the king and his household. This was sketched out in rough outline under Henry I, and attained its fullness under Henry II. But it was a system not for England only, but for the whole dominions ruled by each successive king. Under Henry II, then, it was a plan for the government of the whole Angevin empire, for Aquitaine and Anjou, as much as for Normandy and England. Its heart lay in the chancery, the great administrative office. But it was impossible that this system could be worked from any one centre. The government offices, therefore, followed the restless king from one town or castle to another in his perpetual wanderings on both sides of the Channel. It was not the chancery of England but the king's

chancery. Like other offices of state it was a department of the royal household. It was as often, therefore, in France as in England.

Meanwhile the establishment of order was recreating economic prosperity, and town life became again possible in England for the first time since the collapse of Roman rule. London, the great mercantile centre of Roman days, again became an important place. Norman merchants settled there and improved its trade. Norman priests made it a centre of civilization and learning. It attained municipal autonomy under Henry I; its citizens were ranked with barons, and great barons were London citizens. FitzStephen's well-known description of London in the days of Henry II shows it as a city approached by no other town in England, the frequent abiding-place of kings and magnates, the centre for courts and councils, the home of trade and luxury, the one place where a public kitchen allowed its inhabitants to buy well-cooked food at any time, and so entertain the unexpected guest who descended suddenly upon them. Though this latter seems to moderns an imperfect proof of urban greatness, we must allow that London was becoming as near an approach to an economic capital as the conditions of the age allowed. But its very prosperity and the extensive liberties forbade it as a desirable place of residence for the king and his court, and stood in the way of its becoming a political capital. The king often wished to be near the great city, but he claimed the same power to control his own court that the citizens demanded to govern their own city. The only way to avoid the conflict between the household jurisdiction and the municipal jurisdiction was for the king to keep away from the latter. He could only be in the city as a guest or a conqueror. Accordingly he seldom ventured within the city walls. He established himself on such occasions either in the Tower fortress, built to over-awe the citizens, or at his palace of Westminster, hard by the great abbey which Edward the Confessor had endowed, whose church had already become the usual crowning place and burial place of kings. Even under William the Conqueror the king, when he was in England, held high court every Whitsuntide at Westminster, surrounded by the magnates of church and state. Westminster was therefore beginning to be an habitual residence and a centre of monarchy. But it shared with Winchester and Gloucester in the crown-bearing assemblies at the great feasts of the church. If it took precedence of the others in importance it was because, though not in London, it was near London. Yet no Norman king held these solemn courts in the city itself.

The first step towards making a political capital was the centraliz-

ing and localizing of government departments. Even in Norman times there was a centralization and localization of the all-important office of finance, which, under Henry I, became known as the exchequer. It was a matter of common prudence that the large sums collected by remorseless taxation should be safeguarded in some fixed spot. It was, however, desirable to have one home for the exchequer in Normandy and another in England. At first there were not two exchequers but two branches of a single exchequer. The place first chosen for the English home of finance was Winchester, where we find the chief financial officers established with official houses and estates. But though working well together, the natural tendency was for the two branches of the exchequer to drift apart. In the erection of an English exchequer we have the first distinctly insular government office.

The transference of the English exchequer from Winchester to Westminster, not later than the early years of the reign of Henry II, was the first step towards making Westminster a capital city. Henceforth the exchequer was normally established in a home of its own on the banks of the Thames, hard by the great hall of William Rufus, the centre of the royal palace, which thus became the focus of the most vital branch of administrative activity, though it was not until over two centuries later that the exchequer ceased to make occasional migrations to other places. But the exchequer only held two sessions in the year, after Michaelmas and Easter, and for another half-century the permanent financial machine, the treasury, or the storehouse of treasure and records, remained at Winchester. There was obvious risk and inconvenience in carrying large sums of money, and an ever-increasing mass of documents, from Winchester to Westminster and back again every spring and autumn. Hence other treasuries arose, notably a treasury at Westminster. Before the death of John the treasury at Westminster had absorbed the treasury at Winchester, and became the main treasury of the exchequer. Thus the finance of the Crown became centralized on the banks of the Thames, and this centralization was the more real since every sheriff and other chief accounting officer had to appear at Westminster twice a year to make his proffer, tender his accounts, and pay in what he had collected of the king's revenue. The permanent establishment of the exchequer in a fixed spot gradually separated it from the still itinerating court, which remained the centre of all other administrative work. It became, accordingly, the earliest of government departments, with a staff, a retinue, a tradition of its own.

The separation between England and Normandy that followed on

the tragic collapse of the Angevin empire under John made the institutions designed for an empire the heritage of an island kingdom. The court departments thus became localized to England, just as the exchequer has been since the days of Henry I. The next step was the differentiation of the court departments from each other, a process which had already begun. There was a well-defined secretarial and administrative department in the chancery, now no longer, as in Angevin times, the single chancery of a half continental empire, but in fact and soon in name the chancery of England. There was also a judicial department when the king set up a bench of lawyers to decide on the knotty problems brought before the royal justice. There was even a court department of finance in the king's chamber, the primitive court treasury, originally kept in the king's bedroom, which had been the source of the exchequer, but was now still surviving as a household office of the king's personal finances. There was a new department gradually springing up in the king's wardrobe, which, in an age that did not distinguish the private and the official aspects of a ruler, covered the whole ground of political as well as household administration. All these still itinerated with the court, but those who had most business with them were beginning to feel the inconvenience of seeking out the king, wherever he happened to be, if they wished to obtain justice or favour from him. Accordingly, in that great attempt to meet popular grievances, *Magna Carta*, it was provided that common pleas, the ordinary lawsuits between man and man that came before the king's justice, should no longer follow the court but be held in some fixed place. A few years later we find the common bench, or, as it was called in later times, the court of common pleas, cut out of the household just as the exchequer had been. It went 'out of court', had a separate staff of judges and officials, and was established at Westminster, hard by the exchequer.

A second great step was thus taken towards the creation of a modern capital by the early years of the thirteenth century. With the common bench and the exchequer both at Westminster, the nucleus of an administrative capital was already established. Under Henry III we have a king who was, with all his love of foreigners, an Englishman, both by birth and habitual residence. His special devotion to Edward the Confessor led him both to call his eldest son after the royal saint, and to refound and re-edify the abbey which St. Edward had first set up as one of the greater monasteries of England. His intimate relations with the Westminster monks quickened his predilection for the palace adjoining the abbey as a favourite abiding-place. With a king more normally resident in one

place than his predecessors had been wont to be, Westminster gets still nearer the position of a modern capital. Where the king was, there was also the chancery, the king's bench and the household with its administrative elements of the wardrobe and the chamber. The bad relations between the king and the Londoners tended to a still further emphasizing of Westminster as against the city. The new church and monastery of St. Peter's arose gradually under the king's own eye and under his direct control. The abbey began to lend its spacious premises to supplement the limited resources of the royal palace. Its sacred associations protected the royal treasure; its buildings were the meeting-places for councils of officials and magnates; its monks participated in the royal service. Within a century three abbots of Westminster became treasurers of the exchequer that was established at its very gates. Simon de Montfort owed much of his authority to London's support, but he summoned to Westminster the famous representative parliament of 1265. Westminster thus became sanctioned as convenient for the parliaments which were an outgrowth of the older aristocratic assemblies.

From Norman days to the middle of the thirteenth century Westminster was developing slowly but uninterruptedly towards the position of a political capital. For the next eighty years there were some suggestions of a reaction. This was due to many causes, one of which was the unwillingness of the king to increase the liberty and prosperity of the neighbouring city of London. But a stronger reason lay in the circumstance that for much of this period policy, no less than prejudice against London, called away the English kings from southern England to the west or north. Not only was the king naturally followed by the still itinerating offices of state and household, but it was found necessary to have the departments already established at Westminster removed to some city nearer the centre of the king's activities. Thus, when Edward I's chief interest was the conquest of Wales, he removed the exchequer and common bench from Westminster to Shrewsbury. A more lengthy business followed in the attempted subjugation of Scotland. So long as this was a main object of the English kings, York had obvious advantages over Westminster as a political capital. Thus for nearly seven years, from 1298 to 1305, the exchequer and common bench were established at York, at which city even the chancery found its general headquarters. It was the same under Edward II. Even after Bannockburn had proved the futility of Scottish conquest, the defence of English territory from the Scots involved an only less insistent call northwards. It was much the same in the early years of Edward III,

when that king revived his grandfather's policy of dominating Scotland. Between 1332 and 1338 there was a concentration of administrative machinery at York such as even Edward I's reign had not witnessed. Had the Scottish design proved successful, York might well have taken the political position which Westminster has held in later history. There was, however, this difficulty in the way. Until the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, the resources of England lay mainly in the south. The north was not only poor and liable to be desolated by the Scots: it was the home of the sturdy northern nobles, who were the natural opponents of the king and kept a tight grip on such resources as the land afforded. It was the wealth of London: it was the fact that it was inevitably the economic capital that made, even in the days when politics tended to establish the state in the north, a strong call towards the great city of the south.

The Londoners sometimes grumbled at the removal of the government to the north, but I cannot find that it made any difference to the commercial prosperity of the city. The wealth and trade of London were steadily increasing, and the part played by London in political history became greater than ever. But what was a trifle to the city was naturally disastrous to Westminster. For Westminster was unlike any other urban centre in England. It was neither a borough nor a market town. It had no trade or manufactures. It had not even a market, for the Londoners had secured that no markets should be held within seven miles of their city. Its only trade was at an annual fair, held under the aegis of the abbots, and only attended under stringent compulsion by the London tradesmen. Westminster was not even a residential centre, for the great houses of the nobles and bishops were untenanted when business no longer compelled them to take up an unwilling residence under the unwonted restraints of town life. It had none of the special administrative autonomy, none of the centralized machinery of a complete town. It was never summoned to return members to parliament, though many insignificant boroughs had already that privilege or obligation. It was simply a collection of townships and parishes of the county of Middlesex, governed in the loose way in which any other country district was ruled. It was in no sense a unity, because the undefined area, loosely called Westminster, was cut up by special franchises and liberties that were fatal to any single system of administration. The Abbot of Westminster had an extensive jurisdiction over the original parish of St. Margaret's, which extended from the Thames westwards to Kensington, and went northwards so far that among its

chapels of ease was the chapel of Paddington. Within his sphere the abbot, through his steward and bailiffs, could detain malefactors in the abbot's prison, and hang them for felony under the very eyes of the king's judges when they sat in Westminster Hall. Many of the magnates had similar judicial immunities within their own manors and estates. This was notably the case with the manor of the Savoy, which was soon to become the town house of the great earls of Lancaster. The only semblance of unity was to be found in the times when the court was established at the palace, for then the accredited doctrine was that Westminster was 'within the verge of the court', and was, therefore, directly subject to the jurisdiction of the steward and marshals of the household, whose arbitrary and corrupt methods were, from one generation to another, a constant source of complaint, for which redress, though often promised, was never effectively given. With the court in the north even this imperfect jurisdiction ceased. Westminster was at the best a court suburb. But a court suburb without the court could not live. Its inhabitants either followed the king to the north or vegetated miserably, hoping for better times. The population of parasites felt its occupation gone when the courtiers and soldiers, the officials and the lawyers, had followed the king and magnates to distant parts of the realm.

The bitter wail of Westminster induced Edward III in 1337 to appoint a commission of inquiry, whose findings substantially endorsed the complaints. It was established that Westminster was not a borough or market town: that the men thereof could only sell merchandize when the king held there his parliament, or when the exchequer and the two benches were there. The men of Westminster had hardly any arable land: their substance consisted of rents, but the houses from which their living came were now tenantless. On account of the absence of the courts the men of Westminster had departed from the town with their goods, and dwelt at York and elsewhere, following the court. Before their departure they pulled down and sold their houses, whereby the town was impoverished, losing yearly in rents £70. It looks as if a reassessment of Westminster to that extent was ordered to redress their grievance. That a reduction of assessment to the amount of £70 a year should be thought adequate to make Westminster pay its way shows the modesty of the place as an urban centre even when the court was there. Yet for the fatal years of the king's absence, even that little sufficiency was destroyed.

It is possible that the men at Westminster, like other petitioners,

rather overstated their grievances. It is certain that, even when the public offices had gone north, it was found necessary that they should have a sort of branch establishment in the south. This was more the case by reason of the increasing complexity of the machinery of administration which the great enterprises of the Edwards brought about. Even under Edward I the itinerating offices experienced the convenience of having at Westminster a storehouse or treasury, where documents and valuables might be safeguarded. Thus, when the wardrobe was with the king in Scotland, it left behind within the precincts of Westminster a storehouse or treasury, which was broken into and ransacked in 1303.

The wardrobe in the nature of things followed the court, but the great administrative office of the chancery was now being swept along the way traversed a hundred and fifty years earlier by the exchequer. It was separating from the household and drifting out of court. This process involved the certainty of its ultimate establishment in one fixed place. Even under Edward I there were strong reasons why that fixed place should be Westminster. For instance, when Edward I on one occasion was hunting in the New Forest he ordered that the chancery should remain at Westminster 'as if in a fixed place, where all seeking writs or prosecuting their rights could find the appropriate remedy'. The barons had even less love of a great city than the king: their ideal was isolation, with an immense household, in their country manors. If, for business purposes, they had to go to London, they transferred their great establishment to a house in the city or a suburban manor in the Strand, lived there the same life that they lived when in the country, and got away as soon as they could. Ever more conservative than the king, they believed that both chancery and king's bench ought to travel with the court rather than remain in London. This feeling was expressed in a clause of the concessions imposed in 1300 on the king. 'The king wishes that the chancery and the justices of his bench should follow him, so that he have always with him some wise men of law who understand the business which comes to court.' This means that the lawyers would be valuable for giving the king alternative councillors to his household staff, and that their advice to him was likely to be more palatable to the magnates than that of the courtiers. It was a proof that by 1306 Edward I had gained the mastery over his nobles when he ordered chancery and exchequer to remain at Westminster during his last expedition to Scotland. But the exigencies of business soon prevailed over policy, and when the king died on the border, he was attended by the chancellor and some of the chancery clerks.

Thus, under the early Edwards, the centrifugal and the centripetal tendencies struggled one against the other. A clear direction was at last given to English policy by Edward III's claim to the French throne and the Hundred Years' War against France which resulted from it. The war began in 1338, and shifted the administrative centre once more to the south. Accordingly, in September, 1338, the king ordered the return of the exchequer to Westminster, 'so that it might be nearer to him in the parts beyond the sea'. The common bench followed the exchequer. But the attempt made to run the French and Scottish wars, side by side, made the administrative transference to the south a slow process. Even after it had been effected, the plan was tried of having a certain element of the administration still at York, and when, in 1339, an extraordinary tax of a ninth was imposed for war purposes, two receivers of the tax were set up, one with his office at the Tower of London, and the other with his office at York. Gradually, however, it was found not to be practical politics to put the main national effort into the northern campaign. Scotland was abandoned that France might be won.

A new trouble arose from the king's preoccupations with France. As in Norman days, there was the danger of the king and ministry being largely diverted from England, and the early years of the great war witnessed efforts to remedy this by setting up a divided government, one section of which followed the king to the Continent, while another section remained behind in England. The position of Westminster was, however, now secure. It was the only possible place for the residence of the government which ruled England and furnished the king and his army with the sinews of war. Accordingly, not only the exchequer and the common bench, but even the king's bench and the chancery were now established at Westminster. There, too, was the head-quarters of the regency, which was in effect a government by a section of the king's council. Besides the administration at home, the king took with him abroad a large number of officials and offices. They were too numerous to follow him from point to point, and found head-quarters in some fixed spot. Indeed, it is not too much to say that just as London was the head-quarters of the king's ministry in England, so from 1338 to 1340 Antwerp was the head-quarters of the king's ministry in the Netherlands. In the same way, seven years later, when Edward spent more than a year besieging Calais, he collected in the besieging lines so large a proportion of his administrative staff that, as a Westminster chronicler tells us, a town of tents and wooden huts arose that challenged comparison with London. Such temporary expedients on

foreign soil helped to strengthen the tendency which was already making for a permanent capital at Westminster.

The experiments of a divided administration proved singularly unsuccessful. They resulted in reviving and exacerbating the ancient tendency of the ministers attached to the royal household to take up a different line from that of the ministers belonging to the national departments of state. The chancery and exchequer, left at home, resented the constant interference from the household ministers who went with the king abroad. The ministers who followed the king complained that the remissness of the exchequer in forwarding supplies had led to the collapse of the campaign abroad. At last Edward came home in a rage, turned out the ministers in England, and threw himself entirely in the hands of his militarist household staff. To the king's intense disgust parliament backed up the dismissed ministers. As the king could only get fresh supplies by keeping on good terms with parliament, he was forced, slowly and reluctantly, to abandon his extreme pretensions. An incidental result of Edward's failure was that in future campaigns the bulk of the administration was kept at home. Better administration was obtained when some sort of unity was again restored to the king's ministry. For us the result of immediate importance was that of this united ministry, Westminster becomes the head-quarters.

We have now got to the last stage of the erection on the banks of the Thames of a capital city wherein resided the chief departments of the central administration of the nation. My thesis is that these last steps were attained during the second half of the fourteenth century under Edward III and his grandson. Just as the beginning of the process was symbolized by the Confessor's Abbey and Rufus's Great Hall, so the end of it was marked by the rebuilding of Westminster Hall by Richard II in the form known to us. It is to this process only that I must direct your attention, rejecting all temptations to turn right or left to the more picturesque and attractive fields which such a title as London in the fourteenth century might naturally suggest. What we have next to do is to take the offices, one by one, and see how, between 1340 and the end of the century, they made Westminster their permanent abode, only abandoning it for short periods and for distinctly temporary purposes. Thus the Hundred Years' War, which made England a nation, gave that nation a national capital.

First of all, let us say a word as to the two great departments which had already long been rooted in the marshy soil of Westminster: I mean, of course, the exchequer and the common bench.

When the exchequer came back from York in 1339, it came back to Westminster for good. Its subsequent migrations were few and temporary. In the twenty years that followed, the exchequer succeeded in establishing itself as one great national office of finance. This triumph became complete when the 'king's chamber', set up as a rival authority to the exchequer in the direct interests of personal prerogative, was given up by Edward III as a failure. The king first transferred the head-quarters of the chamber from the Tower to Westminster, and then, in 1355, handed over the whole landed estate of the chamber to exchequer control, retaining the chamber simply as a branch of the household. After this the exchequer ruled supreme over finance. Even the most intimate branches of the royal household had to account to it for their proceedings.

The return of the common bench to Westminster produced even greater consequences, for it made Westminster the centre of the highly centralized judicial system which had grown up in England. Round these two great organizations, the exchequer and the common bench, there now gradually clustered a variety of other departments of the state.

Besides the common bench there had long been the staff of judges who were set aside to hear pleas before the king. Their court we may now venture to call the court of king's bench, and even a court of common law, parallel to the bench for common pleas. This body was still liable to itinerate with the king. It was clearly troublesome to suitors and pleaders to follow the king's wanderings, and the justices *coram rege*, were drifting into the habit of holding many of the sittings at Westminster. That this was convenient to those engaged in litigation is clear from a petition of the commons in 1365, demanding that the king's bench should be fixed at Westminster or York, in the same 'places' where the common bench was established. The king clearly resented the suggestion of the commons as an attack on his discretion to hold his own bench where he would, but he promised 'greater ease' to his people, and in that form we may suspect he allowed the bench to remain frequently at Westminster, though reserving his right to move it where he would. It would be interesting to work through the *coram rege* plea rolls and record in detail the gradual cessation of the wanderings of the king's bench.

The chancery, like the king's bench, was still supposed to follow the court; but when it itinerated we find it as often moving after, or on parallel lines to, the king, as slavishly attending his movements. But the chancery had now a very solid permanent establish-

ment in London and its western suburbs. One part of Westminster Hall was reserved for its sittings, and known as the 'place of the chancery', where the chancellor sat with his clerks round the great stone table of the chancery, sealing writs and hearing suits.

Gradually other forms of administrative activity were attracted to Westminster. The queen sent her exchequer to Westminster in the wake of the greater organization that ministered to her husband. Other members of the royal family followed suit, notably the Prince of Wales. But the most important development of Westminster's political activity was that it now became the usual meeting-place of parliaments and councils. It is true that Westminster had always been a frequent meeting-place for parliaments. Yet it is quite an error to suppose that a fourteenth-century parliament was normally a parliament at Westminster. Up to 1338 all we can safely say is that parliaments were more often held at Westminster than anywhere else. Yet between 1327 and 1330 there were two parliaments at Westminster and six in other towns. Between 1327 and 1338 there were eleven parliaments at Westminster and ten held elsewhere, in five cases at York. Here, as in other relations, the Hundred Years' War marks the parting of the ways, for between 1339 and 1377 there were thirty-one parliaments, all held at Westminster, and only a single parliament which assembled elsewhere, and that an anomalous 'great council' or quasi-parliament at Winchester. This is conclusive proof that in these forty years of uninterrupted Westminster parliaments, Westminster had become the capital of England. Already the Painted Chamber in the palace was regarded as the natural place of assembly of a full parliament, and the chapter house of St. Peter's Abbey was already, in 1376, spoken of as the 'ancient place' for the meetings of the commons. It is true that after Edward III's death there was some reaction in the contrary direction. But never after this reign was it looked upon as other than exceptional to summon a parliament elsewhere than to Westminster.

The king's council now frequently met at Westminster. During the king's absence in France the council in England was generally expressly directed to tarry at Westminster or its neighbourhood. In the last period of Edward III's reign the king grew lethargic and secluded himself at Windsor, Eltham, Sheen, Havering, or other suburban manors, and yet the government continued at Westminster, though the king was absent. Normally the council had lived with the household and sat in the presence of the sovereign, but now the old king seldom sat with his advisors. Thus we read in the wardrobe

accounts that household officers, like the stewards and chamberlains, spent long periods of time outside the court, simply that they might be habitually present at sessions of the council. The curious records of the cost of providing councillors with breakfast and other refreshments to sustain them at their labours show that they partook of the royal bounty at Westminster. A few years before, the council followed the king over the country: now the king sent away from court his chief household officers in order that they might attend the council meetings at Westminster.

Medieval government offices, whether administrative or judicial, were not exacting as to the accommodation they required for the transaction of business. Westminster Hall is a big place, but modern lawyers would feel confused when common pleas were being heard in one corner, pleas *coram rege* in another, while in a third the chancery was conducting the administrative business that nowadays falls to the many secretaries of state, as well as the lawsuits that were now beginning to flow to it. The history of Westminster palace has still to be worked out in detail, but it is clear that under Edward III a great deal was done to enlarge its capacity as a bureaucratic centre. Thus the 'star chamber' was erected as a special place for the gatherings of the council, and the 'new chamber' was equipped for the king's chamber when it migrated from the Tower. The chief building of Edward III at Westminster was destined to promote the glory of the new collegiate chapel of St. Stephen's, which he set up within his palace on the lines of the similar college of St. George at Windsor.

Other erections hard by were to meet a new establishment at Westminster. In 1353 there was one of the many changes of the staple system, by which the trade in wool, wool fells, and leather was limited to certain monopolistic markets, called staples, whence they could be exported. The reasons for the king thus striving to concentrate trade were not wholly or mainly economic. They were largely fiscal, because it enabled the government to collect its customs more easily. But there were many experiments before a permanent policy was attained. There had long been a school which wished to have the staple in some foreign port, and a school which desired to have the staple established in England. Ultimately Edward III hit upon a compromise between these two plans. He set up a single 'foreign' staple in his own conquest of Calais, to which about a dozen English staples should send the commodities in which they dealt, that they might be finally sold to the foreigner at Calais.

Thirty years earlier, when English staples were first established, London was one of the little list of staple towns, and London

merchants wished it to be the sole staple, at any rate for England south of Trent. It was therefore a direct blow to London when, in 1353, English staples were again set up, that Westminster replaced London as a staple town. But Westminster, like other staple towns, was not a port. London Bridge barred access to it from the sea. In all such cases a port was provided for shipping the wares collected at the staple towns. Thus Hull was the port for York, Boston for Lincoln, and London for Westminster. When wool had been weighed, taxed, and measured at the Westminster staple, it was taken to London to be shipped.

For a few years Westminster gained largely by the city's loss. Rents rose to unheard of heights: numerous buildings were erected as warehouses and for the holding of the staple courts: a new quay was built for the loading and unloading of wool, and vigorous efforts were made to improve the highways between the city and the palace. Unluckily for Westminster, no hard and fast line could be drawn between its economic interests and those of London. It was only Londoners who could provide the cash and the goods for the Westminster staple. It was natural that they should soon get into their own hands its complete control. Within twelve years the king allowed the custom house in the city to pass, for shipment to Calais, wool on which custom had been paid, without it going through the staple at Westminster. The Westminster chronicler denounces this as an act of perjury on the part of the king and magnates. But the form of the law was observed by the court of the staple remaining at Westminster, though the bulk of its business was now transacted in London. The truth probably was that Edward dared not offend the London capitalists, whose money he needed. These controlled the staple trade, and even the Calais staple was largely in their hands. A few half-empty warehouses, a disused quay, and an office remained to show that Westminster still remained in name a staple town.

Thus the balance between London and Westminster remained undisturbed. The city became increasingly residential as well as commercial, and Westminster afforded little house room for even its permanent workers, and still less for the crowds that lawsuits and parliament brought thither for business purposes. It looks as if most of these who went to work, or plead, or deliberate at Westminster, lived some distance away from it.

This was notably the case with the staffs of the government offices, including those of the exchequer, the chancery, and the privy seal. Corporate life was strong in the Middle Ages, and the clerks of each government office habitually lived together in a sort of collegiate

establishment. This was the easier since most fourteenth-century civil servants were clerks in the strict sense, ecclesiastics professionally condemned to celibacy. The exchequer, which had many lay officers, was weak in corporate life, but the chancery and privy seal were served entirely by clerks, who lived together in a community called the 'household of the chancery' and the 'household of the privy seal'. Now these 'households' were established hard by their offices in Westminster. As time went on their favourite location was farther eastwards, either in the London 'without the walls', that extended to Temple Bar, or in the 'suburb of London', which was traversed by the great highway of the Strand. The household of the chancery sometimes lived with the chancellor, especially when he was a bishop, and therefore had a great town house. But to house a government office must have been a difficulty even for an episcopal chancellor, and an unmitigated nuisance to a lay chancellor with no adequate official establishment. In either case the household was often sent to live with the keeper of the chancery rolls, the most dignified of the chancery clerks. Before the end of Edward's reign the keeper of the rolls became *ex-officio* keeper of the house of converts in Chancery Lane, the site of the present Public Record Office. As after the expulsion of the Jews, there were few Jewish converts, its spacious buildings and chapel afforded a convenient residence for chancery clerks, and a safe storing-place for chancery records, which otherwise were normally housed in the Tower. Already in the early fourteenth century the adjacent street is called Chancellor's Lane.

In the same pleasant western suburb of the city were now rising up the schools of common law, which were before long to assume a definitely collegiate character as the Inns of Court. The proximity of the household of the chancery and the law schools allowed the younger chancery clerks to join with the lay apprentices of the common law in common sports and distractions. They were held in a field called 'Fickett's field', adjoining to the Bishop of Chichester's house, now absorbed in Lincoln's Inn. This rivalry in sport may do something to mitigate the general austerity of medieval life and also to blunt the impression of a constant feud between the clerical and the lay lawyers, of which too much has, I venture to think, been made. The concentration of the schools of the common law in that 'suburb of London', where the chancery clerks and records were commonly established, did much to increase the importance of London as a centre of our legal system. At a time when all university students were clerks, the lay practitioners of common law could only be educated in special schools of their own. The

common law schools of London gave to lay Englishmen their first chance of a higher professional education. We must not, however, think that the chancery was as yet established definitely in a fixed place, either in London or anywhere else. It still itinerated, though less frequently than of old. Even when in London it sometimes deserted Westminster Hall for some church or public building or magnate's mansion that was found for the moment convenient.

The 'household of the privy seal' was, like the chancery, normally located somewhere on the western confines of the city. We get many glimpses of clerical civil servants in the numerous autobiographical passages of Thomas Hoccleve, himself a clerk of the privy seal. The picture is by no means altogether edifying, but it is eminently human. It is a pity that the reticence of a great artist has prevented a higher and more dignified civil servant of Edward III, Geoffrey Chaucer, from giving a similar picture of the life of a comparatively prosperous lay official of the same monarch. It is, however, significant that a court official like Chaucer should always have lived in London or Westminster. Whatever his wanderings, he had no permanent home save in the gate tower of Aldgate, or, in his declining years, in his little house under the shadow of Westminster Abbey. Not only Chaucer's career and writings, but the whole literature of his age, show how London was becoming the literary and social centre as well as the chief centre of law, politics, and administration.

The suburban community of placemen, suitors, and pleaders commonly travelled from Fleet Street or the Strand to Westminster by boat. Even an impecunious civil servant like Hoccleve could find the means of being ferried from his lodgings in the Strand to his office at Westminster. The more dignified clerks of the chancery had special provision made for their journeys. One of their number was authorized to pay for the expenses of a barge, bought for the passage across the Thames, of the 'clerks of the first bench of the chancery' from Westminster to the manor of Lambeth, belonging to Simon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor, where the inn of chancery was then held. Free travel from home to office is rarely allowed the successors of these officers. However, to safeguard the purses of those living in the city and travelling by boat to Westminster Palace a paternal government provided that no boatman should charge more than twopence for the journey.

Westminster was not, however, the only place where administrative machinery was concentrated; though no other spot was so convenient for that purpose. But there was another group con-

centrated in the Tower of London. There was a certain tendency towards a lesser grouping of offices in the suburban borough of Southwark. The city, and the city only, was barred, though even here there were exceptions to show that the bar was not absolute.

The Tower of London, though locally in the city, was as a royal fortress destined to overawe the townsfolk, technically outside it and under the direct jurisdiction of the king. For that reason it became the home of certain offices of the household for which it was not convenient to find quarters at Westminster. Since Edward I's time there had been 'treasuries', that is, store-rooms, for the wardrobe and the exchequer, where the solid walls of the Norman fortress afforded a safe protection from evildoers. At the Tower were established the factories of the king's armourers, the king's *attilliator*, who made and safeguarded military munitions, including cannons and gunpowder, as well as the older missiles and siege engines that worked by tension and torsion. At the Tower too were the offices of the keeper of the king's ships and of the receivers of some extraordinary war taxes, such as the ninth of 1339. At the Tower were the king's mint and the king's exchanges, where bullion of many currencies were converted into sterling coin and returned to its owners in that form. At the Tower too was established for a time that branch of the king's wardrobe which was called the great wardrobe, not because of its importance, but because of the great weight of the commodities with which it dealt. To the Tower also went, especially when the king was abroad, that section of the special instrument of prerogative called the king's chamber, which had to have permanent headquarters in England. It was from the great wardrobe and the chamber in its localized aspect that there arose a new wardrobe office, whose importance dates from the special need of arms and munitions which the continuous war with France involved. This was the king's privy wardrobe in the Tower of London, which was henceforth a specialized deposit for arms, armour, military munitions, and warlike stores. This so far superseded one aspect of the chamber and great wardrobe that their presence in the Tower was no longer necessary. Accordingly the localized receipt of the king's chamber was bodily transferred to new premises erected for it in Westminster Palace. The great wardrobe found its permanent home in the city, and was the only office of the central state that was located within the franchise of the corporation of London.

The function of the great wardrobe was to be a storehouse and collecting ground for cloth, furs, wax, spices, groceries, and other storeable commodities needed for the king, his household, his civil

service, his army, and his navy. The bulk of these articles had necessitated permanent storehouses at all times. In the reign of Henry III, when the great wardrobe began, such storehouses were sought in the great fairs where the commodities were bought. But these fairs were held in remote places, and it was found more convenient that the storehouses should be handy for consumption rather than for purchase. Accordingly the great wardrobe was placed sometimes in the Tower of London, and at others in hired houses in London city, where the stored goods were now increasingly purchased. When politics took the court to the north the great wardrobe went with it: when foreign campaigns summoned the king beyond sea, it followed upon his movements, as we have seen was the case when the great wardrobe was at Antwerp between 1338 and 1340. But this was the last of its passages overseas. Its future home was to be in the city of London, next door, so to say, to the traders with whom it dealt. After a period of its establishment in hired houses, it was set up in spacious premises extending from the north side of Lombard Street to Cornhill. But its tenure of this site was broken and precarious, and it found in 1361 a permanent home in the spacious town house left vacant by the death of Sir John Beauchamp, brother of the Earl of Warwick, and one of the heroes of Edward's French wars. This was situated near Baynard's Castle on the eastward bank of the little river Fleet, and hard by the great convent of the Black Friars. There the great wardrobe remained for over three centuries, until burnt out by the great fire. Its position was near its parish church of St. Andrew's, which took from it its modern description of St. Andrew's by the wardrobe, and it seems to have occupied almost the same site as that now taken up by the offices of *The Times* newspaper. As the last branch of the wardrobe to retain any vitality, it became commonly called the wardrobe. It was big enough to afford accommodation for the court upon occasion, notably when Richard II took refuge in it from the fury of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381. Was it a coincidence or was it a measure of policy that, soon after the great wardrobe got a permanent home near Baynard's Castle, the keeper of the Tower wardrobe was made its keeper also, so that the two wardrobes had a common head for the rest of the reign of Edward III? Other 'wardrobes', notably the wardrobe of the queen, followed this example, the queen's wardrobe being established in the building called La Réole, from a Gascon town of that name, or by corruption 'the Royal', in the parish of St. Michael's, Paternoster. Under Edward III the Prince of Wales also set up his great wardrobe in the city in the Old Jewry. It is easy to appreciate

the commercial considerations which brought a trading department of the state into the region frequented by merchants, just as in more modern times it had put the General Post Office and the Custom House in the city. But there was no post office in the fifteenth century, and the only Custom House, located by the wool wharf, not far from the modern custom house, was simply the local custom house for the Londoners over which Geoffrey Chaucer presided for the years when he lived hard by in his apartment perched up over Aldgate, not very far off.

Beyond London Bridge, which was part of the city, Southwark was both more of an urban agglomeration and more of a corporate entity than Westminster. It was at least a borough which returned its two members regularly to the parliaments of the fourteenth century. Its inhabitants were freely called burgesses, but they had no charters, few privileges, and very limited jurisdiction. Their neighbours over the bridge did not mind making Southwark a dumping ground for the more undesirable elements of town life, which propriety restrained them from tolerating within their walls, but which the easy-going medieval temperament was content should go on in some obscure corners. But they laid a dead hand on the trade of the borough, which, despite the few magnates of church and state, who had their town houses there, was mainly inhabited by the poorer sort. Its administration was mainly manorial, and its various manors were in the hands of the king, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Abbot of Bermondsey. It was for most purposes a mere part of Surrey, as Westminster was a part of Middlesex.

The history of Southwark is of interest to us because in it was constantly being fought that struggle between the court and the city, which made it impossible for the city itself to be the capital. Neither side gained a victory, but each side had some trophies of the chase. In 1327 the Londoners gained a right to interfere when, as a reward for winning Edward III his throne, they were granted the farm of the king's rights over his 'gildable manor' of Southwark. They made this the basis of attempts to bring Southwark under their jurisdiction. But they had no power to send their officers in the borough to arrest offenders against the laws of the city. It was in vain that they complained to the king that 'desperate characters' and malefactors fled to Southwark to avoid arrest. The ale hucksters, who had committed the crime of retailing ale not brewed within the house that sold it, escaped justice by living in Southwark or Westminster. But the king was here at the back of the suburban resistance to the

aggressive city, and tried to use the conflict for his own purposes. In 1372 he encouraged the 'good men' of Southwark to erect an adequate building within their borough, where the pleas of the steward and marshals of the household could be held, and where offenders against their jurisdiction could be imprisoned. Side by side with this marshalsea of the household, came the marshalsea of the king's bench, another prison for offenders against the court, especially associated with the personal authority of the king. Within four years the Londoners persuaded parliament to petition the king to make the 'gildable manor' of Southwark entirely subject to its jurisdiction, like the suburbs on the north bank. They had now an additional reason, as the court of the marshalsea, 'which was often in Southwark', supported offenders against the laws of the city. Even in 1376 such a petition had no chance of acceptance, and it was not for nearly two centuries that the city obtained their request and proceeded to constitute the borough as a dependency of the city as the ward of 'Bridge Without'. But their aim was subjection, not incorporation. The new ward was carefully excluded from all civic rights, including the power of electing its aldermen. The only result of this civic aggression was the permanent establishment of an alderman for this new ward. But the alderman of 'Bridge Without' enjoyed merely a barren title which inhered to the senior alderman of the city. He had as little share in the rule of his ward as the burgesses of Southwark had in his election. On the other hand, the chief permanent result of Southwark being within the verge of the court and therefore within the jurisdiction of the household, was the existence within its limits of the two marshalseas. The constant requisitions for carts to convey the unlucky inmates of the marshalseas to the places where the justices *coram rege* and the court of the steward and marshals of the household happened to be sitting is a proof that the itinerancy of the courts of the household was not altogether at an end even at the end of our period.

Other efforts of the London citizens to extend their jurisdiction beyond the walls were to be seen in the consolidation of the city authority in the region between the walls and the bars. That process was complete by the end of the fourteenth century, and culminates in the Act of 1394, which set up the ward of Faringdon Without as a region beyond the walls and yet entirely within the city jurisdiction. But beyond Temple Bar the city did not go. Accordingly, while St. Dunstan's in the west became a city parish, its western neighbours in the 'suburb of London', St. Clement's

Danes, St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and St. Giles'-of-the-Lepers were entirely outside the city. It was the same with the eastern suburbs, which were now becoming so populous that the chapel of ease of the great parish of Stepney, the mother church of east London, became glorified into a parish church under its old name of the White Chapel. Thus strong forces stayed the extension of the city, though stronger forces furthered the growth of the urban agglomeration.

In speaking of these suburban regions, whose early history is still obscure, I have not really strayed away from my subject. Some historians of London have found their main interest in its municipal history, in the development of its civic autonomy, and the details of its constitution. Others have approached it from its economic side, and have been busied in the history of its crafts and its livery companies, in its domestic and foreign commerce, in its beginnings as a banking and financial centre. Others have dealt with its ecclesiastical history, its churches, college, monasteries, and parishes. Others again, moved by the more picturesque aspects of history, have stressed its social life, its wonderful architectural monuments, now seldom surviving, its heavy traffic by water and by land, and the extension of its social amenities, its feasts, its tournaments, its pageants, and its sports. Others, taking a broader line, have emphasized London's large share in national politics, its contributions to the history of the kingdom. Already by the fourteenth century the lure of London made every man of substance to a certain extent its citizen. By deserting their native Hull for a broader field of activity in London, the first great firm of English capitalists, the house of Pole, was able to rise rapidly to knighthood, baronage, an earldom, and a duchy. At the other end of the social scale, the delights of London powerfully tempted and attracted the negligent country parson to absenteeism from his remote parish that he might seek a chantry at St. Paul's and live a life of enjoyment, occasionally tempered by the routine performance of memorial masses. Historic London may well be studied from any one of these legitimate and fruitful points of view. My task to-day has been narrower than any of these. In showing the development of the seat of government we turn as much to Southwark as the city, and we must mainly turn to Westminster and its neighbouring townships. The history of the city of London has been repeatedly written, though I am not sure that it has yet been written with the full knowledge and the complete power that the wealth of material and the greatness of the subject demands. But the city has for centuries ceased to be London in the wider sense. It has become

in our own time the financial capital, not only of the kingdom but of the empire. It has, less completely, but to a great extent, remained the economic and social centre of the kingdom. But the history of the greater London has still to be written. In summarizing, however imperfectly, the process by which a little group of public offices round about which the great Abbey of Westminster and the adjacent palace became the administrative and judicial centre of the English monarchy, I have suggested one way in which the still unwritten history of greater London may be profitably approached. From the beginnings of this process under the third Edward there is still a far cry to the Tudor and Stuart London when the court had ceased to itinerate, and every government office had its permanent home on the banks of the Thames. The London of Sir Walter Raleigh, scholar, soldier, adventurer, pioneer of Greater Britain, was already so fully a centralized modern capital that it made a Londoner of the Devonshire gentleman who went to court to seek his fortunes, just as it made a Londoner of William Shakespeare, when he deserted his native Stratford to make his marvellous career in the great city on the Thames.

ANNUAL PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

By A. S. PRINGLE-PATTISON

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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THE title 'philosophy of history' is of comparatively recent origin. It does not go further back than the eighteenth century. The phrase was apparently first used by Voltaire as the heading of a short paper, published in 1765, and afterwards prefixed as an introduction to his 'Essai sur les mœurs', which is one of the earliest examples of what we should call 'a history of civilization' during the period with which it deals. But, as used by Voltaire, the expression does not carry us beyond the old pragmatic conception of history as 'a mirror for magistrates'—a storehouse of examples and warnings for the practical politician of the day. It was first used in the specific sense, which it has since retained, by Herder, as the title of a pamphlet published by him in 1774, and again as the title of his chief work 'Ideas towards the philosophy of the history of mankind', published in successive volumes between 1784 and 1787, a book which was widely influential in Germany and gave an impetus to the numerous treatises on the subject by the post-Kantian idealists and others in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The essential feature of the philosophy of history is the attempt to envisage the history of mankind as a single whole, and to exhibit, so far as discernible, some plan or purpose, some 'end' of intrinsic value, seen to be increasingly realized when the sequence of events is contemplated as a whole. Or to be more correct (since in a time sequence there is no absolute whole, and we ourselves stand *in mediis rebus*), a philosophy of history is the attempt to divine such a purpose and consummation, when we consider the apparent tendency or direction of the process, so far as it is open to our observation. Such a purpose, if we can discern it, has the effect of bringing order and rationality into what must otherwise impress us as a chronicle of idle 'excursions and alarums'. Without it how can we hope to justify the long labour and suffering of the process—in Hegel's

sombre phrases, 'the panorama of sin and suffering that history unfolds', 'the sacrifices that through the long lapse of ages have ever and anon been laid on the vast altar of the earth'? Voltaire and his royal friend, Frederick the Great, were fond of tracing the hand of *Sa Majesté le Hasard* in human affairs; but the fundamental thesis of a philosophy of history is the recognition, despite contingencies, of a providential purpose—a purpose of nature for the race, as Kant called it—which is worked out unconsciously by men and nations, each pursuing their private and discordant ends. This is what Hegel celebrated as 'the craft of reason' (die List der Vernunft), which uses human passions and the conflict of individual wills to compass its own larger ends, and out of this apparent chaos brings order and the common good—the ordered liberty of the civilized state. The rationality of the process in this sense, Hegel says, is a presupposition. It is the hypothesis with which we ought to approach the study of history, and at the end of our investigation we should be able to present it as an inference from the facts.

With variations in the phraseology and the manner of working out the idea, such is the general conception underlying our modern philosophies of history, so far at least as they profess to have reached a positive result. Of course, just as in general philosophy there are thinkers who take up a purely sceptical position, and are nevertheless called philosophers, so, in the particular case of the philosophy of history, there are those who deny that the facts of history disclose any such universal purpose realizing itself in the process. Such writers may be said to deny the possibility of a philosophy of history; but in any case this idea is the central topic of debate.

Although the name is not more than 150 years old, it is obvious that the type of theory in question has come down to us from a much remoter age. It is, in the first instance, a direct inheritance from Christian theology, and its roots are still further back in Hebrew prophecy. The Israelites had long regarded themselves as Jahveh's peculiar people. Jahveh was their national providence, the tribal god who led his people to victory and fed them with good things. But in the Hebrew prophets we see the cult of this tribal deity transformed into a purely ethical monotheism. Jahveh, conceived as incorruptible righteousness, and demanding of his worshippers only personal uprightness and justice and mercy between man and man, can no longer be regarded in the old way as a merely national providence, carving out a place and destiny for his chosen people. He comes instinctively to be thought of

as the shaper of the whole world's destiny, the universal Providence who allots to each nation its place in the world and its mission in history. When Isaiah in a well-known phrase speaks of Assyria as the rod of Jahveh's anger, the unconscious instrument of Jahveh's purpose for the punishment of his rebellious people, we have the beginnings of a philosophy of history.

Doubtless a strong flavour of national egotism still clung to this philosophy. It is true, the bond between Jahveh and his people was no longer regarded as a privileged relation based on natural kinship; it was transformed into an ethical relation, carrying with it heavy responsibilities. If Israel is a chosen people, the divine choice is part of a great process of spiritual education: the nation is chosen to be disciplined in righteousness and, therefore, to be chastened for its transgressions. 'You only have I known of all the families of the earth,' says Amos, the earliest of these prophets, 'therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities'. Still the scope of the divine purpose is all too narrowly confined to the peculiar people. The heathen nations are repeatedly represented as instruments employed by Jahveh for the chastisement of his sinful people, but apart from their incidental function in this historic process of discipline, the life and destiny of those other nations seem to lie outside any divine scheme of things. When they have served this purpose, they are cast aside or broken to pieces; in a recurring phrase of Jeremiah's, Jahveh 'makes a full end' of them. But the more clearly Jahveh comes to be monotheistically conceived as 'the God of the whole earth', the more unnatural does it become to restrict his ethical and spiritual purpose to a single nation or race; and in the great prophet of the Exile, in whom Hebrew monotheism reached its sublimest expression, a notable change of attitude makes itself felt in this respect. The note of racial antagonism is wellnigh absent. The patriotic dream of a national kingdom of ample bounds, enjoying a political hegemony among the surrounding peoples together with an unexampled material prosperity—this dream which had been for some of the earlier prophets the consummation of the world's history—gives place to the idea of a spiritual mission, whose object is no less than to win the whole world to a knowledge of the true God and his righteous will. 'My servant' is the keyword of the Second Isaiah's prophecy, the epithet which is applied to Israel throughout, 'my servant whom I have chosen'. But Israel has been chosen not for his own sake only but for the sake of the world, 'for a light to the Gentiles'. 'He shall not fail till he have set judgement on the earth, and the isles shall wait for his law.' The divine blessing

upon Abraham in the Genesis narrative, edited about the same time, is couched in similar terms: 'In thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.'

This is the Hebrew philosophy of history, as we find it in the greatest of the prophets. In the sequel, the Jews did not always remain true to this noble universalism. But we may admit that they had sore provocation. The savage attack upon their religious liberties by Antiochus Epiphanes in the second century B.C., and the fierce wars of the Maccabees which followed, inflamed to the utmost the old exclusive spirit of Jewish nationalism; and this temper is reflected in the apocalyptic literature, which was the product of the two centuries that followed. Apocalyptic, like Old Testament prophecy, embodies a philosophy of history, but with a difference. Both were called forth by some national or religious crisis. The Prophets were roused by the internal state of their own nation on the one hand—the moral rottenness that invites disaster—and, on the other hand, by the external dangers plainly visible on the political horizon to the seeing eye. They deal with these facts as practical reformers and statesmen: what they foretell, or threaten, is nothing more than the natural result of the forces at work, if allowed to go on unchecked. But almost without exception the prophets had held out the prospect of a happy end to Israel's troubles, conditional upon national repentance. They had painted a golden age in the future when a righteous people would dwell in peace and prosperity within its ancient borders. The time and the manner of the fulfilment were adjusted to circumstances as they arose. We see the march of history modifying the prophetic outlook, as we pass from the earlier to the later writers, but in every case, the golden time to which they look forward is something to be realized upon the present earth. The prophecy has always to do with the earthly future of the nation and the further course of world-history in general. But as the centuries passed and the face of the world changed, even the most ardent Jewish patriot could not but recognize the impossibility of such a political future; and the inextinguishable belief in the providential destiny of the nation was forced, therefore, to take another form—forced, in fact, to surrender the present world altogether and take refuge in another. This is the transformation which we see taking place in apocalyptic literature in the century and a half before the Christian era. The characteristic feature of fully developed Apocalyptic is the association of the prophesied deliverance—the approaching triumph of righteousness—with the catastrophic end of the present system of things. The writers no longer look

forward to deliverance through any natural evolution of events or any human agency. The triumph of righteousness must come through the direct intervention of God, or of some supernatural being under his authority; and such intervention will mean the close of human history, the end of the present world. Apocalyptic is thus essentially a vision of 'the last things'—'the time of the end', as the writers often call it—and the end is everywhere represented as imminent. It is a feature common also to all these apocalypses that the world's history is to terminate in the culmination of the powers of evil, and that Israel will be delivered by supernatural help in the hour of its greatest need. And we note also in these visions that the Gentiles appear only as the enemies of God and food for his vengeance.

It was in this atmosphere, as we all know, that Christianity was born. The New Testament is full of the same belief in the supernatural end and judgement of the world. The familiar picture from the Book of Enoch, the Son of Man coming upon the clouds of heaven, was appropriated to describe the scene. And we know how long the expectation of the speedy return of the Lord persisted. The early Church prayed at every service, 'May grace come, and this world pass away: Maranatha, the Lord cometh.' It was not till the beginning of the third century that the vision of a universal empire of Christianity began to replace the earlier hope.

So long as the new religion continued to nurse the apocalyptic hope, it could have little interest in the history of a world which it believed to have no future. But with the change of attitude just referred to, we note at once the beginnings of a Christian philosophy of history. The existence of the world-empire of Rome becomes in Origen's eyes part of a divine *praeparatio evangelica.* Subsequent apologists and historians of Christianity have frequently dwelt upon and enlarged this theme. They have called attention to the remarkable concatenation of external circumstances which made possible the rapid diffusion of the new faith—the Hellenizing of the East after the conquests of Alexander, resulting in a common language, and to a certain extent a common fund of ideas; the *pax Romana* with the greatly improved facilities for international traffic, and the social stability ensured by the great system of Roman law; to which may be added the existence of Jewish colonies in all the chief cities of the Empire, which, although they afterwards became centres of hostile machination, furnished the Christian missionaries with their first audiences and their first converts. In the light of the sequel such facts were quoted, not unnaturally, as evidences of the provi-

dential guidance of human history. The Christian community regarded itself from the first as the divine consummation for which the whole preceding development was a preparation. As became their Hebrew origin, they appropriated to themselves the titles claimed by Israel of old, 'an elect race, a holy nation, a peculiar people, the people of God'. *They* were the true Israel of whom the prophets had prophesied; or rather they began to speak of themselves as a 'new people', a 'third race' as distinguished from the Jews on the one hand and the Greeks on the other, Greeks being used as a compendious term to include all the Gentile or non-Jewish peoples. St. Paul already gives us this triple classification,[1] and the triad of Jews and Greeks and Christians become the Church's basal conception of history. Clement of Alexandria's religious philosophy of history, for example, rests entirely upon the view that the first two nations were alike trained by God, and that, out of both, 'those who accept the faith are gathered into the one race of the people who are saved'.[2] So the philosophy of history is continually being re-written by the last comer.

St. Augustine's *City of God*, written in the beginning of the fifth century, when the profound impression produced by the sack of Rome by Alaric was still echoing through the world, is the first large-scale presentation of the Christian view. Augustine's philosophy of history is worked out on the basis of the contrast between two opposed cities, kingdoms, or communities—the heavenly kingdom of God and the earthly kingdom, the kingdom of the devil. The origin of the latter he traces back ultimately, as the Jewish Apocalypses had done, to the revolt of certain of the angels and, as far as man is concerned, to the fall of Adam, from which, he says, 'two kinds of men, two great communities have issued, the one ruled by self-will and self-love, the other by the love of God and man, the one predestined to reign eternally with God, the other to suffer eternal punishment with the devil'. The typical historic representatives of the earthly city were Babylon and Rome, while the heavenly was represented, before Christ, by the Jews, whose place has since been taken by the Christian Church, or more strictly, by its elect members. Augustine divided the history of the world into six periods, corresponding to the six days of creation, and equalling one another in the number of generations in each (ten in all), the first from Adam to Noah, the second from Noah to Abraham, the third from Abraham to David, the fourth from David to the Babylonian Captivity, the fifth coming down to the birth of Christ.

[1] 1 Cor. x. 32.

[2] Stromata II. 15. 67.

The sixth age was passing, he held, at the time he wrote, and the number of generations could not, therefore, be stated, but when the number of the elect has been completed, a number known only to God, the world, he intimated, will come to an end, and the last judgement will usher in the sabbath rest of God and his people.

Obviously Augustine's treatise is far more the exposition of a theological system than what we now understand by a philosophy of history. The religious motive alone determines the treatment. The other activities and achievements of mankind—art, science, literature, philosophy, invention, and the arts of life, all that we commonly mean by civilization—are relegated to a single section of a single chapter of the 22nd or concluding Book. The actual survey of the history, moreover, is vitiated by the absurdly lopsided antithesis set up between sacred and profane history, i. e. the history of the Jews and the history of the rest of the world, and by the purely subsidiary function assigned to the latter. 'That Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome were all meant to prepare the way for Christianity,' says Professor Flint, an orthodox theologian of the last generation, 'we may well maintain, for history proves that they did so; but that these nations, and still more that nations like India and China, so ancient, so populous, so remarkable and so peculiar in civilization, and on which the beams of the gospel shine so feebly even at the present hour, existed solely or mainly for Christianity is an entirely different proposition, and one which we very reasonably question.' Can we wonder, indeed, at the savage ridicule poured by Celsus in an earlier century on the exclusive pretensions of the Christians, then little more than a Jewish sect? He likens them to 'a swarm of ants crawling out of their nests, or to frogs in council on a marsh, declaring that God deserts the whole world and the heavenly regions, and disregards the great earth, in order to domicile himself among them alone'. To them, indeed, the future belonged, obscure sectaries as they appeared in the eyes of the cultured Greek; but their parochial theory of providence and its operations stood on a different footing. The Augustinian scheme, however, in its essentials was universally accepted during the Middle Ages, and reappears substantially unchanged in Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History* at the close of the seventeenth century.

If we turn to Greek and Roman antiquity, the other head-stream of Western civilization, the state of things is very different. Although Greece produced historians who have left the world immortal masterpieces, there is little in their writings, or in Greek literature generally, corresponding to what we mean by a philosophy of history.

The idea of a moral government of the world is of course familiar, in the sense that the crimes, whether of individuals or of nations, do not go unpunished. Herodotus looks in this spirit at the catastrophe which befell the expedition of Xerxes as a species of divine judgement on the overweening presumption of the King. But although Herodotus is sensible of, and makes the reader feel, the epic grandeur of the story he relates, as the collision of two different types of civilization—self-government and freedom against Oriental despotism—he does not profess to treat the result of the conflict as part of a divine plan of the world. For all the conscious superiority implied in the antithesis of Greeks and Barbarians (which we may compare with the other antithesis of Jews and Gentiles) the Greeks had not the sublime egotism which inspired the Hebrew race. They neither began by regarding themselves as the exclusive friends of God and his exclusive care, nor did they think of the rest of the world as merely subsidiary to their own material or spiritual development. The Greeks, during the great centuries of their history, remained on the whole simply indifferent to the non-Greek world; and within the Greek world which interested them, broken up as it was into so many independent states, wasting themselves in internecine strife, there was neither unity enough in the present, nor a long enough historical retrospect, to suggest any goal towards which the history as a whole might be conceived as tending. At a later period, when the conquests of Alexander spread the Greek language and civilization over the greater part of the known world, they destroyed at the same time the characteristic structure of Greek political life. Under the quasi-oriental despotisms into which Alexander's empire was broken up there was less than ever any outlook upon the future, such as to tempt speculation about the course of human affairs. One result of Alexander's conquests, however, was the growth of the idea, hitherto wanting, of the unity of mankind. What Professor Bury calls the ecumenical idea, the idea of the *oikoumene* or inhabited world, takes the place of the *polis* or city, and it was in these centuries that there arose the Stoic doctrine of the brotherhood of all mankind. The still wider and more closely knit fabric of the Roman Empire—the *orbis terrarum* as the Romans themselves proudly called it—impressed the same idea still more strongly upon men's minds. Polybius, the last of the great Greek historians, writing in the second century B. C., devotes himself to tracing the growth of Roman power down to the final extinction of Greek independence, his work expanding as he wrote into a history of the world. 'Fortune', he wrote in his preface, 'has caused the whole world and its history to tend to one purpose, the empire of Rome.'

The destiny of Rome inspired the genius both of Livy and of Virgil. But Livy's great history has been not unfitly described as 'a funeral eulogy delivered by the most loving and the most eloquent of her children over the grave of the great Republic'.[1] In the *Aeneid* the glories of the republican past were blended by a deeper religious feeling with the thought of the measureless future of the Roman race, whose world-wide rule was to bring peace and ordered government to all mankind.

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono.

The mystical fervour of the vision still moves us to-day in Virgil's magical verse, but the history of the early Caesars is the saddest of commentaries on the hopes which gathered round the opening of the Augustan age. It was too late. The heart of the organism was morally rotten, and notwithstanding rulers great and good, vouchsafed at intervals, there remained for the Empire but the long drawn-out 'Decline and Fall'. Magnificent as a material structure, the universal Empire of Rome was not of itself sufficient to furnish the historian of the race with an ultimate principle of explanation. For there was no spiritual unity behind it.

The doctrine of Providence, in the definitely theological form which it assumes in Jewish and Christian thought, was supplanted in the course of the eighteenth century by theories of progress based on the idea of human perfectibility. On some of these and their successors it would be interesting to dwell for a little, did time permit; but for philosophy of history, in the special sense in which we began by considering it, we must turn to the idealistic successors of Kant in Germany in the early years of the nineteenth century. Kant himself does not use the expression, philosophy of history, and he confines himself to outlining, in a short but very suggestive essay, what he takes to be the course and underlying purpose of 'universal history'. History in the largest sense is, for him, the process by which the human animal is shaped into a rational and morally responsible being. Such is the 'idea' or the 'destiny' of man; and, so regarded, man is 'the ultimate purpose of nature here on earth'. That is Kant's thesis, worked out by him only in the most general way. Man can realize his idea or destiny—his true nature—only in the ordered freedom of a civil society, in which the rule of justice is secured; and the establishment of such a society becomes, therefore, the goal of history. But such a perfect civil constitution is nowhere

[1] J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature*, p. 155.

attainable, so long as individual states remain in a condition of savagery as regards their relations to one another. Hence, just as nature had used man's 'unsocial sociableness' to build up the fabric of the particular states, so again nature uses the intolerable misery and wreckage of war, and the even greater strain of never-relaxed preparation for war, as a means of driving the nations to 'a goal which Reason might well have impressed upon them without so much sad experience', the formation, namely, of a League or Federation of Nations. 'Thus philosophy too', he concludes, 'may have its millennial view, and in this case the millennial hope is of such a nature that the very idea of it may help to further its realization.'

Kant's theory of a Providence in human affairs is thus, as I have said, one of extreme generality. It is the assertion that there is, or must be assumed to be, a rational purpose realized in history, rather than any working out of the providential scheme in detail. In the technical language of his own philosophy, we might term this belief a regulative idea rather than a proved conclusion. It is for Kant part of his general theistic view of the universe, and is necessary to round off and complete that belief. His optimism in regard to the ultimate goal of humanity is really part of his moral faith in intrinsic values and the supremacy of the good. Only such a belief, he tells us, can give us 'courage' and 'hope' to face the future. But when we pass to Hegel and other philosophers of the Romantic age, we are presented with a much more ambitious programme. Hegel begins his Lectures on the Philosophy of History by telling us that we cannot rest satisfied with the merely abstract, undefined belief in a Providence; we must bring the belief to bear upon 'the details of the process which it conducts'. Only so can we be assured that the presupposition which we bring with us to the facts is true—that the history of the world is really 'the rational necessary course of the World-Spirit, unfolding its nature in the phenomena of the world's existence'. The construction of universal history which follows professes to be the demonstration of this conclusion.

Hegel's recurring general formula that 'the history of the world is nothing but the development of the idea of freedom' came to him directly from Rousseau and Kant; and he means by freedom, of course, not freedom to do as one likes, but the freedom which consists in obedience to a self-imposed law, the freedom attainable in a well-ordered society or state. 'Law, morality, government, and they alone, are the positive reality and completion of freedom.' His magniloquent and much-criticized description of the State as 'the divine Idea as it exists on earth' has no other meaning, or

at least no other justification, than this. The State conceived as the instrument of moral freedom is just Kant's civil society, to the establishment of which man is providentially driven as the means of developing all the capacities of his nature. History being defined, then, as 'progress in the consciousness of freedom', Hegel proceeds to give us a threefold division of universal history, according to the 'grades in the consciousness of freedom'. The Eastern nations knew only that one is free (the Oriental state, in other words, is a despotism); the Greek and Roman world knew that some are free; the Germanic world knows that all are free, that man, as man, is free. This division may be convenient, and its principle is sufficiently obvious, but it does not do much to illuminate the nature of the course taken by human history. In point of fact the differences between Greek and Roman institutions and between the Greek and Roman character are so great, that this threefold division is crossed in Hegel himself by a fourfold one, in which Rome is made to represent the abstract idea of the person. The truth is Hegel's lectures on the philosophy of history make interesting and profitable reading because he was himself keenly interested in history, and knew a great deal about the history of art, of religion, of philosophy, as well as about political and social history. He has incorporated in these lectures much that occurs more fully elsewhere in the lectures on Aesthetic, on the Philosophy of Religion, or in his volume on *The Philosophy of Law*; and a mind as rich as Hegel's cannot pass all that material under review without many a brilliant and suggestive comment. But the claim made for them by their first editor,[1] that they exhibit 'the Logos of History'—if it means that they exhibit the course of history as a necessary sequence of phases, through which Spirit passes in a certain order, comparable to the order of the categories worked out by Hegel in his *Logic*—if it means anything like that, the claim is quite inadmissible. We are told in fact by Hegel's son, himself an historian, who edited a second edition of the Lectures, that 'Hegel adhered so little to the subdivisions which he had adopted, that he made some alteration in them on occasion of every reading of the course'. For himself, we may say, when he is actually at work, they are little more than convenient points of view, from which to start his reflections.

The liberty which Hegel thus took in re-arranging the material included in his survey, he also claimed for himself in excluding nations and tracts of time which, he conceived, contributed nothing to the subject, or about which at all events he had nothing to say. He

[1] Professor Gans.

begins by cutting off the whole period—'whether we count it in centuries or millennia'—passed by nations before history was written among them; and written history does not begin, he says, till the rise of definitely organized States. The whole inquiry into human origins and primitive culture, the prehistoric life of the clan and the tribe, the formation and diffusion of peoples, is thus passed over without a word. (Of course, Hegel wrote before such investigations had well begun.) Then climatic and geographical considerations rule out the inhabitants of the greater part of the earth's surface. 'In the frigid and the torrid zones the place of world-historical peoples cannot be found.' 'Cold and heat are too powerful to allow Spirit to build up a world for itself.' Man is, as it were, swamped in nature. 'The true theatre of history is, therefore, the temperate zone',—or rather, he adds, 'its northern half, because the earth there presents itself in a continental form'. America, as a whole, is similarly dismissed. We know something of the ancient civilization of Mexico and Peru, but only enough to show that it was 'of a purely natural or primitive kind which must expire as soon as Spirit approached it'. Europeanized America, on the other hand, has no place, because it is still 'a land of the future'. In the Old World, Africa beyond the Sahara is a land shut up in itself, 'enveloped in the dark mantle of night'. The extensive tract of Eastern Asia is 'severed from the process of general historical development and has no place in it': so also Northern Europe till a late date. In short, 'the Mediterranean Sea is the heart of the Old World', uniting as it does the three continents, and it is 'the centre of world-history'.

According to the old metaphor of the runners who pass from hand to hand the torch which each carries a stage further, Hegel conceives the historical nations to succeed one another as the privileged bearers, or incarnations, of the world-spirit at a particular epoch—each in the foreground of history, the centre of world-interest, during that epoch, but yielding its place to another, when its allotted work is done, i. e. when it has fully developed the specific principle or stage of development in the world-spirit which it represents. The nation in question may doubtless still live on, but it has ceased to count in world-history. 'The nation lives the same kind of life as the individual when passing from maturity to old age—in the enjoyment of itself, in the satisfaction of being exactly what it desired and was able to attain. This merely customary life (the watch wound up and going on of itself) is that which brings on natural death. To avoid such an end, the spirit of a people would have to advance to the

adoption of some new purpose—but this would be a transcending of its distinctive principle; the act would involve the principle of a new order, a new national Spirit.' Only once, he says emphatically, is it given to any nation to make an epoch in world-history in this fashion.[1] 'The perfect bloom of Greek life lasted only about sixty years, from the Persian wars 492 B.C. to the Peloponnesian War in 431.'

On this principle Hegel unrolls to us the pageant of what he calls 'world-history'. But it is obvious that much is left out, if we are thinking of the destinies of mankind as a whole. Hegel's omissions are significant, though not surprising, for they do but repeat a procedure familiar to us in other writers who have attempted a synthesis of universal history. We have seen how much St. Augustine left on one side; and if we take three modern instances—writers differing widely from one another in their prepossessions and the angle from which they approach the subject, Bossuet the orthodox Catholic, Condorcet the fervid apostle of human progress and perfectibility, and Auguste Comte the founder of the Positive Philosophy and the Religion of Humanity—we find them all equally ignoring in their survey large sections of the human race. They all leave India and China quite out of their picture. Comte brings in the savage races in connexion with his law of the Three Stages, and Bossuet, as a Christian theologian, expatiates on the history of the Jews; but otherwise the scheme of all three is practically limited to the Graeco-Roman civilization and the subsequent history of Europe in the Middle Ages and in modern times. Hegel has even, in comparison, an air of greater completeness; for he devoted several of his early lectures to an account of China and India; and considering that he was writing a hundred years ago, we are almost surprised at times how many facts he had collected. Yet the impression left by these lectures is that of miscellaneous information without any organic connexion with the historical sequence which he afterwards expounds. How could it be otherwise when this is his summing up of the character of the Chinese people in its various aspects: 'Its distinguishing feature is, that everything which belongs to Spirit—unconstrained morality in practice and theory, Heart, inward Religion, Science and Art properly so called—is alien to it.' Every one must feel that it is only when Hegel arrives in Greece that his story—the story of Spirit—properly begins. His account of Chinese civilization —as the verdict just quoted is enough to show—is entirely and necessarily that of an external observer without any sympathetic

[1] *Philosophy of Law*, Section 347.

insight into the national spirit which he is attempting to delineate. We have learned a great deal more about both China and India since Hegel's time, and we conscientiously cultivate a more sympathetic attitude; yet can we really say that this increase of knowledge *about* these civilizations has materially altered our situation in regard to them? The beliefs and practices on which they rest form no part of the European tradition; they have not passed into our blood or into the habit of our minds, and there is lacking to us therefore the comprehension which can come only in that way. Our real understanding is limited in this respect to our own civilization and its contributory streams. A few years ago Count Keyserling, a continental philosopher of some distinction, conscious of this want of mutual understanding, resolved to leave our shattered and distracted Europe and plunge himself for a time into the immemorial East, in the hope that he might capture in that way the atmosphere, and so the inner secret, of these ancient religions and civilizations, and come to realize what they mean—the 'feel' of them, as we might say—to those who live by them. He gave his experiences to the world in a book called *Das Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen* (A Philosopher's Diary of Travel). The book contains many lyrical appreciations of Eastern religion and art and other aspects of Eastern civilization, often set in painful contrast with Western conditions. These appreciations were doubtless sincerely felt, and may be illuminative so far as they go; yet they impress us in the end as no more than a *tour de force* on the part of the Western observer trying to look for a brief space through other eyes.

It is in fact increasingly plain that the philosophies of history to which we are accustomed have for their subject matter not the history of the world as a whole—not universal history, or world-history—but the history of what we commonly speak of as Western civilization. 'The Mediterranean Sea', Hegel said, 'is the centre of human history'; and the philosophy of history, as we know it, has grown up in the same region. The Jewish philosophy of history saw Providence at work only in Palestine and the neighbouring empires. The Christian apocalyptic philosophy was confined within the framework of the Roman Empire, which was to last till the end of the world and the coming of the kingdom of God. Modern theories differ only in extending their view beyond the Alps, so as to include what Hegel calls the Germanic world. The culmination of the history may be represented by Germany, France, or England, according to the nationality of the writer; but the subject common to them all is the development of modern European civilization with

its antecedents in classical antiquity and in the religious history of the Jewish people. Now it is certainly open to us to treat this line of development as the main highway of human history; and doubtless, as good Europeans, we do instinctively so regard it, and regard ourselves in consequence as nature's nearest approximation to the ideal man. But with the example of India and China before us, it is impossible to treat this as the only path by which mankind has advanced to higher things. The civilizations of India and China may, or may not, be inferior to our own in important respects: that is not the point. The point is, that however we may judge the level of their attainment, that level has been reached by the nations in question independently, along other lines. There is no possibility of treating them as stages in a single linear progress that ends in the civilization of modern Europe, any more than it is possible to treat Brahmanism or Buddhism as stages on the way to Christianity. The linear conception of world-history, in short, will not bear dispassionate reflection. Humanity as a whole, says Troeltsch,[1] has no spiritual unity and therefore no unitary development. What we actually see is different races in different historical surroundings developing each their own characteristic civilization. The area of such a civilization may be larger or smaller, and its duration may be longer or shorter, but each while it lasts is to be accepted as developing in its own fashion certain human gifts and excellences. Besides the Indian and Chinese, already mentioned, and our own European (or as Indian writers begin to call it, Euramerican) civilization, one need only mention, in the present, the world of Islam, and, in the past, the Graeco-Roman civilization in which we are rooted, the Egyptian, the Babylonian, and the Persian with its religious roots in the Zoroastrian faith.

Are we then to conclude that the history of the world consists of a succession of quite unrelated civilizations, each of which has its period of growth, of bloom, and of inevitable decay? Such is the thesis of Spengler's much talked-of book, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, which its author proclaims as the first attempt 'to determine history in advance, to follow out the destiny of a civilization, that of Western Europe, in those stages of its course which yet remain to be traversed'. Instead of the monotonous picture of a linear history, he says, 'I see a series of mighty civilizations, each of which impresses on its human material its own peculiar form, each of which has its own idea, its own passions, its own life, and its own death'. 'These civilizations, living organisms of the highest

[1] *Historismus*, 706.

order, grow up sublimely innocent of purpose, like the flowers of the field.' And by studying the life-history of those which have run their course, he claims to have established with scientific precision a common law of their growth and decay—the morphology, as he calls it, of universal history. Knowing, for example, the successive stages of Graeco-Roman civilization, which most nearly resembles our own, we can fix the turning-point from which its decline may be dated, and are thus in a position to determine the corresponding point in the life-history of our own civilization. Working by analogy in this fashion, and constructing a set of parallel tables for four civilizations, he fixes the beginning of the end of Graeco-Roman civilization towards the close of the fourth century B. C. The beginning of the nineteenth century A. D., he tells us, is the corresponding point in the West. The end is not yet, but 'we know our destiny' and what remains is but 'to follow all the phases of our own dissolution with the penetrating eye of the experienced physician'. He indicates three phases, one lasting from 1800 to 2000, a second from 2000 to 2200, and a third, more vaguely dated, as 'after 2200', which is to end with a slow return to primitive conditions. The parallels by which this conclusion is supported hardly incline us to accept the diagnosis as authoritative. The method of parallelism, it may be recalled, was associated with some of the wildest speculations of the Naturphilosophie in Schelling and his contemporaries; and Spengler's book, in its general style, is more like a production of that period than the scientific analysis of history which it purports to be.

But we may go further and challenge the whole assumption of a necessitated sequence of phases through which every civilization or empire must pass, whether the scheme be that of the seasons of the year, as with Spengler, or the natural sequence of youth, maturity, old age, and death in the individual organism. The decadence of great nations and civilizations is so familiar to us in history that it might easily seem to be a law of nature. But so far as the attempt is made to base such a view on the analogy of the living organism the argument must be pronounced illusory. In the case of the individual, old age and decay are a direct result of the constitution of the body; after a certain time decay exceeds recuperation, and this necessarily ends in death. But in the case of a nation there is nothing similar; the decay of a nation or civilization, when we examine the matter, can always be explained by definite causes, independent of the mere *duration* of the community as an organized State. 'Bodies politic die,' says Mill, 'but it is of disease or violent death; they

have no old age.' 'Commonwealths', says Burke, 'are not physical but moral essences.' The issue, therefore, rests in each case with the nations themselves.

> Winds blow, and waters roll,
> Strength to the brave, and Power and Deity,
> Yet in themselves are nothing. One decree
> Spake laws to *them*, and said that by the Soul
> Only, the Nations shall be great and free.

To-day too the future will be as we make it. For if we need not regard our civilization as doomed to inevitable decay, and as already in its decadence, still less may we trust in an unproved law of necessary or automatic progress, to ensure the continuance of our present civilization and its advance to ever higher destinies. This doctrine, so popular during the greater part of the nineteenth century, reaching perhaps its most flamboyant expression in Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics*, has no foundation either in cosmic or in human nature. It is inconsistent with the very idea of a moral being, whose destiny is inevitably committed to his own care. God's message to man has always been 'Work out your own salvation', even when assuring him, in the same breath, of the divine help in doing so. And the apostolic addition, 'with fear and trembling', needs no enforcement to a generation which has seen the wreck of European civilization suddenly brought very near to them.

OBITUARY NOTICES

LORD REAY

1839–1921

DONALD JAMES MACKAY, eleventh **BARON REAY** and head of the Clan Mackay, was born in Holland in November 1839. His father was a Minister of State in the Netherlands, where the family had been settled since the middle of the eighteenth century, and Vice-President of the Privy Council. He was educated at the University of Leyden, and graduated there on May 31, 1861, with a thesis, which he published, 'On the Maintenance of European power and Reformation of the Administration of Justice in Java and its dependencies under the government of the Governor-General H. W. Daendels'.

His active career began with a clerkship at the Dutch Colonial Office, but before long he entered the Legislature, taking his seat with the Party of the Left, for he was—unlike his father and the greater part of the Dutch aristocracy—a Liberal in politics. Young though he was, he soon acquired influence in the Assembly. Together with a friend who entered Parliament at the same time, Mr. S. van Houten—(in later years a statesman of high distinction)—he was the means of carrying through the first Act passed in Holland regarding Child Labour. Shortly after quitting the University he visited England, and soon fell into the habit of coming over frequently. In the end of 1862 he was in Oxford, where I met him for the first time. He was brought there by two English friends, Fellows of Merton College—C. S. Roundell and G. C. Brodrick; and he impressed those who met him at that time by the ardour of his intellectual curiosity. He was particularly eager to know all we could tell him about the University and the Colleges, and their relation to the public life of England. It seemed to us that education was even then his paramount interest. His ingenuous mind, his simple tastes, his earnestness in the pursuit of truth, and the elevation of his character, won respect for him from all who came to know him in England; and his interests from that time on began to be fully as much in England as in his native Holland, for he saw that the movements in the larger country were on a grander scale, and were destined to exert a much more powerful influence on the future of mankind. Finally in 1875 he decided to leave the Netherlands and settle in England. He did not, however, lose his interest

in Holland, regularly spending a part of every year there. In 1877 he was naturalized by statute as a British subject, and the next year he succeeded to the title. Unfortunately, the Scottish title was not accompanied by Scottish estates, for these had long before passed away from the family. He was, however, titular head of the Clan Mackay whose principal seat was at Strathnaver, in what used to be called the Reay country, the central and western part of Sutherlandshire. It was one of the great Clans of the north, and is supposed by some to have been the Clan Kayis which fought the famous battle on the North Inch of Perth against Clan Chattan, described by Walter Scott in *The Fair Maid of Perth*. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries members of the family won fame in war, the best remembered being the General, a favourite of William of Orange, who commanded the royal army against Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, at the battle of Killiecrankie.

In 1881 a United Kingdom Peerage was conferred upon Lord Reay by the advice of Mr. Gladstone, and he thus obtained a seat in the House of Lords, where he was a diligent attendant and occasional speaker till the failure of his health in 1916. In 1885 he was appointed Governor of Bombay, and held that post till 1890, administering its important duties in a singularly conscientious and enlightened spirit. His courage was put to a severe test when in 1888 grave suspicions arose regarding the character and conduct of a prominent member of the Civil Service who had many personal friends among influential members of that Service. The Governor, convinced that the case needed judicial investigation, directed proceedings to be taken. He was assailed by a storm of misrepresentation and invective, but he held firmly to his purpose. The result fully justified his action, and had a beneficial effect in showing that neither high office, nor the possession of widespread personal influence, could save a man from the penalty due to his malpractices. Lord Reay exerted himself in the promotion of education in his Presidency, and he always showed—aided in this by Lady Reay—a warm interest in the native population, taking great pains to maintain close relations with the leading men—Parsees, Hindus, and Moslems. He enjoyed their confidence and respect in a quite exceptional degree.

On his return to England he accepted the Presidency of the Royal Asiatic Society, and bore thereafter a chief part in directing its policy. In 1894 he became Under Secretary for India in Mr. Gladstone's last Ministry, and retained that post till the Conservative Government came into office in the following year.

Coming to the India Office with a first-hand knowledge of India, he was able to renew his interest in matters which had been the subject of his special care in Bombay, particularly Education, including its technical and industrial aspects. He welcomed many Indian scholars and eminent men with whom he had been intimate in India—especially those Indian princes who had been connected with the Bombay Presidency. Among the questions in which he took an active part were the Indian cotton duties, internal railway development, and the efforts of the Indian Government to attract private enterprise to the construction of branches and feeder lines to the main railway systems. He was also much occupied with India's foreign relations and the negotiation of an agreement with Russia in March 1895, which defined the northern boundary of Afghanistan. In the question of frontier policy which arose from the attack of a petty frontier chief on the fort of Chitral held by Dr.—afterwards Sir George—Robertson, then political agent in Gilgit, he took the view that it was better not to retain Chitral. Lord Rosebery's Government decided in that sense, thinking it better to limit British responsibilities in a region so difficult of access; but the decision was reversed when Lord Salisbury came into office in July 1895.

In 1897 he was elected Chairman of the London School Board, and discharged the duties of that laborious office with so much acceptance that he was re-elected to it from time to time until the School Board itself, extinguished by a Statute, expired in 1904. In 1901, when the British Academy was founded by Royal Charter, he was unanimously elected to be its first President, and re-elected in each succeeding year till 1907, having thus held office longer than any of his successors. The principal reasons which suggested the choice of one who had not devoted his energies mainly to learning and literary production were threefold. He had an unusually wide intellectual outlook, and had shown his interest in many branches of knowledge. He had an exceptionally large acquaintance with the European Commonwealth of letters, being equally at home in Germany, France, and Belgium, as well as in his native Holland, and accustomed to follow the progress of inquiry and the movements of thought in all these countries. Perhaps no one in England since the death of Lord Acton (who had died very shortly before the establishment of the Academy which he had done so much to create) was so cosmopolitan in both the above senses, so able to keep the Academy in touch with continental scholars, as was Lord Reay. To these qualifications was added the reputation he had acquired for

a high sense of public duty, and a singular breadth and impartiality of view. His action in the Chair for six years more than justified the choice of the Fellows, and the Academy owes more than can be told to his assiduity, judgement, tact, and practical good sense. It was with great regret that his wish to retire was conceded by the Fellows. Constantly re-elected to the Council, he attended its meetings, helping it by his advice until his death, even when, being unable to walk, he had to be carried to the Meetings in a chair.

While thus serving Elementary Education in the School Board on the one hand and Learning in the British Academy on the other, his keen interest in University Education drew him into a third field of activity.

The Provost of University College sends the following observations on Lord Reay's association with University College, and the University of London generally:

'Lord Reay's active interest in questions of University organization in London began in 1881, when he was elected a member of the Council of University College.

He threw himself whole-heartedly into the work of the Council, and soon became deeply interested in the problem of the re-organization of the University of London, which was then, as he felt, a University in name only.

From 1885 to 1890, he was away in India. During this time he never lost touch with the College or the University question. He was re-elected to the Council in 1891, of which he became Vice-President in 1892, and President in 1897.

He served on the Cooper Commission, the Report of which was the basis of the Act of Parliament, passed in 1898, under which the then existing University was completely reconstructed on a new basis and with enlarged powers.

He was one of the first to realize that the constitution, under which the University began work in 1909, must remain lacking in reality until and unless the University could obtain direct control over some of the more important of the London Colleges, which had been grouped together under the new constitution as "Schools of the University".

It was this conviction that made him advocate the incorporation of University College in the University. He realized that it was a step involving great risk to the College, but he was convinced that some such step was necessary for the promotion of a well-ordered University in London.

It was, therefore, under his leadership, and with the confidence

begotten by his courage in the movement, that after prolonged negotiations University College surrendered its autonomy and became incorporated in the University of London on January 1, 1907. The ultimate government of the College was thus placed in the hands of the Senate of the University.

For the purposes of detailed administration, the Senate appointed the University College Committee. Lord Reay accepted the Chairmanship of the Committee, and held it until the time of his death in 1921. He was thus able to pilot the College and the University through the years of transition. The difficulties were great, but by his tact, by the patient study of the problems with which the University was confronted, he was enabled to give effect to a large extent to the aims that he had in mind in promoting the great change. He welcomed as a sure proof of the wisdom of this step the decision of King's College to follow suit.

He was a far-seeing administrator, but he was never weary, both by example and by precept, of making clear that administration is the hand-maid of education.

"If University Education is to mean anything, it must be based upon the freedom and, consequently, the responsibility, of the Teacher." There was nothing in which he had less confidence than the wholesale examination system, in which the teacher had no voice.

He realized that if London was to have a University organization on a scale and in accordance with the greatness of London as the capital of this country, and as the capital of the Empire, there must be re-arrangement of studies; there must be some sacrifice of Departments by the older Colleges.

As Chairman of the Departmental Committee, whose report led to the foundation of the School of Oriental Studies, he indicated his view as to how these things should be done. He regretted deeply that the Building for the new School of Oriental Studies was so far removed from other University institutions. He believed profoundly in grouping the newer University Institutions as far as possible in one quarter.

When the time comes for writing the history of the University movement between 1881 and 1921, there will be no name to which greater tribute should be paid.

In his last letter to the College accepting the gift of his portrait, he wrote: "Among the recollections of my long life, my connexion with the College occupies a foremost place".'

In 1916 he had the misfortune to suffer a serious accident which prevented him from ever thereafter being able to walk. Before he

had recovered from its immediate effects a trying malady attacked him, from which he suffered almost continually for the rest of his life. While lying helpless, his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, died after a short illness, and he was left a lonely invalid. Most men would have collapsed at once under three such strokes falling on him one after the other, when he had passed his seventy-fifth year. But he had an unconquerable spirit, and was supported by his lively interest in the progress of the world, by the resources of his own mind, by the sympathy which his numerous friends showed for him, testified in their frequent visits, and above all by his simple and earnest piety. No complaint ever escaped his lips; all that he suffered was borne with a quiet resignation. Fortunately neither his hearing nor his sight was affected, so he was not cut off from the many friends who came to bring him their news and profit by his comments thereon. Neither was his mental force abated. His clear insight and sound judgement remained what they had been, perhaps even further matured by his long experience of affairs and knowledge of men. He died in August 1921, after a few days illness, and painlessly, at Carolside in Berwickshire, where he often spent the autumn.

His wide and ardent intellectual curiosity made him always more disposed to learn than to produce, and (as with Lord Acton) the love of knowledge stood in the way of literary work; a conscientious anxiety to discharge his obligations to every kind of practical work he undertook, left him comparatively little leisure for study. He had, however, found time to acquire a thorough mastery of international law, and brought it to bear effectively at the meetings of the Institut du Droit International, which he regularly attended till his health failed.

Though he came of a warlike stock, no one was a more devoted advocate of peace between nations. His one consolation for the miseries of the Great War was the hope that these very miseries might drive the powers of the world to more persistent efforts to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity.

The deepest motives that guided his action were an unfailing sense of duty, and a deep-seated love of truth. For himself he had little or no ambition, regarding public office only as a means of promoting good causes. In everything that he did he was thorough, sparing no pains to get at the bottom of a question, and to form that fair estimate of men's characters and capacities, which is one of the most useful things, and one of the most difficult to attain, when enterprises have to be carried through to success.

Stately and gentle in his courtesy, considerate of others, reserved in most things, but opening his heart to those on whose sympathy he counted, he was the most faithful of friends. His serious air and the gravity of his manner gave the impression of austerity, but although he was strict in his adherence to moral principles, he was lenient in his judgements of individual men, and never said an unkindly word. Though he seldom made jokes, he had plenty of quiet humour, as those knew who heard him tell a story, or saw his enjoyment of the stories his friends brought him. Needless to say that he was never a partisan. Holding firmly to his own political and religious opinions, he never let them make any difference to his private friendships. His mind was, indeed, too large to be affected by any but high feelings and motives. Elevation and uprightness in word and deed were the notes of his character. No one who went to see him in his last years, sitting patiently in his chair, bearing with serene composure and undiminished sweetness of temper the loss of all those things which to most men make life worth having, could fail to find in him a model of the spirit in which philosophy and religion tell the wise man to accept whatever is sent. To his friends who saw him thus he will remain an unforgettable example of dignified strength and nobility of soul.

BRYCE.

[This draft is printed as left unfinished at Lord Bryce's death.]

THOMAS WILLIAM RHYS DAVIDS

1843–1922

In the late Professor Rhys Davids the British Academy has lost one of the most ardent of the original advocates of its foundation, and scholarship has lost one who combined unique learning in Pali with an exceptional gift in winning public attention to the fruits of his Buddhist researches.

It was as a Civil Servant in Ceylon—during 1864–72—that, like his (older) friend Robert Caesar Childers, Rhys Davids was drawn to the study of 'orthodox' Buddhism and of the Pali language in which the Canon and Commentaries have survived in their island home. When first Childers, and then Rhys Davids, began their studies of the original authorities, the current views on Buddhism in the West were a mere jungle of doctrines and legends derived from sources as multifarious as they were disconnected, both historically and unscientifically. The life-work which Rhys Davids set before himself after his return to England was (in his own words) —'to render accessible to studends the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various MSS. scattered throughout the University and other Public Libraries of Europe.' To this end, in 1881, the Pali Text Society was founded by his enthusiasm, as it has been continued till to-day by his tenacity of purpose. To-day that Society can point to over 25,000 printed 8vo pages in which are contained—in complete form and in roman characters—all the four great Nikayas and almost the whole of the remainder of the Canon, together with many of Buddhaghosa's indispensable Commentaries, &c. Included in his original scheme were Jain texts; but his scholarly catholicity met with such marked disfavour from Buddhist theologians when the first Jain text appeared, in 1882, that Rhys Davids had to forgo this promising and unexplored department of his original conception; and so to-day our knowledge of contemporary Jain literature lags far in the rear of our Buddhistic knowledge, (the origines of which primitive Jainism has yet to illuminate to the full). In the actual editing of specific texts Davids ostensibly took no great share, confining himself to editing (with Prof. Estlin Carpenter) the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the first volume of Buddhaghosa's Commentary

on that foremost of Buddhist scriptures. His translation of the *Dīgha* in three volumes was completed, with the devoted aid of his wife, in 1921, under the title of *Dialogues of the Buddha* (Clarendon Press); and it is here perhaps that, as an expositor of earliest Buddhism, Rhys Davids was at his best. Not only as an Orientalist, but also as a writer of vigorous and stately English, he reached a high level in his illuminating Introductions to the several 'Suttas', or Dialogues, which compose that book; nor is there any present likelihood of his version and views ceasing to hold, unless perhaps in minor details, the commanding authority with which his work—mainly pioneer work though it was—is regarded to-day by Indianists of all lands. For this text and translation of the *Dīgha* he had prepared himself by his earlier *Buddhist Suttas* and *Vinaya Texts* (with Hermann Oldenberg), published in 1881 by the Clarendon Press, in Max Müller's series of *Sacred Books of the East*. In these earlier volumes, as even a cursory examination of the two or three other Pali translations of that day will show, Rhys Davids had already raised Pali to a sure and independent footing of its own, with its own separate and enduring traditions of over two thousand years.

It was as early as 1877 that he had previously published his little manual of *Buddhism*, now in its twenty-fifth thousand, about which he was able, in 1894, to write that—'it was a very venturesome undertaking to attempt to give an account of a system on which its European interpreters differed irreconcilably, at a time when they could not be brought to bar before the original authorities. The conclusions arrived at in 1877 have been throughout confirmed by the more recent publications of recent texts, and have even been adopted and circulated by authors who have not deemed it necessary to refer to the manual in which those conclusions were for the first time stated.' To my mind, this little manual has not been eclipsed by his excellent *Hibbert Lectures* of 1881, or by his 1894 American Lectures, or by his succinct *Early Buddhism* of 1908 (though Rhys Davids opined that this last was really the best of all his books on Buddhism and its tenets). Perhaps the most remarkable thing in the 1877 manual was the intuition by which, working on the modicum of canonical texts then available, Rhys Davids dissipated prevalent errors respecting the meaning of Nirvana and established the true view (as all can see to-day from the published Canon) that it really means simply and solely an ethical state, 'holiness', to be reached *diṭṭhe dhamme*, here and now. 'The Buddhist heaven', he wrote, 'is

not death, and it is not on death but on a perfect life here and now, that the Piṭakas dwell in those terms of ecstatic description which they apply to Arahatship, the goal of the Excellent Way, and to Nirvana as one aspect of it.' . . . 'The very gods envy the blessed state of those who, here on earth, escaped from the floods of passion, have gained the fruit of the Noble Path, and have become cleansed from all defilement, free for ever from all delusion and all sorrow, in that Rest which cannot be broken,—the Nirvana of Arahatship, which can never be lost.'

From this, the kernel of Buddhism, I return to the Pali language. No sooner had the Pali Text Society got well under way than Rhys Davids turned his thoughts to a new Pali Dictionary which should embrace all the new lexicographic knowledge which was being brought to light in the edited texts. To this end, he studiously noted up each new word or illustrative passage in his interleaved copy of Childers's *Dictionary of the Pali Language* (1875). In 1908 he had hoped to enlist the Pali scholars of all lands in a co-operative and international work; but herein he was leaning on a broken reed, and with the outbreak of war in 1914 his darling plan was perforce abandoned. In 1915, at the age of 72, when he retired from his Manchester professorship, the old man's indomitable spirit inspired him to face the great task alone, lest it should be postponed to the Greek Kalends. Later, he secured the aid of the philologist Dr. William Stede, and in 1921 the Pali Text Society—which had received a donation of £50 from the British Academy towards the total of £2,160 collected by Rhys Davids—'after long-continued exertion and many cruel rebuffs and disappointments' was 'now at last in a position to offer to scholars the first instalment'—of the new dictionary, edited by Rhys Davids and Dr. Stede. Half of this work is now published and the remainder is well in hand; but Rhys Davids regarded it as 'essentially preliminary', and looked forward to 'the eventual issue of a second edition which shall come nearer to our ideals of what a Pali Dictionary should be'. But in this 'essentially preliminary' work there are garnered the materials and ideas of nearly half a century's devoted labour by Rhys Davids; it is, as he himself wrote of the pioneer work by Childers, 'the indispensable means by which further progress can be made'; and the gratitude of Pali students attends its daily use.

On the historical side, Davids always took an earnest interest in gleaning, from the Pali Text Society's publications and elsewhere, every scrap of information which could throw light on the India of Gotama's day, whether from the social or the political point of

view. His earliest book was on *The Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*; and another early book was his (first and only) volume of *Buddhist Birth Stories*, a volume which, though the whole of the Jataka has since been translated and published, still holds its ground by reason of the elaborate introduction in which the descent of this ancient folklore is traced down through other lands and other literatures.

In the general field of history, Rhys Davids, after a visit to India in 1899, published (in 1903) a remarkable book on *Buddhist India*, bringing to focus the studies and conclusion of a quarter of a century's pioneer work on the local oligarchies of the Ganges Valley and on the subsequent rise of the kingdoms of early Indian history. His final and mature views on this latter subject were summarized (in 1922) in his chapter on *The Early History of the Buddhists* in the first volume of the new Cambridge History of India. A more ambitious and far-reaching scheme was adumbrated in his proposals of 1900 to the Viceroy of India to inaugurate for India a series answering to our own Rolls Series, so as to furnish full and accurate materials for the history of India. It is greatly to be deplored that, though 'so generously adopted by Government and so generously enlarged and improved', this enterprise of his fell through and shows no immediate prospect of revival in these days of retrenchment and 'the axe'.

To indicate his general outlook—and his outlook was very far from being limited to Pali or to Buddhism—I may quote, from the *Hibbert Lectures*, a characteristic passage, showing he felt and said about the fruits of research in Indian matters. 'It is not too much', he wrote, over forty years ago, 'to say that a New World has been once more discovered by adventurers as persevering as Columbus, and perhaps at present earning as little gratitude as he did from his contemporaries; and that the inhabitants of the Old World cannot, if they would, go back again to the quiet times when the New World was not, because it was unknown. Every one to whom the entrancing story of man's gradual rise and progress has charms particularly its own, will welcome the new light; others will have to face the new facts, and find room for them in their conceptions of the world's history—that history which is the Epic of Humanity. Happy are we if the strains of that epic are ever ringing in our ears, if the spirit of that epic is ever ruling in our hearts! An abiding sense of the long past whose beginnings are beyond imagination, and of the long future whose end we cannot realize, may fill us indeed with a knowledge of our own insignificance—the bubbles

on the stream which flash into light for a moment and are seen no more. But it will perhaps bring us nearer to a sense of the Infinite than man in his clearest moments, in his deepest moods, can ever otherwise hope to reach. It will enable us to appreciate what is meant by the Solidarity of Man, and will fill us with an overpowering awe and wonder at the immensity of that series of which we are but a few of the tiny links. And the knowledge of what man has been in distant times, in far-off lands, under the influence of ideas which at first sight seem to us so strange, will strengthen within us that reverence, sympathy, and love which must follow on a realization of the mysterious complexity of being—past, present, and to come—that is wrapt up in every human life.' And in 1905 (when he was giving up the Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society to become the first Professor of Comparative Religion in Victoria University at Manchester) he dwelt on 'that increase of knowledge, that broadening out of ideas, which is the main basis of the welfare and progress of mankind'.

Catholic in his enthusiasm for all knowledge—physical as well as humane—he was closely akin to the late Professor Cowell in his delight in stimulating and encouraging 'fellow-workers'; nor was he ever more happy than when, with unselfish generosity, he could hand over to a worthy disciple the materials garnered by his own diligent and methodical labours. The staunchest of friends, bubbling over with fun, fond of outdoor (and indoor) games throughout his long life, a convinced Liberal in politics, he lived the life of a 'philosopher in the world', *φιλοσοφῶν ἄνευ μαλακίας*.

CHALMERS.

SIR JOHN EDWIN SANDYS

1844–1922

I GLADLY responded to the invitation which I received from the Council of the British Academy, to write for the Proceedings a notice of my old friend Sir John Sandys, who was an ornament to the Academy and held a noted and well-defined position among the Classical scholars of his time. At the head of the obituary notice which appeared in *The Times* immediately after his death there was placed the title: 'A Scholar of the Renaissance', a description which befits him better than any other scholar who has appeared in our country during the period of his life. The name of the late J. E. B. Mayor will doubtless suggest itself in this connexion to many who may read these words; but there are many respects in which Mayor's work resembled the work of the Renaissance scholars less than that of Sandys. Mayor confined himself almost entirely to the literature of the ancients; that is to say, to their written words, while Sandys added to the literary interest an interest in all other records which the ancient civilization has left behind it, embodied in artistic productions or inscribed on stone and bronze.

Like John Mayor, Sandys was the son of a missionary in India. He was one of a large family circle, nearly all of whom he survived. Though born in England (at Leicester), he spent his very early years, between the ages of one and a half and eleven, in India. I have often heard him speak of his familiarity as a child with the different alphabets in which Indian languages are written. This interest in India, and all that concerned it, was never lost. When a Professorship of Sanskrit was established and the late Professor Cowell (*sanctum et venerabile nomen*) was appointed to be the first holder, his earliest course of lectures was given on Comparative Philology to four listeners, of whom Mrs. Cowell was one, while the other three were Sir Frederick Pollock, Sir John Sandys, and myself. In those days Classical students in Cambridge were generally expected to walk a very straight and narrow path, and any deviation from it was suspected by the College Tutor and looked upon as dangerous to a man's prospect for the Classical Tripos. My own Tutor reproved me for such eccentricities, which were, as he said, *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*. A little later,

Professor Cowell (whose enthusiasm for teaching was remarkable) read Sanskrit with a small class, consisting of Sandys, the late Professor Skeat, the late Charles Walter Moule, and myself. When the pressure of other occupations enforced the disruption of this association, it was a matter of very real sorrow, not only to Cowell's pupils, but to himself. I may mention here that Sandys, like nearly all men of that time who were looking forward to a high place in the Classical Tripos, was a pupil of that great scholar Richard Shilleto; whose Classical discipline, severe as it was, and narrow as it now seems to many, was highly valued by those who experienced it, and was looked back upon by most as one of the most precious pieces of good fortune that had befallen them in their lives. It may be said, I think, that the most vital lesson which a young scholar can have imparted to him is the knowledge, which may become almost an instinct, of 'quid nequeat, quid possit oriri' in the field of scholarship. This acquisition Shilleto could and did most certainly convey. His training made it almost impossible for a young man to start hotfoot immediately after his degree on some wild goose chase in the field of learning. That happy hunting-ground of the irresponsible youth of to-day, the dim borderland between history and fable, had not come within the ken of the classical student.

Sandys was two years my senior in University standing. I made his acquaintance almost immediately on beginning residence, and formed a close friendship with him which lasted uninterruptedly until the day of his death. That friendship has counted for much in my life, and I hope that it counted for something in his. Two close associates of ours from this remote time were Professor A. S. Wilkins and E. S. Shuckburgh.

Sandys, as I look back on his early days, appears to me as having changed very little in advancing life. There was always about him a seriousness, and I think that I may say a dignity, which seemed to me to spring from sources like those which affected the old scholars of the Renaissance, who were deeply impressed by the importance and the honourableness of the scholar's career.

The first venture in education which the boy experienced after his permanent residence in England began, was at the Church Missionary Society's College at Islington, for the period of about four years. He then entered at Repton School, an old foundation which had fallen on evil days, and had recently been given new prosperity under the capable rule of the then head master, Dr. Pears. Sandys was present at the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the foundation of the School, in 1907, and then wrote down his reminiscences of his school career. He then composed the Latin school 'carmen' which is still in

use. He described himself at the time of entering Repton as 'a studious boy' and as 'a boy given to books', but I do not think that he was what would be called at school 'a bookish boy'. He was interested in most things that he came across, even at an early age. When he was told that he would go to Repton, he did not even know where it was, 'but', he says, 'I seized the largest gazetteer that I could find, and had soon mastered all the antiquarian details as to the ancient seat and burial place of the bygone Mercian Kings'. On looking back, he felt thankful for compulsory football, which had helped to establish his bodily health. At the end of three years his house master described him in a letter to his father in India as 'a different person altogether to what he was' when he first arrived at Repton. At school he made close and lasting friendships, and always recalled with great pleasure his Sunday country walks with chosen companions. One of these was the late Sir W. F. A. Archibald, Master of the Supreme Court of Judicature. He often visited the Archibald family in Derbyshire and formed with all the members of it an intimacy which endured. One of his contemporaries was his 'almost namesake' the late distinguished scholar, Professor Sanday, in whose school study Sandys read with him portions of the Classical writers. In 1902, as Public Orator, Sandys presented Sanday for an Honorary Degree in the Cambridge Senate House, more than forty years after the school association of the two had ceased. Sandys spoke of Sanday as 'condiscipulus', and said that he himself was 'non immemor actae non alio rege puertiae'. He also alluded to the fact that while Sanday was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, another Reptonian, A. J. Mason, held the Lady Margaret chair of Divinity at Cambridge.

Two of his teachers at Repton made a deep impression on Sandys, his head master, Dr. Pears, and his house master, Edward Latham. Another contemporary was H. E. Fanshawe, afterwards Fellow and Classical Lecturer of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a fine Classical scholar.

Sandys spoke with special gratitude of some things, outside the Classical field, that had been permanently impressed on him at Repton, in particular a taste for modern history. His residence at Cambridge began in 1863, when he entered as scholar of St. John's College, and he spent the whole of the remainder of his life in Cambridge. He carried off a number of College and University prizes; the Bell Scholarship in 1864, the Browne Medal for a Greek Ode in 1865, the Porson Prize for Greek Verse Composition in 1865 and in 1866; and the Members' Prize for a Latin Essay in 1866. He was Senior Classic in 1867, when Sir Frederick Pollock took the second place in the First

Class, and Sir Sidney Colvin, later Slade Professor of Fine Art, took the third. In the same First Class was H. M. Gwatkin, also a member of St. John's College, and afterwards first Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and in the same Tripos list was the name of Palmer, also of St. John's, the famous Arabic scholar and traveller.

When Sandys entered at St. John's, a fairly strong movement for reform had already sprung up in the University, and the Head of the College, Dr. Bateson, was a leading figure among the reformers. I may here note that Sandys, although caution was a prominent feature in his character, was never out of sympathy with the need for change which time brought with it, especially in connexion with Classical study. When he became Public Orator, he had a seat *ex officio* on the Board of Classical Studies, and attended with seriousness and conscientiousness to the duties which the seat brought with it, as he attended to all other duties which his life imposed on him. In 1869, at an unusually early age, Sandys was appointed Tutor of St. John's College and held the office until 1900. The writer of the memoir which appeared in *The Times* has spoken excellently of Sandys as College Tutor, and I cannot do better than quote his words: 'To the ordinary man he was cold, impassive, ineffective and unintelligible, not quite human. As a matter of fact he was by nature intensely generous, affectionate and warm-hearted.' This judgement accords with many notable reminiscences which I have of interest taken in pupils, and of generosity bestowed on them. As Examiner, Sandys did much service to the University, and his judgement was most steady and trustworthy.

In 1876 Sir Richard Jebb went to Glasgow as Professor of Greek there, and left the office of Public Orator vacant. The two candidates for the vacancy were Sandys and Mr. Charles Walter Moule of Corpus Christi College, who died but a short time before Sandys.

Moule was known to his contemporaries as one of the finest exponents of the art of writing Latin Verse who ever appeared in Cambridge. It is natural and in accordance with the predilections of Sandys throughout his life that a great part of his satisfaction in his success was due to the reflection that, as Public Orator, he was continuing a line of famous scholars, among whom were Erasmus, Sir John Cheke and Roger Ascham (these two being members of St. John's College), also George Herbert, W. G. Clark, and Sir Richard Jebb. His tenure, down to 1919, when he resigned the office, was of longer duration than that of any predecessor. Nearly seven hundred recipients of honorary degrees were introduced by him during that time, and as Public Orator, it was his duty to write many formal Latin letters in the name of the University. Some

were written apropos of events in the Royal Family; others were addressed to foreign Universities on the occasion of their great anniversaries or festivals, when he was often the official representative of Cambridge, and everywhere an honoured guest. In 1905 he visited America, having been appointed to give a course of Lane lectures in Harvard University. The subject was 'The Revival of Learning', and they appeared in a volume in that year.

The ancient writings which Sandys edited were all in prose, Greek and Latin, with one exception, that of the *Bacchae* of Euripides, which appeared in 1880, and is distinguished by the attention paid to works of ancient art connected with the subject. Along with this work may be mentioned a translation of Pindar, for the Loeb Classical Library. This last-mentioned volume met with less commendation than his other works, but was approved by that veteran student of Pindar, Professor Gildersleeve of Baltimore. Anyhow, as an undergraduate once remarked, 'Pindar is a devil of a fellow to translate'.

Sandys was early drawn to the study of Greek and Roman rhetoric and oratory. One of the earliest courses of lectures that he delivered after being placed on the teaching staff of his college had for its subject the Rhetoric of Aristotle. Later on (1909) he published a translation by Sir Richard Jebb of this treatise, with an Introduction and notes. In 1875 began the publication of a series of editions of speeches by Demosthenes. The first volume was of selected private orations, in continuation of a selection edited by F. A. Paley, which Sandys revised with supplementary notes. This work reached a fourth edition in 1910. There followed recensions of the oration against Leptines (1890), of the First Philippic speech along with the Olynthiac speeches (1897), and of the Second and Third Philippics, along with the speech on the Peace and that on the Chersonese, (1900). Editions of two speeches of Isocrates, the *Ad Demonicum* and the *Panegyricus*, had already seen the light in 1868. A very important edition of Cicero's *Orator* was produced in 1885, and fully displayed all the special qualities and tastes of the editor's scholarship. In the front is a facsimile of a page of the chief manuscript, the 'codex Abrincensis'. Then, preceding the preface, are given the opening sentences of the first printed edition of the *Orator*, the Venice edition of 1485 by Omnibonus Leonicenus (Ognibuono da Lonigo), a pupil of Vittorino da Feltre and of Emanuel Chrysoloras, who became Professor in Venice and died in 1524. Just before the preface are given quotations from Poggio, Victor Pisanus, and Strebaeus (Jacques Louis Strebée) who taught at Paris and died in 1550. The preface is elaborate in its details of the discovery of the

manuscript of the work, and of the bibliography of the printed editions. Sandys rightly pointed out that in England this 'masterpiece of rhetorical criticism' had been almost completely neglected. The introduction included an outline of the history of Roman and Greek oratory and rhetoric. Sandys never omitted to illustrate his works by reproductions from ancient art, and this volume contains engravings of the bust of Cicero in the Royal Museum of Madrid, and of Brutus in the Capitoline Museum; also of two coins of Elis, in illustration of references to the Zeus of Phidias in the text, and another from a fragment of a marble shield in the British Museum, a copy of the famous one by Phidias. In 1903 Sandys published an admirable edition of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, then newly discovered. The *Cambridge Companion to Latin Studies*, published under his general editorship, reached a third edition before his death. To the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* he contributed a number of articles. In 1919 came an Introduction to Latin Epigraphy, which supplied a long-felt need. He gave an address to the Royal Society of Literature on the literary sources of Milton's *Lycidas*, and he wrote on the history of Scholarship in Elizabethan times in the work called *Shakespeare's England*. Shortly before his death he wrote a paper for the British Academy on Roger Bacon. His monumental *History of Scholarship* was published so recently and was so generally acclaimed, all the world over, that it is not needful to say anything of it, excepting that the first volume reached a second edition before his death. Very near the last I was able to point out to him a most appreciative notice of the work, written by Professor Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

In 1880 Sir John married Miss Hall, the daughter of a Cambridge clergyman and former missionary, whose tastes were very congenial with those of Sir John himself. The beautiful house which he built later, named St. John's House, is well known, and he amassed there a splendid library. By the generosity of Lady Sandys, 1,800 volumes from the library were added to the library of the Archaeological Museum, an institution in which her husband had taken a keen interest for many years. This splendid gift has rendered that library a very fine place for study and research in almost every department of Classical scholarship.

The circumstances of Sir John's death made a very deep impression, which will be permanent, on the residents in the University. He was on his way down, in his Doctor's robes, to be present at the ceremony of the presentation of distinguished recipients of Honorary Degrees, when he collapsed in one of the courts of his own College. It was

fortunate that his death did not become known to those who were present at the celebration. Sir John had been unwell for some time, but anxiety had been lessened and arrangements were being made for a visit to the south of France, a region that he loved. One of the last books, if not the last, that he read, was a French work on the history of Arles. To vol. x of *The Eagle*, the magazine of his own college, he contributed 'a journal kept during a Christmas vacation in the south of France and the Riviera'.

A few words remain to be said of the volume of Latin speeches and letters written by him as Orator; this was published in 1909, and edited with the greatest care, and with a wealth of explanatory notes. The whole makes an excellent presentment of brief biographies of practically all the eminent men of the time. Sandys corrected very carefully the Latin of these speeches, but their Latinity was hardly ever really at fault. He took the utmost care not only in the preparation of their text, but in preparation for their delivery. He was one of the few Englishmen of his day who really believed in the art of Rhetoric, a faith which has survived in some other countries, especially in France and in America. To the conscientious labour bestowed on the duties of his office as Orator I can testify, for he had the habit during many years of coming to consult me about the speeches before they were delivered. It is, of course, certain that his rhetorical art did not conceal itself so successfully as that of his great predecessor, Sir Richard Jebb, whom we are accustomed in Cambridge to regard as the perfect Orator. But the memory and the example of Sir John Sandys's scholarship will remain for generations to come a source of inspiration to students and scholars both within his University and beyond it.

J. S. REID.

SIR HENRY JONES

1852–1922

By the death of Sir Henry Jones on February 4, 1922, the Fellowship of the British Academy lost one of the oldest and most brilliant of its members. The impression which his vivid personality made upon all who knew him was deepened into love and admiration by the high-hearted courage with which he faced the long racking illness of which he died—setting a seal upon the teaching of his life.

In *Old Memories*, in the writing or dictating of which he employed his easier moments in the last phases of his illness, he has given an account of his early life which will live as a picture of the best type of Welsh home in the middle of last century. Born at Llangernyw in North Wales in 1852, he was the son of a shoemaker, and literally rose from the bench to what is perhaps the most famous chair of philosophy in the English-speaking world, the Chair of Adam Smith, of Thomas Reid, and of Edward Caird. After a long struggle as a student in Wales, he obtained a bursary which took him to Glasgow University, where he graduated in 1878 and was awarded the Clark Fellowship with the duties of Assistant Lecturer. During his four years' tenure of this office he attended classes in the Faculty of Divinity with a view to entering the Presbyterian ministry, but he had already found his vocation. In 1882 he accepted the post of Lecturer in Philosophy in University College, Aberystwyth, and, two years later, on the opening of the University College for North Wales at Bangor, he was appointed its first Professor of Logic and Philosophy. The atmosphere of Welsh theology in these days, and the influence it exercised over University appointments, is illustrated by the story told of his appearance before the elective body. 'We hear, Mr. Jones', said one of the electors, 'that you deny the Divinity of our Lord.' But the young candidate was equal to the occasion. 'It is not true, Mr. Thomas. I never yet denied the divinity of any man.'

In 1882 he married Annie Walker, the sister of his College friend now well known as Dr. Hugh Walker, for many years Professor of English Literature at Lampeter. To this lady's steadfast courage and tranquillity he owed the blessing of a home life, in spite of more than its own share of sorrow, singularly happy and free from worldly

care. He used to like to quote Hegel's saying that 'a man had made up his account with this life when he had work that suited him and a wife whom he loved'. His own account in both these respects not only squared but left an ample balance to the good.

During the seven years he spent at Bangor he established a high reputation as a brilliant teacher and not less successful public speaker on behalf of the new educational movement in Wales, which resulted in the Intermediate Education Act and the establishment of the University of Wales.

But Scotland had been the land of his philosophic birth, and in 1891 he returned to it as Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics in St. Andrews. Three years afterwards, when Edward Caird left Glasgow to succeed Jowett in the Mastership of Balliol College, Oxford, Henry Jones was elected at the age of forty-two to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in his own old University. It would be difficult to imagine a more striking illustration of his own favourite doctrine of identity in difference than the contrast between him and his predecessor. The general principles of the Hegelian Philosophy, of which Caird was at the time the chief exponent in Britain, had become to Jones a philosophic faith from which he never wavered. But while Caird was occupied mainly in applying them to the interpretation of the history of philosophy, leaving his own views for the most part to be gathered from his criticisms of past thinkers, Jones sought to develop them directly in connexion with the issues of contemporary thought, and more particularly of life, morality, and religion. While Caird was the Evangel, Jones was the Pilgrim and Messenger of what he had learned in his House. His loyalty to it may have led to a certain impatience with some of the newer schools of thought, and even with some of the developments which Hegelianism received from other idealistic writers, but it never betrayed him into an unphilosophical dogmatism. The title of his last book, *A Faith that Enquires*, might be taken as the motto of his life. He believed in Idealism, but he believed more deeply in human reason and in its power to lead us into all truth. Another of his old Glasgow teachers whom he loved and admired only second to Caird was John Nichol, the Professor of English Literature, to whom as 'a great teacher' he dedicated his book on Lotze. He used to contrast the two men, each a god to him in his own sphere, in temperament and method. He was himself a delightful mixture of them both. He combined the fire, the wit, the *fight* of the brilliant poet and critic with the steadfastness and whole-hearted devotion to philosophy of the thinker.

In 1904 he was elected Fellow of the British Academy. He was knighted in 1912 and made Companion of Honour in the last week of his life. A few days before his death also he was awarded the Medal of the Cymmrodorion Society. Mr. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time, wrote on the occasion to express his regret at being unable to be present at the honour done to his 'dear old friend whose career and work will remain an encouragement and inspiration to young Wales for many generations'.

Henry Jones's first published work was on the 'Social Organism' in a volume of *Essays in Philosophical Criticism* in which several others, who have since become famous, among them William Paton Ker, Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison, R. B. now Lord Haldane, and John S. Haldane, also first tried their prentice hand. In 1891 he published what perhaps is his best-known book, *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*. In Browning's poetry, which shares with Hegel's philosophy the feature of interpreting the world in terms of spirit, he saw 'a settlement of the ancient feud between these two modes of thought'. Perhaps it was the share he himself had in both of them that was the secret of the success at once of this book and of his own life work as a teacher. In 1894 he published *A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Lotze* in which he showed better than anywhere else his powers as a philosophical scholar and critic. The book was hailed at the time by the translator of Lotze as 'a genuine contribution to philosophy'. In 1908 he was invited, during a tour in Australia, to give a course of lectures in the University of Sydney, which were afterwards published under the title of *Idealism as a Practical Creed. The Working Faith of the Social Reformer*, published in 1910, was the result of a similar course given at Manchester College, Oxford. In 1912 he wrote and presented at the Inauguration of the Rice Institute in Houston, Texas, three lectures on *Philosophical Landmarks, being a Survey of the Recent Gains and the Present Problems of Reflective Thought.* During the War he was asked by the Y.M.C.A. to contribute a book to its admirable scheme of civic education, and wrote *The Principles of Citizenship.* Meantime he was engaged on *The Life of Edward Caird*, and had written two-thirds of the biographical part when he was warned, by the threatened return of the disease of which it was hoped he had been cured by a previous operation, that the Gifford Lectures which he had been asked by his own University to give in 1923 must claim all his remaining strength. At the same time his friends felt that if he was to deliver these lectures no time must be lost. By the kindness of Lord Balfour, who had been appointed lecturer for 1921

and 1922 but was ready to exchange with him, he was enabled to deliver ten lectures of the twenty which he had prepared. As the course proceeded the space available for the crowded audience had to be curtailed on the ground of the failing voice of the lecturer. *The Life and Philosophy of Edward Caird* was finished with the co-operation of the present writer, and published in the autumn of 1921. The Gifford Lectures appeared shortly after his death under the title already quoted. In this book he tries to sum up his teaching on man's life and destiny. Whatever may be thought of it as a contribution to philosophy, of which I speak below, it is written in many places with a burning eloquence, and yet everywhere with a certain restraint and power of self-criticism that will give it a high place in the great series of Gifford Lectures.

Any notice of the life of Henry Jones, however short, would be incomplete which failed to emphasize his work as University teacher. He has himself, in a self-revealing passage in his *Life of Edward Caird*, described the atmosphere in which the Professor in a Scottish University, particularly the Professor of Moral Philosophy, finds himself: the eager responsiveness of the great mass of the large class of students whom he addresses, the difficulty of maintaining the purely theoretic attitude felt by 'a teacher who believes that nothing except morality signifies much', the responsibility that goes along with his opportunities, and the kind of success for which he may look. 'If he succeeds,' he writes, 'he can signify much in the life of his students and through them in the life of the community. . . . It is not a mere paradox to say that the Professor of Ethics *ought* to exercise more power than any other teacher except the metaphysician and the poet, but no one will believe the statement except poets and metaphysicians. And the greatest ethical teacher in all ages has some of the powers and exercises something of the function and influence of all three.'[1] I myself belonged to his own generation, and knew the Moral Philosophy Class only in Caird's time. But those who were Jones's students speak of the unique impression his lectures produced upon them. 'Sir Henry's greatest work', writes Principal Hetherington, who was one of them, 'I think was done in the 8 o'clock Class. . . . To the very end of his life he felt that his first duty was to it; and to it he brought the best of his gifts. Many honours came to him in the course of his life . . . but the recognition which he prized most, and which he counted as incomparably his greatest reward, was the affection of his students and their appreciation of the outlook which he sought to give them. . . . Few men went

[1] *Life and Philosophy of Edward Caird*, pp. 53-4.

forth from his Class unchanged in character as well as in mind, or without realizing the greatness of the obligation imposed upon them to serve their fellows by honesty of secret thought, no less than by probity in outward action. It was all to us students a most memorable experience. It was like walking on the high places of the earth. Most of us found the world opening up as we had never known it.'

This devotion to his work as a teacher was partly founded on a very sincere modesty as to his own powers as a thinker. His hope, he would say, was that, though he himself might be unable to make any fresh contribution to philosophy, he might kindle the fire in one or another of his students who should succeed where he had failed. He lived to see not a few of them in high academic positions in Britain, in the Colonies, and in America, who are likely to realize this hope, but it would not be true to say that this was his only success.

In trying to estimate the work of a philosophical writer we may apply either of two different criteria. We may adopt the test of original discovery in the sense of the power to break away from traditional lines and apply some new principle to the solution of philosophical problems. Or we may adopt the test of the power to carry some widely accepted principle into the different fields of experience with fresh insight and power. Of the former and rarer kind our own time has fortunately not been without example. To mention no others, the names of William James, Mr. F. H. Bradley, and Mr. Bertrand Russell readily suggest themselves. In thinkers of the second type contemporary philosophy may be said to be particularly rich. Among these it may safely be said that the name of Henry Jones will occupy a high place.

Accepting in his student days the general principles of the Hegelian philosophy as these were expounded by his master Edward Caird, he was well content if he could succeed in seeing where they led when carried out courageously and consistently to their logical issues in the different fields of experience. Of the great sayings of Hegel there was none that pleased him better than that which declared that 'the rational is a highway on which every one travels but no one distinguishes himself'. It is this criterion we must apply in attempting a short estimate of his position as a thinker.

Taking his idea of the work of reflection from Plato and Hegel as the endeavour to escape from the half-truths which are the result of abstraction by following the inner movement of thought itself, he conceived of philosophy as 'no quaint guest of star-struck souls which have forgotten their finitude and are doomed to range along

the horizon of existence, peering into the darkness beyond and asking questions of its emptiness'. It is 'the process whereby man, driven by the necessities of his rational nature, corrects the abstractions of his first sense-steeped experience and endeavours, little by little, to bring to light and power the real—that is, the spiritual meaning of his structure and of the world in which he lives'.[1] More particularly at the present time philosophy is concerned with the snares that are laid for the unwary by the current antitheses of finite and infinite, necessity and freedom, nature and spirit. 'When I endeavour to catch a glimpse of the trend of the thought of the present times', he writes, 'and to define, however generally, the problems in which it finds itself entangled and which it must try to solve, I find that it is occupied with some one or other of these dualisms.'[2] More definitely still he held that the trend of philosophy in his time was towards an exaggerated subjectivism. 'If we have despaired of resolving the subject into its object by way of materialism we have on the other hand not repudiated the opposite method of resolving the world into the subjective experience of one or more subjects. Subjective Idealism is still in vogue, for we say that reality *is* experience and in panpsychism the monadism of Leibniz is being resuscitated so that all reality is made to consist of what one may call spiritual points, which have only intensive magnitude and no body except their own activities.'[2]

This was an abstraction for which both the current pluralism and the current monism of his time were each in its own way responsible. 'So far as reality consists in particulars so far it pertains to each experience for itself alone; and so far the solipsist in theory and the egoist, a solipsist in conduct, are logically unassailable even though the proper place to put them be, as Schopenhauer said, the madhouse.' Similarly from the side of monism 'when it is affirmed that reality *is* experience "experience" is allowed to remain utterly ambiguous so as to carry *either* an objective *or* a subjective reference at will. Or when it is explained, as it is by Mr. Bradley, experience and therefore reality is said to consist of feelings, thought, and volitions, and subjective idealism reappears.'[3] It was for this reason that Jones held that there was 'no phenomenon of modern thought that demands a closer diagnosis than the disease of subjectivism', and that his own main critical work was directed to such a diagnosis. And it was because he regarded Lotze's influence as so decisive in developing this morbid condition in the thought of his time that he

[1] *The Rice Institute*, vol. ii, p. 635. [2] Ib., p 640.
[3] Ib., pp. 650 and 664.

made that philosopher's theory of knowledge the subject of searching criticism in the above-mentioned book.

That he was essentially right in this estimate of the situation the whole course of philosophical thought during the last thirty years, with its strong reaction in favour of objectivity, abundantly proves. But there have been two different lines in which redress of the balance has been sought corresponding to the familiar distinction between Realism and Idealism. On the part of Realism the subjective movement has been met by the attempt to give to the object known a reality independent of the knowing mind. What is revealed in knowledge from first to last, whether through the senses, imagery, concept or category, is real objects wholly unaffected in their substance and in the relations they hold to one another by the activity of mind. Knower simply coexists with known, and in the last resort (if it can be said to be itself known as specifically different from it) the mental is resolvable into a product or attribute of the physical.

It need hardly be said that this was not Henry Jones's answer to the problem of knowledge. Such a method of reply to the prevalent error seemed to him to be meeting the abstraction of a mere subject only with the opposite abstraction of a mere object. The realistic theory in its full range and subtlety had not yet developed in the years of which I am speaking, and in his later life Henry Jones perhaps hardly had the patience to try to master it in detail. But the ground of his impatience was the clearness with which he saw that in its essence it was an attempt to meet a onesided theory by the opposite onesidedness, and that this can only end, by a meeting of extremes, in a like scepticism of all real knowledge. If the problem of subjectivism is to find how anything can be true, the problem of objectivism is to find how anything can be false.

The only way, he held, to meet these self-destructive abstractions was once for all to effect a Copernican revolution in our whole mode of conceiving of the relation of mind and object. Instead of starting either with mind and ideas without inner relation to things, or things independent of mind and idea, we must conceive of the whole process we call knowledge as the movement of a real objective world in the medium of thought. Instead of thinking of our thought as an effort to enmesh reality in a net fabricated of its ideas, we must conceive of reality as an active principle revealing itself to us as we follow the lead that it gives to our thought. Thought and reality, subject and object, in this view do not require to be brought together. They *are* together from the first as the two poles between which lies the field we call our world, as inseparable from them as they from

each other. To search for an ideal world unpivoted on a real, or for a real uninterlaced with ideal elements, is equally vain. The ideal and the real are not two separate worlds but inseparable elements in one world, which from one point of view we may treat as constituted of ideas, from another as constituted of things, but which we divide between ideas and things at our peril. In his book on Lotze, Henry Jones applied this principle with a view to showing that the great German philosopher vacillates between the view of thought as merely formal and the view of it as real, and that when (as he is necessarily driven to do) he seeks to unite them he is unable to do so because of his inability to effect the necessary revolution in the assumptions from which he starts.

The line of criticism which he here adopts with conspicuous success Henry Jones intended to follow out in a book upon contemporary British thinkers, who he thought, like Dr. Ward on the one hand and F. H. Bradley on the other, had been unduly influenced by Lotze. We may regret that he never worked up the material he had accumulated into the form of a book. In the short course of lectures which he gave at the opening of the Rice Institute in 1911, on *Philosophical Landmarks*, we have, however, an indication of what he intended to do, and it is doubtful whether in a longer treatise he could have added to the clearness with which his own position as an idealist is stated as contrasted with that of these distinguished contemporaries. We cannot, at any rate, regret that the last years of his life were devoted rather to a constructive statement of the implications of his own view in the field of morals and religion.

Others who accepted the same fundamental principle, notably Edward Caird and Bernard Bosanquet, had preceded him as Gifford Lecturers. But in both of his courses Caird had occupied himself *more suo* rather with 'ideas in the form of history' than with a constructive presentation of his own philosophy of religion. Bosanquet, indeed, had faced critically and constructively the problem of the nature and significance of religious consciousness, and Henry Jones was always ready to acknowledge the debt he owed to his brilliant lectures on *The Principle of Individuality and Value* and *The Value and Destiny of the Individual.* But he held that partly from temperament, partly from what he conceived of as an inconsistency in his thought, Bosanquet had undervalued the positive side of the relation of the finite to the infinite, and by laying the emphasis on the self-transcendence instead of self-realization involved in all spiritual activity had failed to do justice to human personality. What he, therefore, set himself to do in his own Gifford Lectures was

to insist on the essential unity of the finite and the infinite in the field of morals and religion as he had elsewhere insisted on it in knowledge. The task he felt to be surrounded with difficulty: 'The way from the finite to the infinite has been always more easy for the feet of the pilgrim than the way from the infinite to the finite';[1] but he faced it with his usual courage and *élan*. Sweeping aside all attempts to relieve the pressure of the problem by conceiving of the object of religion as a God limited in power and goodness (this was 'to run away from the problem not to solve it') he sought to show that neither morality, religion, nor the relation between them to which ordinary human life bears witness are explicable except on the ground of the real presence of the infinite in the life of the finite. In a well-known section Bosanquet had laid stress on the 'hazards and hardships' of man's ordinary moral and social life, the failures and injustices of which it stands arraigned in contrast to the stability of the 'world of spiritual membership to which we truly belong'. To such a world man's temporal life truly points; but between temporal and spiritual Bosanquet finds a 'great ultimate self-contradiction', only to be resolved in a form of experience in which the finite as such is left behind. Consonantly with this view, the emphasis in his writings falls on the process of 'self-transcendence' as that which is characteristic of such a 'finite-infinite' creature as man. True this process is not wasted. It constitutes somehow an element in the absolute life. But it never seems to return upon itself. Something is dropped. in passing from appearance to reality the *self* ceases to be, or at least to be *itself*. From such a point of view it is little wonder finally that personal immortality fades into obscurity. Essential values are conserved somewhere, somehow; but as the individual soul, just as it stands, is not one of these, its survival cannot be a claim against the Absolute.

Taking this, with what amount of fairness we need not here inquire, to be the bearing of Bosanquet's doctrine, Jones uses it to point the contrast of his own. It seems to him to rest on a misreading of the fact. The world of claim and counterclaim which is conjured up by the individualist's imagination as the scene of constant failure has no real existence entitling it to be either condemned or acquitted of injustice. 'Hazard and hardship' there is, of course, in plenty in man's ordinary life. These are no illusions. But neither are they final fact, for there is nothing in them that the steadfast will to good cannot transform here and now into something in which it can rest and find security. It is of the very nature of

[1] *A Faith that Enquires*, p. 296.

spiritual activity that it cannot fail: 'No moral effort fails.' 'Every good act is in its way perfect . . . neither man nor God could do better.' Justice is not something for which we have to wait as the gift of the transforming power of an absolute experience. It is done 'on the spot'. 'I cannot pity any one for trying to be good, however hard and unrelenting reality may be.' 'Never has any one been sorry for having tried to do what seemed right or mourned over his attempted obedience to the will of God.'[1] These are characteristic utterances. In another they might seem mere optimistic bravado. To Henry Jones they are at once a simple reading of fact and the logical consequence of a view that will admit no ultimate severance of finite and infinite, struggle and perfection, appearance and reality, as though these belonged to separate worlds and were only to be brought together in some transcendent experience. 'When I read man's history what I find is not a finite creature trying to transcend himself and necessarily failing but a potency that is infinite in its nature operating as a spiritual being at a certain stage of its actuality and in response to certain circumstances. If either side of the human self had to be called unreal or deceptive I should call it his finite, fixed, and exclusive side. But the conception of the finite as self-revealing and self-realizing process of what is in its nature absolute and infinite averts the need of fixed and static entities and avoids the difficulties which spring therefrom.'[2]

With this strong emphasis on the perfection achieved in every good act, and on the solution of the contradiction between finite and infinite effected in the temporal life of self-conscious soul, we might have expected that the problem of survival would have appeared less importunate if not less important. This was not Henry Jones's view. He was too deeply committed to the supreme value of the individual soul as the highest revelation of the divine, and as partaker of its infinity, to be willing to tolerate the thought of annihilation and the ultimate failure, that it seemed to him to imply. He had no belief indeed in empirical evidences of survival, and 'flings spiritualism, so far as these lectures are concerned, on his rubbish-heap'. On the other hand, he held that it is possible to establish immortality as a deduction from his main hypothesis of the nature of God and the human soul. From the side of Deity 'Belief in a God whose goodness and power are unlimited, which we have deemed essential to religion, is not possible *unless* the soul be immortal'; 'a single life

[1] *A Faith that Enquires*, pp. 163, 353, 306, 253, 254.
[2] Op. cit., p. 190.

given to man would not exhaust the resources of infinite goodness. There must be "life after life in endless series".'[1] From the side of man self-consciousness, and the right founded on it to the conditions of moral well-being seem to him to constitute 'a final claim that cannot be overridden by death'.[2] It is on such grounds that he expresses his fundamental faith that 'sometime, somewhere, in some life, under some circumstances, the soul will awake and apprehend its true nature and destiny'.[3]

Some may see in these arguments to establish a philosophical faith in God, freedom, and immortality, a strained attempt to find logical proof in a region where proof is neither possible nor perhaps desirable. Henry Jones, as we have seen, was keenly conscious of the hypothetical character of his own, as of all other philosophical constructions. But surely within these limits, if there is to be any progress in philosophical truth, it can only be by the courageous attempt to follow the logic of permissible hypothesis to its legitimate issue. It was to this task that his life-work was devoted. It must stand or fall—and it claims to nothing else—by the test of its logical consistency and its harmony with experience.

This is not the place for a detailed criticism of it in these respects. The present notice will have served its purpose if it has given some idea of the vivid personality that passed from us last year in Sir Henry Jones, and if it has in some degree been successful in indicating the place that he won for himself, and will, I believe, continue to hold in the history of a philosophical theory which, whatever its future may be, has played a decisive part in the intellectual development of our time.

JOHN H. MUIRHEAD.

[1] Op. cit., p. 344. [2] Op. cit., p. 341. [3] Op. cit., p 344.

BERNARD BOSANQUET

1848–1923

Bernard Bosanquet, born in 1848, was the youngest of the five sons of the Rev. R. W. Bosanquet, of Rock Hall, Northumberland, who belonged to the ancient family of the Bosanquets of Dingestow. This family was of Huguenot descent, having emigrated to England on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[1] Naturally, in course of time, the French blood was mingled with English and Scottish, and Bosanquet's mother bore the name Macdowall. One of his brothers was the late Admiral Sir Day H. Bosanquet; another, Charles, was the Secretary of the Charity Organization Society at the time of its foundation.

From Harrow, to whose head-master, Montagu Butler, he was affectionately attached, Bosanquet, having gained a Balliol Scholarship, went up in 1867 to Oxford, where he took a first class both in 'Moderations' and in 'Greats'. That he was, even among the scholars, a man of exceptional ability and acquirements was recognized by his contemporaries; but he did not otherwise figure prominently in the College life, as he was not an athlete and in his younger days was somewhat shy or reserved. But he was already a man of friends, and at Balliol began his life-long friendship with C. S. Loch, his junior in standing but already deeply interested in social questions and movements.

The lecturers at Balliol who attracted and influenced him most were T H. Green and W. L. Newman. Green had as yet published only a couple of articles in the *North British Review*; but much that, later in his lifetime and after it, appeared in print was being given in the lecture-room, and was bewildering some of his hearers and opening to others a new world; and among these others was Bosanquet. The influence of Green's teaching and example, it may be added, is probably traceable in the combination of civic and philosophical activities which is the most obvious feature of his pupil's life. What the tutor, on his side, thought of his pupil may be judged from his description

[1] The 'strict moral tradition' usual in Huguenot families is mentioned in *Some Suggestions in Ethics*, p. 231.

of Bosanquet as 'the best-equipped man in the College', and from the fact that when, in 1872, he was obliged to interrupt for some weeks his course on Aristotle's *Ethics*, he invited his pupil (then newly elected Fellow of University) to take his place.

The influence of Newman, whose lectures on ancient history were not less famous in the University than Green's on philosophy, appears throughout Bosanquet's writings in the prominence of reflections drawn from the history of Greece, and is emphatically acknowledged in the paper entitled 'A Moral from Athenian history'.[1] It is indeed evident that he owed to his undergraduate years an enthusiasm for Greece which never diminished and which appeared in the emphasis of his considered judgements. Two of these may be quoted in illustration from a single volume.[2] 'Hellenism, perhaps the most splendid product of any single epoch in the world's history'; 'I do not doubt that the philosophy of Great Britain will creditably stand comparison with that of any nation in the world, excepting always, in my judgement, the ancient Greeks.' The first book that he published (1878) was a translation of a work by Schömann on Athenian Constitutional History.

1871–81

When this book appeared Bosanquet was nearing the end of the ten years which he spent as a Fellow and Tutor at University College. Here, in addition to courses on Greek history, and on the philosophical books usually studied for the Honours degree, he lectured on the History of Logic, and the History of Moral Philosophy from Locke to Kant, and left on the minds of his most competent hearers a strong conviction of the power, originality, and sincerity of his thought—a conviction not diminished by that insistence on precision and qualification of statements which to a youthful audience is apt to seem needless or super-subtle. Moreover he impressed his hearers as a man of elevated character and ideals, in which he himself fully believed—indeed in which his belief amounted to a passion, though his manner was always severely restrained, so that the white heat of his thought may not have been discovered by some of his hearers. He is remembered, too, for his interest in the life of the undergraduates outside the lecture-room; an instance of which was his membership in a little society which met about once a fortnight to read plays of Shakespeare. Among his colleagues one, F. H. Peters, was an intimate friend and, like himself, busy with philosophy.

[1] *Social and International Ideals*, p. 254.

[2] *Essays and Addresses*, pp. 52, 178.

Another was C. J. Faulkner, whose company he greatly enjoyed, and in whose rooms he sometimes met William Morris;[1] and it is probable that these meetings, in addition to the delight they gave, stimulated a growing interest in social work.[2]

This interest, however, may have tended to increase a certain dissatisfaction with his College life. The number of the undergraduates in the College who were reading for Honours and therefore studying philosophy was at that time very small, and, naturally, not all of them were keenly interested in that study, so that his official work cannot have been of an engrossing kind. At the same time, though he was thus comparatively little hindered in the development of his own thought, and was gradually becoming more and more certain of his philosophical position, it was only towards the end of his stay in Oxford that he felt ready to write on the subject.

1881–1903

Bosanquet left Oxford in 1881 and, for more than twenty years, made his home in London and, after a time, at Oxshott, in easy reach of London. These years were highly productive, and that in dissimilar ways. He wrote and published some of the most important and least 'popular' of his philosophical works; and at the same time he gave a large part of his energy to committee-work and lecturing on behalf of various movements and associations, most of which were not, at any rate distinctively, of a philosophical kind.

Nothing more than a list of the larger publications of these years is possible in the present record, but it will at least show that they deal with three distinct species of philosophy.[3] After contributing, in 1882, an article on 'Logic as the Science of Knowledge' to *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*, edited by Seth and Haldane, he published, two years later, *Knowledge and Reality*, where he discussed the ideas in regard to which he agreed with, or dissented from, F. H. Bradley's *Principles of Logic*. This was followed in 1888 by his *Logic, or the Morphology of Knowledge*, in two volumes. Between these dates he had published his translation, with a preliminary essay, of the Introduction to Hegel's *Aesthetik*; and in 1892 there appeared his own *History of Aesthetic*. Seven years later came his *Philosophical Theory of the State*, the fullest exposition of his political philosophy.

[1] References to Morris may be found in the *History of Aesthetic* and elsewhere.

[2] For the substance, and often for the words, of much of this paragraph I am indebted to Professor E. A. Sonnenschein, who was a Scholar of University in the earlier years of Bosanquet's residence.

[3] Early in this period falls also his editorship of, and contribution to, the Oxford translation of Lotze's *Logik* and *Metaphysik*.

This might seem a sufficient output; yet within this period he also wrote many papers for the meetings of the Aristotelian Society, his services to which are fully described by Prof. Wildon Carr in the *Proceedings*, vol. 23. Among the other Societies for which he chiefly worked that for the Organization of Charity probably occupied him most constantly. He was here collaborating with his Balliol friend Loch, the organizing Secretary, and he himself became chairman of the Administrative Committee of the London Society. Another was the Ethical Society, which he helped to found; and he took part also in the activities of the University Extension Board. For all of these associations, and not by any means for these alone, he gave (usually speaking from notes) lectures or addresses, a good many of which were reproduced in the smaller volumes published in this period.[1] Some idea of the variety of his subjects may be gathered from the *Essays and Addresses* (1889), three of which deal with philosophical questions, while the rest bear the following titles: *Two Modern Philanthropists, Individual and Social Reform; Some Socialistic Features of Ancient Societies; Artistic Handwork in Education* (a lecture showing the influence of Ruskin and especially of Morris); *The Kingdom of God on Earth; How to read the New Testament.*

It will be noticed that two of these addresses deal with aspects of religion; and the prominence of this subject becomes marked in *The Civilization of Christendom* (1893) and points forward to the Gifford Lectures. At the same time, it is perhaps needless to add, neither this nor any other interest collided with, or modified, Bosanquet's devotion to Greece, or his conviction of the importance of Greek thought for the modern mind. These appear unchanged in the course of Extension lectures on the *Republic* of Plato, the substance of which is doubtless to be found, though not in lecture form, in the *Companion*. The memory of this course remains vivid in the minds of those who heard it, and to whom that volume was dedicated; and it may be permissible to interpose in this bare catalogue a record written by one of them, since it may be taken to represent fairly well the impression left by the single lectures of this period:

I attended a course of lectures on Plato's *Republic* which Dr. Bosanquet gave at Chelsea. The first lecture was open to the public and the room was crowded. Perhaps over a hundred people were

[1] Two of these are mentioned in this paragraph and the next. The others are *A Companion to Plato's Republic* (1895), *The Essentials of Logic* (1895), *Psychology of the Moral Self* (1897), *The Education of the Young in Plato's Republic* (1900).

present, many of them drawn, doubtless, not so much by interest in the subject as by the reputation of the lecturer.

Arresting and absorbing though it was, this first lecture was extraordinarily difficult; and I afterwards learnt that it was intentionally so. No help or relief was offered to tempt the neophyte. The numbers dwindled to twenty or thirty keen and enthusiastic students; and then the nature of the man, and some of his intensest faiths and enthusiasms, were gradually revealed. To an hour's lecture, crammed with matter, were added by degrees fifteen minutes, thirty minutes, another hour, of informal teaching and discussion. Students received every encouragement to express their difficulties, and even to persist until convinced or enlightened. Through all his teaching there burnt a steady glow of enthusiastic faith—a faith and an ideal that the tests and experience of a life had only fired anew.

Difficulties might remain—for he had not naturally the born expositor's gift—but he was untiring and patient in his self-forgetting zeal to hand on, to those capable of accepting them, the spiritual stuff and inspiration which had come to him from the Master.

His delicate and refined face, with its clearly cut features, so mask-like to many, glowed as he spoke—still with the careful enunciation and precise choice of words natural to him—of what Plato could be to life,—the quarry for all the riches of the mind, the wisdom which, born of Truth in another age and under different skies, could still inspire and still be applied to the difficulties and moral problems of the present day. 'More modern than the moderns, you can never get too far for Plato; we are only beginning to understand him' was said, as nearly as I can remember, in one of his rare outbursts of feeling.

To me the lecturer not only opened a new door and outlook upon thought and life, but a new understanding of the passion of service underlying the critical intellect and fastidious instincts of the man—the secret of his many-sided activities and friendships.

1903–1908[1]

After 1900, for some twelve years, Bosanquet published no books; and the primary cause of this silence was that he returned to University work. In 1903, at the suggestion of Mr. Haldane, he was invited to become Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews; and he held the chair until 1908.

Much practice had made him a master of the art of lecturing, and his teaching proved to be not only characteristic but extremely effective. The best proof of this is that he had regularly an ordinary class of between thirty and forty, which is a large number for a small

[1] For the whole of this section, except the opening words and the last paragraph, I am indebted to Mr. John Burnet, Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews; and it appeared unnecessary to mark a few small additions and re-arrangements made with his sanction.

University in these days, when philosophy in the Scottish Universities has a hard struggle for existence. The class was about as numerous as when Moral Philosophy was a compulsory subject for graduation in Arts. Nor did he confine himself to his own department. He was always anxious to keep it in close touch with the Classical department, especially on the side of Greek. He lectured regularly on Plato's *Republic*, and printed for the use of his students a collection of the principal Greek texts bearing on the life and work of Socrates. In this he was reviving, though with far more knowledge, the tradition established at St. Andrews by Ferrier. Another St. Andrews tradition to which he linked his teaching on the social and economic side was that of Chalmers, who taught Political Economy rather than Moral Philosophy from his chair. I have often heard him say that it was a satisfaction to him that he held the chair of Chalmers.

Another thing which none of us who were his colleagues will ever forget is his readiness to engage in long philosophical discussions with any one who cared for such things. To these discussions junior members of the staff were freely admitted, and he often took them, and even their seniors, quite out of their depth—which was very good for them.

Bosanquet's success as a teacher, however, had been taken for granted beforehand by his colleagues. What especially impressed them was the eager way in which he threw himself into University business, and his quickness in mastering its details. Nothing seemed to be too trifling for him to give his best attention to. It had long been the custom to make the junior Professor responsible for the arrangements of the Graduation Ceremonial, and he declined to be relieved of this duty, which he performed on several occasions. He was appointed in 1904 a member of a deputation to the Prime Minister on University business, and he took a special interest in the Higher Degrees in Letters and Philosophy and also served on the Committee which dealt with the Training of Teachers. "He took an active part in the deliberations of the Senatus, and he rarely missed a meeting of the Faculty of Arts or of the United College. His practical sagacity and experience of affairs were often of great service to these bodies." These sentences are taken from the Minutes of the Senatus Academecies of 15th July, 1908; and it should be understood that some of the business of the Senatus had been difficult as well as important. We were just beginning to reconstruct the Arts curriculum, and there were, of course, great differences of opinion about that. It was not till seven years later, after Bosanquet had left, that we managed to get an Ordinance through, and it was of a provisional

nature. Now that a pass degree in Science has been instituted, it has been necessary to revise the Arts regulations once more. All that was in the air when Bosanquet came, and we hardly expected that he would trouble himself about it. But we were quite wrong in this matter; for he insisted from the first on taking even more than his fair share in all these discussions, and it is certain that our present system of graduation in Arts is in large measure due to him.

Every one, it must be added, appreciated his unfailing courtesy and patience. He took sides inevitably in the occasionally stormy discussions of those days; but it is certainly true to say that he gained the respect, and even the affection, of those against whom he voted consistently, in a hardly less degree than of those with whom he usually acted.

Those who knew Bosanquet or have read his books will not need the testimony of these last words. He enjoyed discussion and much of his writings is, of necessity, controversial; but he probably never gave a moment's pain to an opponent, and Professor Carr observes, in his account of the Aristotelian Society meetings, that, while he never left his own view in doubt, he was always anxious to bring out what was true or valuable in doctrines with which he might be in complete disagreement.

1908–1923

On his return to Oxshott Bosanquet was for some time engaged in preparing his Gifford Lectures, delivered in the University of Edinburgh. Their publication[1] was succeeded by that of the following smaller works: *The Distinction between Mind and its Objects* (1913), *Three Lectures on Aesthetic* (1915), *Social and International Ideals* (1917), *Some Suggestions on Ethics* (1918), *Implication and Linear Inference* (1920), *What Religion is* (1920), *The Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy* (1921). To this list, which witnesses to mental activities wonderful in constancy and variety, must be added *Three Chapters on the Nature of Mind* (published posthumously in 1923), the opening of a large work which, from the gradual failure of his health, was left unfinished at his death. In some of these volumes will be found lectures or papers composed for various Societies, such as the Aristotelian and the Charity Organization; and in addition there remain not a few others, printed as pamphlets, or in the Proceedings of the Aristotelian

[1] *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, 1912, and *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*, 1913.

Society, or in volumes to which a number of authors contributed, such as *The International Crisis* (1915).[1]

Naturally, in other papers and in Bosanquet's independent publications subsequent to 1914, the presence of the War is obvious, and, with it, that of controversy regarding the nature and functions of the State (see especially *Social and International Ideals*, 1917). Allied with this book, but dealing more generally with Ethics, is the volume published in the next year. Problems in Logic or Metaphysics, again, are treated in the books dated 1913, 1920, 1921, 1923; and in the small volume *What Religion is* we have a supplement to the Gifford Lectures.

There remain the *Three Lectures on Aesthetics*; and here Bosanquet returned to a department of philosophy on which for many years he had seldom written, though in his younger days it was perhaps his favourite. After translating the Introduction to Hegel's lectures on Aesthetic, and dealing in the *Essays and Addresses* (1889) with 'Artistic Handwork in Education', he published in 1892 the *History of Aesthetic*, the earliest of his larger works. It is strange that, at the time of his death, little or no reference was made to this work in the obituary notices of the press. For, it is safe to say, he is the only British philosopher of the first rank who has dealt at all fully with this part of philosophy; and, besides, that volume was, and has continued to be, welcomed by many readers otherwise unconcerned with philosophy. And this welcome is, for more than one reason, fully deserved. Most of Bosanquet's books were reproductions of lectures, and in them his thought is sometimes difficult to follow owing to the absence of the emphasis and intonation which, in the lecture-room, made his meaning clear at once. But the *History of Aesthetic* was written for readers, and admirably written. And this is not all. An exposition, however lucid, of the aesthetic theories of Plotinus or Hegel may baffle this or that reader; but, if he is interested in the subject of the book, and in the successive attitudes, not only of philosophers but of generations and ages, towards the beauty of Nature and of Art, he can hardly fail to be fascinated by the moving panorama offered to him here. And, if he has not a historical mind, he may still find both enjoyment and light in frequent and full references to particular artists and poets or in a luminous comparison of Dante and Shakespeare.[2]

[1] In the present pamphlet all the volumes of which Bosanquet was sole author are mentioned.

[2] In the *Three Lectures on Aesthetic* (1915) account is taken of recent publications, and, among them, of the writings of Croce; and the main point of

Bosanquet's life was free from disasters and serious disappointments, and it may, I believe, be truly described as happy. Though he was an exceptionally strenuous worker, his friends never found him distracted or oppressed. He was devoted to reflection of an abstruse kind, and often, at the same time, busy with committee-work and semi-popular lecturing; but these diverse activities never appeared to clash, and his burden might even be said to lie on him lightly. And the reason lay, partly doubtless in his nature, but also in his unfailing faith. He was sure that he was working for the good cause of the world; and he was sure of its success. Believing in the intellect, he did not preach or exhort, but reasoned and explained; and his writings, though never rhetorical, are, because of his faith, in a peculiar way exhilarating. And this is equally true of his converse with his friends. He had many friends, and I believe I speak for those who remain when I say that a day's visit to him left them happy, not only because of his affection, but because a talk with him cleared their vision and strengthened their faith.

A few words may be added concerning his tastes and recreations. He was no great traveller, though he spent some most enjoyable months in Greece and at Rome and paid several visits to Florence. He was fond of gardening and also of botanizing. He took a manual of botany with him in a country walk in order to identify any unfamiliar flower; and the Preface to his *Logic*, together with an elaborate account in the work itself of the fertilization of the Bee Orchis, shows that, to some extent at least, he studied the subject scientifically. He did not care much for games either out of doors or at home, but was an omnivorous reader of novels. His favourite novelists were Scott and Dickens; but in the small volume *Suggestions in Ethics* may be found references, not only to *Old Mortality*, *Woodstock*, and *Redgauntlet*, but to works by Miss Edgeworth, Balzac, Miss Yonge, Zola, George Eliot, Meredith, Mallock, Miss Cholmondeley, and Galsworthy. The poets to whom he refers most frequently are Homer (especially the *Odyssey*), Dante, and Goethe. In the concluding lecture of *The Principle of Individuality and Value* he describes the mind of Dante as expressed in the *Divina Commedia* in order to illustrate by comparison his own suggestions in the preceding lecture on the nature of the Absolute. The small volume mentioned above contains quotations from, or allusions to, Dante,

difference between Bosanquet and Croce (whom he greatly admired and with whom he corresponded) is fully considered in the masterly pamphlet *Croce's Aesthetic*, written for the British Academy and printed in the *Proceedings*, vol. ix, and also as a pamphlet.

Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Shelley, Browning, Arnold, Rossetti, and Meredith; but the poet whose name appears most often is Goethe. In this volume, wherever lines of Goethe's are quoted, a metrical translation is given; and, as it happens, the larger translations published in the course of Bosanquet's life are curiously significant. The first (1878) was that of Schömann's *Athenian Constitutional History*, and reference has already been made in this paper to his enthusiasm for Greece. The second was that of the Introduction in Hegel's lectures on Aesthetic; and, if any philosopher might be said to have a disciple in Bosanquet, it would be Hegel. The third was that of some of Goethe's lyrics, published (1919) in a small volume entitled *Zoar* and containing also original poems by Bosanquet's wife.

He married in 1895 Helen Dendy, who not only shared his interests and his faith but, from 1896 onward, has been the author of valuable works on social subjects. This paper has been concerned almost wholly with Bosanquet's career as a lecturer and writer, and I can venture to add here but a single sentence. His life, as I believe, may truly be called a happy one, and from the date of his marriage it was, beyond doubt, exceptionally happy.[1]

A. C. BRADLEY.

Bosanquet was an original thinker, inspired by the most genuine passion for truth and excellence in his work. He spared himself no effort in his search for exactness in knowledge. His life was absorbed in what he had set himself to do. He was a scholar, and he had, besides, read widely in modern literature of many varieties, as well as studied closely social problems. But first and foremost he was a metaphysician. It was as a metaphysician that he wrote on logic, on psychology, and on ethics. His outlook as a metaphysical thinker has therefore always to be borne in mind in the interpretation of his language, and to learn what that outlook was it is necessary to realize the spiritual descent of the philosopher himself.

To call Bosanquet an Hegelian would be to do him as much of an injustice as it would be to use the expression of the writer to whom he stood closest in thought, F. H. Bradley. Yet both of them owed much to Hegel. In their books he is never spoken of without grateful reverence, and on the massive basis of the objective idealism of

[1] This brief record could not have been compiled without the constant help of Mrs. Bosanquet, and it is much to be hoped that she may find it possible to write a biography of her husband

Hegel each may be said to have erected his own particular structure. In 1865 a book by Hutchison Stirling, great in its time, had constituted the first step in this country towards the unfolding of the 'Secret of Hegel' to British readers. It was followed almost immediately by a memorable essay on Aristotle's philosophy, in the 'North British Review', by T. H. Green. Then Green and Edward Caird developed at length in books the significance of this new type of idealism, Green in his own especial fashion. These two, and particularly Green, sat very loose to the systematic doctrine of Hegel. What Hegel himself pronounced to be the only thing that he held to be certainly true in his philosophy, the method of approach to the problem of reality, was what laid hold of them. The conception of knowledge and of human experience as not static, as no relation between entities outside them, but as dynamic and embracing all the forms in which reality could present itself; this was the Hegelian principle which Bradley and Bosanquet inherited. Both of them, however, subjected it to close criticism. Each in his own way came to the conclusion that knowledge was inherently confined to relations, and that neither relations nor their terms could stand by themselves or bear the burden of expressing the content of what ought in ultimate analysis to be taken as the final character of the real. That character must transcend both knowledge and bare feeling, and lie in a quality from which both were therefore abstractions. Knowledge closely bound up with feeling could account for experience, but only for an experience which disclosed contradictions, removed first when they were resolved in such experience, at higher levels. But all such levels were themselves, so far as experienced, still only appearances, in contrast to the perfect and consistent ideal to which they pointed. Such an ideal, knowledge, confined to terms and relations, could only indicate but could not express. It was an absolute which it was necessary to assume to be the foundation of reality as revealed in knowledge, but it could neither be an object apprehended as in itself, nor could it be an 'Other' existing apart from such apprehension. Still, nothing short of such an absolute reality could form the ideal background to which all that is for us must be referred for its final significance.

The absolute for Hegel was not different in kind. But he thought he could render its character in terms of knowledge and present it as a system. In this Hutchison Stirling followed him. Green was silent on the point, and may be taken not to have gone so far. Bradley and Bosanquet definitely stopped short, and each worked out the theory of the ultimate reality in his own way.

For Bradley Bosanquet had a deep regard. The two thinkers had started from points of view which were substantially the same. They began by examining the facts of experience, and found themselves impelled by the contradictions disclosed towards a larger standpoint from which experience in an ideal form would become free from such contradictions. It must finally present itself ideally as no mere appearance, only relatively true, but in a form which, while beyond the reach of relational knowledge, was yet the reality in reference to which human experience, with its character of appearance, must be interpreted. Their divergence from Hegel was not over the principle in this, which was his as much as theirs, but over the mode of its application. Hegel sought to explain from above downwards. They strove to begin with what lay at the lower level and to show how the *nisus* of thought operated upwards with transforming power. With Hegel also the actual is experience. His system really begins with his philosophy of the human mind, as readers not only of his 'Phenomenology' but of the third part of his 'Encyclopaedia' know. But he held himself unable to explain properly without exhibiting the content of mind as giving actual existence to two abstractions which had no reality excepting as ideal factors in that content, Logic as a system of ultimate abstractions, and the externality characteristic of Nature as their counterpart in experience. His absolute was just the entirety conceived no longer as relative. So is the absolute for Bradley and Bosanquet. But the form of approach is wholly different, and it results for them in, what Hegel rejected, the possibility of subjecting knowledge itself to criticism. Kant sought to do this, and Hegel replied that it was only by relying on knowledge itself that truth could be reached at all. We must simply watch, he declared, the dynamic activity of thought in transcending its own abstractions. We could no more make progress without trusting ourselves to knowledge than we could learn to swim without trusting ourselves to the water.

It was this doctrine that the two Oxford thinkers in effect challenged. Their doubts about it seem to have brought them to the view that a transformed fashion of knowledge was conceivable, freed from terms and relations and separation of immediacy from mediation, a form of apprehension which would be appropriate to the character of what was not relative but in contrast to appearance was absolute.

The important feature in both is the way in which their methods produced closer relations with schools that were not idealist than had the methods of their idealist predecessors. The controversy became one about the implications of experience, and here at least a drawing

of the combatants into full sight of each other became possible. It is noticeable in both how close has been the attention bestowed on the work of the empirical school. In what was nearly the last book that Bosanquet wrote, the 'Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy', he spares no pains in looking for points of approach, and in striving to reduce divergences. In the end there is of course always a gulf fixed between his objective idealism and the realism of those about whom he is writing. He was a keen critic, and his insistence on unrestrained truthfulness in his own statements was everywhere apparent. But not the less one of the most valuable of the several notable contributions to philosophy which Bosanquet made was his effort in the book mentioned to mediate between the extremes he fully recognizes. How far he succeeded, whether the method he chose of approaching the problem of reality was better than or as good as that of Hegel, it will have to be left to a later generation to pronounce. But this at least is certain, that he greatly advanced insight into this subject.

Perhaps the most notable piece of work he did was to write the two volumes of Gifford Lectures, published over ten years since, and called *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, and *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*. Their theme is that the fragmentary and conflicting character of finite existence points to a value and a reality beyond, and implies it both theoretically and practically; an ultimate and absolute individuality which is immanent in that which is finite and signifies an ideal perfection. It is to this conception that the writings of Bosanquet always point, whether he is dealing with logic, psychology, ethics, or pure metaphysics. His treatment of the conception in each of these domains impresses as unfailing in its thoroughness and level, whatever may be thought of the result.

The two books on *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, and on *What Religion is* are of great importance as illustrations of Bosanquet's method, and of the application of his ground principle. They cannot, however, be summarized in short compass.

HALDANE.

WILLIAM CROOKE

1848–1923

On the 25th December, 1923, died William Crooke, after an operation at a nursing home at Cheltenham—a great scholar and searcher of long standing into Things Indian, to use a phrase which he himself employed as a title to one of his books. To my own knowledge he had been studying the Indian people and their ways for more than forty years at the time of his death. During all that time he was more or less continuously closely connected with myself, and his unexpected death came to me as a grievous personal loss.

He was the eldest son of Warren Crooke, of Macroom, Co. Cork, a member of an English family long settled in Ireland. He was born in 1848, being 75 years old at his death, and had three brothers, one of whom, Col. Sir Warren Crooke-Lawless, C.B. C.B.E., of the Royal Army Medical Corps and the Coldstream Guards, was Surgeon to Lord Minto while Viceroy of India, and then House-Governor of the Convalescent Home for Officers at Osborne, Isle of Wight.

William Crooke was educated at Tipperary Grammar School, winning a scholarship at Trinity College, Dublin, and successfully competing for the Indian Civil Service in 1871. His official life was wholly spent in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, where as Magistrate and Collector he held charge of the districts, in succession, of Etah, Saharanpur, Gorakhpur, and Mirzapur. This last post suited him exactly, owing to his knowledge of and sympathy with the people. Here he could, even better than in the other districts he had administered, find means to search into the minds of a primitive population and into the civilization of the remoter parts of India; and here he could win the personal regard of the people, as besides being a great scholar, he was also a great sportsman and had shot many a tiger.

Nevertheless, despite his intimate knowledge of India and its inhabitants, his was an uneventful career officially, though it was a strenuous one, and he could not win the promotion to which his unusual acquirements entitled him. He was too outspoken a critic of the Secretariats—the ruling power in India in his day—and he

was consequently not only unconsidered but was allowed to retire after 25 years of service just a district officer.

But official disapproval cannot affect a man's capabilities for putting the result of his researches on paper, and here Crooke was beyond the reach of his superiors in office. So both during his Government service in India and after it, he was an invaluable and prolific writer on all subjects connected with the people of India, and became a master-teacher of their habits and customs, their religion and ethics, and their ways. He was always willing to help research in these directions in any way open to him, and he loved it for its own sake. But in this side of his life—its unofficial side—he was never in any way pushing and reaped but little renown or recognition, and what of these came his way came late in life, well deserved. He became an Hon. D.Sc. of Oxford in 1919 and an Hon. Litt.D. of Dublin in 1920. In 1919 also he was awarded the C.I.E. by the Indian Government, and in 1923 he became a Fellow of this Academy. In 1910 he was President of the Anthropological Section (H) of the British Association, and in 1911–12 of the Folk-lore Society. He was also for years an active and valued member of the Royal Anthropological Institute. To the Folk-lore Society he was invaluable, becoming the indefatigable Editor of *Folk-lore* from 1915 to his sudden death, which greatly affected that journal for the time being.

Crooke's earliest contributions were to my own journal, the *Indian Antiquary*, in 1882 (vol. xi), and at one time it was proposed that he should assist me in editing it. From time to time he contributed articles: a long series of *Folk-tales of Northern India* running through five volumes (xxi–xxv), returning to the subject in vol. xxix. He wrote also on the *Indian Gipsies* in vol. xvii, and contributed a series of *Songs from Northern India* in vols. xxxix and xl, with a version of the great *Gūgā Legend* in vol. xxiv. In addition, he contributed very many notes and valuable miscellanea, including an informing review of Campbell's *Santal Folk-tales* in vol. xxi. The complete list of his contributions is to be found in Miss L. M. Anstey's *Index* to the first fifty volumes of the *Indian Antiquary*.

He was also, while in India, a welcome contributor from 1883 to the journal I started when in the Panjab, the *Panjab Notes and Queries*, and succeeded me as Editor in 1890, when it was converted into *Indian Notes and Queries*. This last he continued until he left India for good in 1896. Always a hard worker of indomitable pluck, he was ready to help periodical and similar publications from his almost unrivalled stores of knowledge of Indian Ethnology,

Anthropology, and Folk-lore, and wrote, besides many articles in *Nature*, for the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* for Dr. Hastings.

As soon as Crooke settled down in England he wrote a book on *Homeric Folk-lore*, but found no publisher. Wholly undaunted, he produced out of part of his researches thereon, in *Folk-lore*, *The Wooing of Penelope* in 1898 and *Some Notes on Homeric Folk-Lore* in 1908. While still in India he compiled a *Rural and Agricultural Glossary* and his *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces* for the Government. He also brought out the first edition of his *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, the third edition of which was in MS. at the time of his death, and the well-known volume, *Things Indian*.

Later on he contributed *Northern India* to the *Native Races of the British Empire*, and became an indefatigable editor of old books, producing with great learning and wide reading valuable editions of Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, usually known as *Hobson-Jobson*, in 1903, Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia* in three volumes for the Hakluyt Society in 1909 onwards, Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's *Observations on the Mussulmans of India* in 1916, Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* in 1920, Herklot's *Qānūn-i-Islām* (Islam in India) in 1922. In 1912 he prepared the memorial volume of Sir Herbert Risley's *The People of India*, writing the introduction and many useful notes. And at his death he left a new edition of Ball's translation of Tavernier's *Travels in India* with the Clarendon Press.

In his own special line of Folk-lore Crooke collaborated with Mr. H. D. Rouse in *The Talking Thrush*, and contributed an invaluable article on Folk-lore to Sir George Grierson's edition of Sir Aurel Stein's *Hatim's Tales* (of Kashmir). He had further been at work on Tawney's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (Ocean of Story), which Mr. Pender is now making his own. His Presidential addresses (1912-13) to the Folk-lore Society were beyond praise, and to *Folk-lore* his contributions on Indian subjects were of the highest importance: *The Legends of Krishna* in 1900, *The Holi* (Festival) in 1914, *The Divali* (Festival) in 1922. To the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute he contributed *The Primitive Rites of Disposal of the Dead*, with special reference to India.

Crooke was a keen archaeologist and a member of the Cotswold Field Club and of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society. To the latter's *Proceedings* he contributed *The Rude Stone Monuments of India*. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society made him an honorary member, and he wrote for its *Journal*.